

THE UNEDITED *LIFE* OF ST JOHN CHRYSOSTOM
BY NICETAS DAVID THE PAPHLAGONIAN.
AN INTRODUCTION*

There is a long series of *Lives* of St John Chrysostom, starting with the one by George of Alexandria in the seventh century. Several *Lives* remain unpublished, as a cursory look at the *BHG* and its *Novum Auctarium* reveals. Publication details for the edited ones can easily be found in this reference tool. Subsequently, only one major text concerning John's life was published for the first time, the funeral oration by Ps.-Martyrius of Antioch. A critical edition of the encomium by Emperor Leo VI also appeared by the present author.¹ This study introduces one more critical edition of a medieval Greek work on the famous Father, the *Life* by Nicetas David the Paphlagonian. In 2002 Symeon Paschalidis and myself announced a project to prepare the *editio princeps* of the *Life* and offered some preliminary remarks on the text. Here I present the results of my examination of the *Life*, which was completed in 2011; subsequent bibliography has been incorporated only rarely.² The edition of the text will follow suit, preceded by the

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¹ See *BHG* 871: *Oratio funebris in laudem Sancti Iohannis Chrysostomi. Epitaffio attribuito a Martirio di Antiochia* (*BHG* 871, *CPG* 6517), Edizione critica di M. WALLRAFF, traduzione di C. RICCI (*Quaderni della Rivista di Bizantinistica*, 12), Spoleto, 2007; and *BHG* 880: *Leonis VI Sapientis Imperatoris Byzantini Homiliae*, quas edidit T. ANTONOPOULOU (*CCSG*, 63), Turnhout, 2008, pp. 481-557. It is worth noting here that the 1600th anniversary of the saint's death in 407 was celebrated a few years ago; see the anniversary volumes: *Johannes Chrysostomos: Zum 1600. Todestag des Kirchenvaters (407-2007)*, in *Orthodoxes Forum*, 22 (2008), pp. 5-87 and M. WALLRAFF – R. BRÄNDLE (eds), *Chrysostomosbilder in 1600 Jahren. Facetten der Wirkungsgeschichte eines Kirchenvaters (Arbeiten zur Kirchengeschichte, 105)*, Berlin – New York, 2008.

² See T. ANTONOPOULOU – S. PASCHALIDIS, 'Ένα ανέκδοτο κείμενο της μεσοβυζαντινής αγιολογίας: Ο Βίος του Χρυσοστόμου του Νικήτα Παφλαγόνοσ, in *Λόγια και δημόδης γραμματεία του ελληνικού Μεσαίωνα. Αφιέρωμα στον Εύδοξο Θ. Τσολάκη. Πρακτικά Θ' Επιστημονικής Συνάντησης του Τομέα Μεσαιωνικών και Νέων Ελληνικών Σπουδών του Αριστοτελείου Πανεπιστημίου Θεσσαλονίκης (11-13 Μαΐου 2000)*, Thessaloniki, 2002,

necessary expositions on the unique manuscript containing the work (*Thessalonicensis Vlatadon* 4, ff. 77^r-155^r, of the eleventh century), the language of the text and the editorial principles.

The present study is divided into the following six chapters: I. The Date and Structure of the *Life*; II. The Main Sources of the *Life*: George of Alexandria and the Appendix to Theodore of Trimitous' *Life of Chrysostom*; III. Divergences from George of Alexandria and Some Secondary Sources of Nicetas David; IV. The Relationship of Some Tenth-Century Chrysostomic *Lives* to the *Life* by Nicetas David; V. Nicetas David on Monastic Habit and Tonsure; and VI. The *Life* and Nicetas David's *Encomium* of Chrysostom.

I. THE DATE AND STRUCTURE OF THE *LIFE*

According to its title in the manuscript, the *Vita* of St John Chrysostom was authored by Saint Nicetas the philosopher, the servant of Jesus Christ, that is, by the well-known and prolific writer Nicetas David the Paphlagonian. He composed the work at the behest of Emperor Constantine VII Porphyrogenitus and sent it to him.³ This information implies that the emperor's demise in 959 is the *terminus ante quem* for the composition of the *Life*, if Nicetas were still alive at the time, which is improbable.⁴ The *terminus post*

pp. 111-122. The planned joint book, which I announced in *Parekbolai*, 1 (2011), p. 8, n. 5, unfortunately did not appear. In July 2012, I presented chapters II and IV of the present Introduction at a seminar at the Institut für Altertumskunde of the University of Cologne under the title "The Discovery of a Missing Link in the Byzantine Hagiographical Tradition on St John Chrysostom: The *Life* by Nicetas David the Paphlagonian"; thanks are due to Prof. Claudia Sode for the invitation. A second presentation of the text and its importance took place at the University of Cyprus in December 2013 in the framework of the International Workshop "Edition and Interpretation", organized by Assoc. Prof. Antonia Giannouli; the participants are also thanked here for useful discussions. A Russian book that is apparently of interest for part of the present investigation but has remained inaccessible to me was published recently: A. S. BALACHOV-SKAJA, *Ioann Zlatoust v vizantijskoj agiografičeskoj tradicii (V-X vv.)*, Moskva, 2014.

³ The title runs as follows: Βίος τοῦ πανοσίου πατρὸς ἡμῶν Ἰωάννου ἀρχιεπισκόπου Κωνσταντινουπόλεως τοῦ Χρυσοστόμου συγγραφείς παρὰ τοῦ μακαρίου καὶ ἁγίου Νικήτα, δούλου Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, τοῦ φιλοσόφου, ὄν καὶ ἀπέστειλε Κωνσταντῖνῳ τῷ βασιλεῖ, προτραπείς παρ' αὐτοῦ συντάξαι. On the hagiographical genre of the *Life*, see below, pp. 47-51. On its intended audience (not only the emperor but also a broader one, probably including the court), see ANTONOPOULOU – PASCHALIDIS, *Ένα ανέκδοτο κείμενο* [as in n. 2], p. 114. Cf. also below, p. 37, n. 121.

⁴ On Nicetas David, see S. PASCHALIDIS, *Νικήτας Δαβὶδ Παφλαγόν. Τὸ πρόσωπο καὶ τὸ ἔργο του* (*Βυζαντινὰ Κείμενα καὶ Μελέται*, 28), Thessaloniki, 1999, who dates him to ca. 885 – after 947, and *PmbZ Zweite Abteilung (867-1025)*, Nach Vorarbeiten F. WINKELMANNS erstellt von R.-J. LILIE *et al.*, V, Berlin – New York, 2013, no. 25712, with bibliography. On the possible date of his death and his relationship to Constantine VII, see PASCHALIDIS, *Νικήτας Δαβὶδ Παφλαγόν*, pp. 112-115, 149-151. Different views have also been expressed, however, which would make Nicetas a slightly older contemporary of Leo VI; see I. TAMARKINA, *The Date of*

quem is the composition of the author's *Encomium* on the same saint, which, as will be explained later on, should in all probability be placed shortly after 920 and before Constantine's sole rule in early 945.⁵ The production of the *Life* fits well in the framework of Constantine's known devotion to the saint, demonstrated in a homily on the Translation of John's relics, a text which the manuscript tradition credits the emperor with.⁶

The *Vita* is a linear narration of the hero's life from his birth to his death, and the translation of his relics to Constantinople. It is a long text, extending to roughly 30,000 words. Given its considerable length, it was judged advantageous for the presentation of the work to divide it into chapters instead of adopting a continuous line-numbering. To this purpose, the chapters correspond on the whole to the respective chapter divisions of the text that served as the author's main model.⁷ As will be shown later on, this was the *Life of Chrysostom* by George of Alexandria, the division of which into chapters was established by its first editor, Henry Savile (Sa.), and was preserved by its last editor, François Halkin (Ha.).⁸ As a result, and in order to allow easy comparison with George, the chapter descriptions of Nicetas' text provided below have in general stayed close to the Latin and French headings of the chapters in Savile's and Halkin's editions respectively.

Nevertheless, the changes Nicetas brought about with regard to his main source have necessitated a slight differentiation in the chapter division in comparison with the respective chapter division of George's *Life*. In particular, ch. 25 of George (the affair of the deacon Sarapion) is absent from Nicetas' work; as a result, George's chapters 24 and 26 have been merged into Nicetas' ch. 24. The division continues without further problems from

the Life of the Patriarch Ignatius Reconsidered, in *BZ*, 99 (2006), pp. 615-630; W. TREADGOLD, *The Middle Byzantine Historians*, New York, 2013, pp. 139-146. With regard to Nicetas' sainthood, see the discussion in PASCHALIDIS, *Νικήτας Δαβίδ Παφλαγών*, pp. 115-117, who points out that the relevant evidence of the titles of some of Nicetas' works, such as the title quoted in the previous note, should not be taken at face value.

⁵ On the date of the *Encomium* and its importance for dating the *Life*, see below, p. 46.

⁶ On Constantine's homily (*BHG* 878d), see the overview in T. ANTONOPOULOU, *A Survey of Tenth-Century Homiletic Literature*, in *Parekbolai*, 1 (2011), pp. 7-36, esp. 18-19 with bibliography.

⁷ In this Introduction, for references to the work the chapter number and manuscript folio are noted.

⁸ On George's *Life* (*BHG* 873) as Nicetas' main model, see below, ch. II. The two editions in question are H. SAVILIUS (SAVILE), *S. Ioannis Chrysostomi Opera graece* VIII (= *Toῦ ἐν ἁγίοις πατρὸς ἡμῶν Ἰωάννου ἀρχιεπισκόπου Κωνσταντινουπόλεως τοῦ Χρυσσοστόμου τῶν ἐβρισκομένων τόμος ὀγδοῶς*), Etonae, 1612 (i.e. 1613), pp. 157-265; and F. HALKIN, *Douze récits byzantins sur saint Jean Chrysostome* (*SH*, 60), Bruxelles, 1977, pp. 70-285 (no. III). In the following, references will be given to both editions, since no critical edition of the work exists. The same practice was followed in the edition of Leo VI's *Homily* 38 on Chrysostom's life; see ANTONOPOULOU, *Leonis VI Homiliae*, pp. 481-557 [as in n. 1].

ch. 25, which corresponds to George's ch. 27, and so on until Nicetas' ch. 52 (cf. George, ch. 54). Then Nicetas omits the information concerning an attack of the soldiers on a crowd of newly-baptized (George's ch. 55), with the result that Nicetas' chs. 53-60 correspond to George's chs. 56-63. Subsequently, Nicetas' ch. 61 corresponds to George's chs. 64-65, the contents of which have been combined in summary form. Nicetas' chs. 62-70 correspond in this order to George's chs. 66-71, 73, 72, 74.

Finally, the fact that the unique manuscript of Nicetas' *Life* has suffered a loss of six folios (after f. 125) has resulted in the loss of the text contained in these folios. Consequently, most of ch. 36 to the end, all of chs. 37 and 38, and the beginning of ch. 39 in the following chapter division do not correspond to existing text, yet it is possible to extrapolate the contents of the missing part thanks to George's work.⁹

The *Vita* develops in the following way:

1. Prooimion (cf. George, ch. 1).
2. Childhood in Antioch: parents, baptism, education, humility (cf. George, ch. 2).
3. Death of John's father. Completion of his education in Antioch (cf. George, ch. 3).
4. Higher education in Athens. Conversion of the philosopher Anthemius (cf. George, ch. 4).
5. Having returned to Antioch, John's decision to become a monk is postponed following his mother's wishes. His friendship to Basil (cf. George, ch. 5).
6. Death of John's mother. He is ordained lector and subsequently becomes a monk (cf. George, ch. 6).
7. The vision of the monk Hesychius: the Apostles Peter and John appear to John (cf. George, ch. 7).
8. First miracle: the healing of a noble Antiochene man suffering from migraines (cf. George, ch. 8).
9. Second miracle: the healing of the leper Archelaus (cf. George, ch. 9).
10. Several citizens enter the monastic life as a result of the latter miracle (cf. George, ch. 10).
11. Third miracle: the healing of the one-eyed Eucleus (cf. George, ch. 11).
12. Fourth miracle: the healing of Christina, a woman suffering from haemorrhages (cf. George, ch. 12).

⁹ The missing part corresponds to George, p. 208, 40 Sa.; p. 178, 14 Ha. down to p. 215, 12 Sa.; p. 192, 8 Ha.

13. Fifth miracle: the killing of a lion by the power of the cross (cf. George, ch. 13).
14. John leaves the monastery and becomes a solitary in a cave (cf. George, ch. 14).
15. John is ordained deacon in Antioch. Return to his monastery (cf. George, ch. 15).
16. John is ordained priest in Antioch (cf. George, ch. 16).
17. Preaching and writing activity (cf. George, ch. 17).
18. Sixth miracle: the healing of the son of Eucleia from high fever (cf. George, ch. 18).
19. Seventh miracle: the healing of the wife of the Marcionist governor of Antioch from dysentery, and its aftermath (cf. George, ch. 19).
20. Emperor Arcadius summons John to Constantinople. He is consecrated bishop of the capital (cf. George, ch. 20).
21. John's encounter with the emperor the day after his consecration. He delivers a long speech and performs yet another miracle, the healing of a demoniac (cf. George, ch. 21).
22. John's activity in Constantinople: pastoral care (cf. George, ch. 22).
23. Care for the church. Missionary activity (cf. George, ch. 23).
24. Care for the economics of his bishopric. Further on his pastoral activity. Personal conduct (cf. George, chs. 24 and 26).
25. John's commentaries on the Epistles of St Paul. The vision of Proclus: St Paul inspires John (cf. George, ch. 27).
26. First conflict with the empress Eudoxia: John supports the patrician Theodoret (*recte*: Theodorich) against the empress (cf. George, ch. 28).
27. John's uncompromised stance earns him enemies. His homily against Eutropius (cf. George, ch. 29).
28. Expulsion of the Arians from Constantinople (cf. George, ch. 30).
29. The case of the Goth Gainas (cf. George, ch. 31).
30. The case of Antoninus of Ephesos. Deposition of bishops accused of simony (cf. George, ch. 32).
31. John returns from Asia Minor to Constantinople (cf. George, ch. 33; contrary to George, Nicetas is not concerned with Severian of Gabala here).
32. The case of the widow Callitrope, whom John defends against Paulacius' and Empress Eudoxia's avarice (cf. George, ch. 34).
33. John reproaches Eudoxia for her avarice (cf. George, ch. 35).
34. John's enemies act against him (cf. George, ch. 36).
35. Theophilus of Alexandria unfairly expels two priests (cf. George, ch. 37).
36. Theophilus of Alexandria against the Long Brothers. [Most of the chapter to the end is missing] (cf. George, ch. 38).

- [37.-38. (both chapters are missing): The Long Brothers in Constantinople; Arcadius convenes a synod to deal with Theophilus. In support of Theophilus, Epiphanius of Salamis condemns Origen's works; cf. George, chs. 39-40].
39. The affair of the widow's vineyard. [The beginning of the chapter is missing] (cf. George, ch. 41).
 40. John prohibits Eudoxia from entering the church. Divine punishment of an acolyte of hers (cf. George, ch. 42).
 41. Epiphanius' anti-Origenist initiatives in Constantinople and hostile stance towards John (cf. George, ch. 43).
 42. Eudoxia vainly urges Epiphanius to act against John. The misunderstanding between the two men (cf. George, ch. 44).
 43. Eudoxia and Theophilus conspire to convene a synod against John, who criticizes the empress openly (cf. George, ch. 45).
 44. The Synod at Drys deposes and exiles John (cf. George, ch. 46).
 45. Theophilus as well as John's supporters send letters to Pope Innocent I regarding John's exile. The Pope refuses to condemn John (cf. George, ch. 47).
 46. Theophilus condemns Heracleides of Ephesos, who had been John's choice, and hastily returns to Alexandria (cf. George, ch. 48).
 47. John returns to Constantinople at the emperor's and the people's demand (cf. George, ch. 49).
 48. Olympia the deaconess (cf. George, ch. 50).
 49. Eudoxia's silver statue and John's sermon against her (cf. George, ch. 51).
 50. A new synod deposes John for a second time (cf. George, ch. 52).
 51. The emperor accepts the decision of the synod. John refuses to leave the church and is forcefully expelled (cf. George, ch. 53).
 52. John's supporters, who celebrate Easter at Constantianai, are attacked by the soldiers of Lucius (cf. George, ch. 54).
 53. John is forced to leave the bishops' residence. He bids farewell to his supporters (cf. George, ch. 56).
 54. A fire destroys the church and the house of the senate (cf. George, ch. 57).
 55. Exile to Coucouosos (cf. George, ch. 58).
 56. John miraculously heals a paralytic. Conversion of pagans (cf. George, ch. 59).
 57. Punishments of John's supporters (cf. George, ch. 60).
 58. John's supporters send letters to the Pope. Innocent admonishes them to be patient (cf. George, ch. 61).
 59. Arsacius succeeds John as bishop of the capital (cf. George, ch. 62).
 60. Atticus succeeds Arsacius. Heracleides of Ephesos is deposed. John's enemies promote Porphyrius to the see of Antioch (cf. George, ch. 63).

61. Innocent and Honorius write to Arcadius condemning John's exile and proposing a synod in Thessalonica (cf. George, chs. 64-65).
62. By order of Eudoxia their envoys are arrested and mistreated. The Western envoys manage to return to Rome (cf. George, ch. 66).
63. John's letters to his supporters in Constantinople. Exile to Arabissos, then to Pityous. On the way there, he has a vision of the Apostles Peter and John. Following his dream of the martyr Basiliskos at Comana, he dies and is buried next to the martyr (cf. George, ch. 67).
64. Severe reaction by Innocent, who excommunicates Arcadius and Eudoxia, and by Honorius, who calls on his brother to correct the injustice against the envoys of Rome and the deposed bishops (cf. George, ch. 68).
65. Arcadius punishes the culprits, including his wife. He sends letters to Innocent, asking for forgiveness for himself and the empress, and to Honorius (cf. George, ch. 69).
66. Innocent forgives the imperial couple. He writes to Proclus of Cyzicus to manage the affairs of the Constantinopolitan see, and to Arcadius to have John's name inscribed in the diptychs and to require Theophilus to participate in the planned synod in Thessalonica. Arcadius complies. Death of Innocent (cf. George, ch. 70).
67. Death of Arcadius and Theophilus. Divinely-sent sufferings affect John's enemies. Eudoxia's horrible death (cf. George, ch. 71).
68. Translation of John's relics to Constantinople (cf. George, ch. 73).
69. Adelphios' vision of John's afterlife fate (cf. George, ch. 72).
70. Epilogue (cf. George, ch. 74).

II. THE MAIN SOURCES OF NICETAS DAVID: GEORGE OF ALEXANDRIA AND THE APPENDIX TO THEODORE OF TRIMITHOUS' *LIFE OF CHRYSOSTOM*

Nicetas used the famous *Vita* of John Chrysostom by George of Alexandria as his main source.¹⁰ This is apparently the oldest work on the saint in the form of

¹⁰ On the *Life* by George, see C. BAUR, *S. Jean Chrysostome et ses œuvres dans l'histoire littéraire*, Louvain – Paris, 1907, pp. 45-46; P. R. NORTON, *The Vita S. Chrysostomi by Georgius Alexandrinus*, in *Classical Philology*, 20 (1925), pp. 69-72; C. BAUR, 'Georgius Alexandrinus', in *BZ*, 27 (1927), pp. 1-16; P. R. COLEMAN-NORTON, *Palladii dialogus de vita S. Joannis Chrysostomi*, Cambridge, 1928, pp. xii-xiii, 222-229; C. BAUR, *Der heilige Johannes Chrysostomus und seine Zeit*, I-II, München, 1929-1930, esp. I, p. xxi; BECK, *Kirche und theologische Literatur*, p. 460; HALKIN, *Douze récits* [as in n. 8], pp. 69-70; E. HANSACK, *Die Vita des Johannes Chrysostomos des Georgios von Alexandrien in kirchenslavischer Übersetzung (Monumenta Linguae Slavicae Dialecti Veteris. Fontes et Dissertationes, 18 [10, 1-3])*, I-II, Würzburg, 1975-1980; III, Freiburg i.Br., 1984; P. LECLERCQ, *La technique de l'emprunt chez Georges d'Alexandrie dans sa Vie de S. Jean Chrysostome*, in

a hagiographical *Vita*, since it seems to date from the first half of the seventh century (before 630),¹¹ and served as a source for other Greek *Lives* of John as well.¹² George's text is a compilation based mainly on Palladius' *Dialogue on the Life of John* and Socrates' *Ecclesiastical History* (Book VI) as well as on other minor sources, namely some of John's works, Theodoret of Cyrrhus' *Ecclesiastical History*, and oral stories. A number of invented anecdotes and miracles lend George's work its unique character.¹³ Nicetas never went back to the sources on which George drew, but used them only indirectly, through George.¹⁴

Nicetas' work, which, as mentioned in the previous chapter, is a linear narration of the whole of John's life and the translation of his relics, follows George's version of events and, broadly speaking, the same order, including John's miracles, which first appear in that *Life*.¹⁵ That said, Nicetas reworks George's *Life* in various ways.¹⁶

E. A. LIVINGSTONE (ed.), *VIII International Conference on Patristic Studies, Oxford 1979. Studia Patristica*, XVII, Oxford, 1982 (repr. Leuven, 1993), Part III, pp. 1169-1175; A.-M. MALINGREY, *Palladius, Dialogue sur la vie de Jean Chrysostome*, I. Introduction, texte critique, traduction et notes (avec la collaboration de P. LECLERCQ) – II. Histoire du texte, index et appendices (SC, 341-342), Paris, 1988, esp. II, pp. 13-19, 23-27, 34-36; F. R. TROMBLEY, *Hellenic Religion and Christianization c. 370-529*, I-II (*Religions in the Graeco-Roman World*, 115, 1-2), Leiden – New York – Köln, 1993, pp. 333-341 (= Appendix II: "Did John Chrysostom visit Athens in 367/8?"); and P. A. HOLLOWAY, *Portrait and Presence: A Note on the Visio Procli (George of Alexandria, Vita Chrysostomi 27)*, in *BZ*, 100 (2007), pp. 71-83.

¹¹ In his works mentioned in the previous note, Chrysostomus BAUR repeatedly argued in favour of a later date, namely between 680 and 725, partly because he was inclined to accept George's dependence on the *Life* by Theodore of Trimithous (*BHG* 872), who participated in the Sixth Oecumenical Council in 680. For that reason, he did not accept the identification of the author with the Patriarch of Alexandria George (George II; ca. 620 – ca. 630) as provided by the manuscript tradition. His thesis, however, has not been met with acceptance; see NORTON, *Vita S. Chrysostomi* [as in n. 10], as well as HALKIN, *Douze récits* [as in n. 8], p. 69. BECK, *Kirche und theologische Literatur*, p. 460, was not convinced by either position.

¹² On the use of George's work by Leo VI, see T. ANTONOPOULOU, *The Homilies of the Emperor Leo VI (The Medieval Mediterranean. Peoples, Economies and Cultures, 400-1453, 14)*, Leiden – New York – Köln, 1997, pp. 124-125. See also the two *Lives* published by HALKIN, *Douze récits* [as in n. 8], nos. V (anonymous, *BHG* 874d) and VIII (Ps.-Hesychius, *BHG* 880h), also based on George. Furthermore, see below, ch. IV.

¹³ For a list of George's sources, see BAUR, 'Georgius Alexandrinus' [as in n. 10], pp. 7-16; cf. NORTON, *Vita S. Chrysostomi* [as in n. 10], pp. 70-71, and note 11 above. The most recent list of George's borrowings from Palladius is found in MALINGREY, *Palladius, Dialogue II* [as in n. 10], pp. 34-36.

¹⁴ For this reason, they will not be referred to in the *apparatus fontium* of the edition, except at ch. 21.

¹⁵ See above, p. 3.

¹⁶ I first presented some of the points made below regarding Nicetas' reworking of the *Life* by George in ANTONOPOULOU – PASCHALIDIS, *Éva avékdoto kéimevo* [as in n. 2], pp. 115-119. They are included here for the sake, on the one hand, of a complete presentation of the issue, and on the other, of non Greek-speaking readers. The same remark is valid for some other points made in that article, which have been incorporated in the appropriate place in the present introduction, accompanied by the necessary references.

To start with, Nicetas' *Life*, although long, is shorter than George's work, as a result of the author's intended effort to curb what he considers the verbosity found in other *Lives* of Chrysostom. At first sight, however, the considerable length of the *Life* invites comparison with another work of Nicetas, this time a youthful one, the encomium of St Gregory of Nazianzus, which his teacher, Arethas of Caesarea, criticized in a letter he sent Nicetas as being too long, repetitive and lacking in clarity.¹⁷ Given that the *Life* of Chrysostom is not an encomium, one would expect it to be more or less extensive, as indeed it is. Yet, as just noted, the *Life* is shorter than its model, exactly as Nicetas desired it. It also turns out to be shorter in comparison with its descendants, the Chrysostomic *Lives* by the Anonymous of Savile and Symeon Metaphrastes.¹⁸ If this relative brevity is taken into account, it seems that Arethas' advice may have had some effect on Nicetas' mode of writing. This suggestion finds its confirmation in the "technical" vocabulary Nicetas uses in the preface to the *Life* (ch. 1, f. 77^v). There he criticizes earlier authors of Chrysostomic *Lives*, whose works were characterized by excessive length (τὴν λέξιν εἰς πλῆθος ἐπεκτεινομένων) and lack of beauty (ἄπειροκαλία) and caused the audience's satiety (κόρος). Arethas had applied the same vocabulary in his critique of Nicetas' work (see p. 268, 31-32 and especially p. 269, 24-25 on πλῆθος; p. 268, 22 on ἄπειροκαλία; and p. 270, 22 for προσκορές).

First and foremost then, and in accordance with his statement in the preface, Nicetas shortens his source, summarizing episodes and information provided by George.¹⁹ It is indicative of this preoccupation of his that although he was himself a preacher and a prolific author, he did not hesitate to dedicate less space to his hero's writings than George²⁰ (admittedly, he

¹⁷ Arethas' *Opus* 32; ed. L. G. WESTERINK, *Arethae Scripta Minora*, I, Leipzig, 1968, pp. 267-270, esp. 269, 24-26. Nicetas' work in question was edited by J. J. RIZZO, *The Encomium of Gregory Nazianzen by Nicetas the Paphlagonian. Greek Text Edited and Translated* (SH, 58), Bruxelles, 1976, pp. 19-79; see also the editor's introduction at pp. 8-11 regarding Arethas' criticism; cf. T. ANTONOPOULOU, *Homiletic Activity in Constantinople around 900*, in M. CUNNINGHAM – P. ALLEN (eds), *Preacher and Audience. Studies in Early Christian and Byzantine Homiletics (A New History of the Sermon)*, 1, Leiden, 1998, pp. 317-348, esp. 333-334.

¹⁸ On these *Lives*, see below, ch. IV with notes 88 and 99 for their editions respectively.

¹⁹ For example, the episode that presents John as a child refusing to go to school on horse (ch. 2, ff. 79^v-80^r; cf. George, pp. 159,21-160,40 Sa.; pp. 74,3 - 76,27 Ha.); or, the one concerning John's visit to Athens (ch. 5), where Nicetas left out or merged several of the speeches of the protagonists or reproduced them in indirect speech.

²⁰ Ch. 17, f. 96^r (οἷα τὰ Περί ἱερουσῦνης, τὰ Περί ἀκαταλήπτου, τὰ Κατὰ Ἰουδαίων, καὶ ὅσα τὰς ἀγίας γραφὰς ἐξηγουμένα) is the main passage where Nicetas collectively presents some of John's writings of the Antiochene period. In his respective chapter 17, George focuses on John's exegesis of the Scriptures (p. 179, 8-9. 17-19 Sa.; p. 114, 11-12. 24-27 Ha.), while, on the whole, he names more of John's Antiochene works than Nicetas, placing them in the narration in accordance with the date of their composition; see p. 168,

compensates his audience by introducing a brief, positive literary evaluation of John's works, which is absent from George).²¹ In addition, he leaves out dispensable details,²² and occasionally whole episodes, especially, it appears, if they were not to his liking. Most notably, Nicetas is prepared to overlook at least some uncomfortable instances in John's life. Therefore, he passes over in silence the blackmailing of Theophilus of Alexandria into ordaining John Bishop of Constantinople,²³ or the insolent behaviour of deacon Sarapion (a favourite of John), which is said to have led to Chrysostom's falling out with Severian of Gabala.²⁴ Nicetas also omits mentioning the letters between John and Pope Innocent I, which, George says, showed John looking forward to and accepting the Pope's opinions.²⁵ Based to a considerable extent on this information, C. Baur spoke of George's pro-Roman attitude.²⁶ Such an attitude would have been hard to maintain at the time of the composition of Nicetas' work, a situation which would perhaps explain his silence on the issue. However, this silence may have also been due to his need not to compromise the independence and self-sufficiency of Chrysostom's genius. This view might be supported by the fact that Nicetas did not refrain from mentioning Rome's intervention in support of John, after his demise.²⁷

Nicetas takes the needs of his audience into account. He omits snippets of information that did not bear relevance in his epoch, such as the mention of the consular year in which a particular event took place.²⁸ He also takes care to connect the narrated past events with the lives of his audience, as when noting that the feast of Chrysostom of 13 November commemorating

1 Sa.; p. 91, 6-7 Ha. (*Adversus Iudaeos*); p. 170, 31-32 Sa.; p. 96, 25-26 Ha. (ascetic writings); p. 176, 4-6 Sa.; p. 108, 2-6 Ha. (*De sacerdotio, Ad Stagirium, De incomprehensibili Dei natura*)/*Contra Anomaeos, Contra eos, qui subintroductas habent virgines/Quod regulares feminae viris cohabitare non debeant*); and (ch. 17 again) p. 179, 24-25 Sa.; p. 115, 7 Ha. (*Sermo, cum presbyter fuit ordinatus*). On Nicetas' double mention of the *De sacerdotio*, and on his passage on the *De statuis*, which is not in George, see below, pp. 19-20.

²¹ See ch. 17, f. 96^r.

²² Such as the name of Leontius of Ancyra at ch. 23, f. 107^r; cf. George, p. 189, 21 Sa.; p. 136, 9-10 Ha.

²³ George, p. 185, 18-40 Sa.; pp. 127,21 - 128,23 Ha.; cf. Nicetas, ch. 20, f. 101^v.

²⁴ On this story, see George's ch. 25 at pp. 190-191 Sa.; pp. 139-140 Ha. On the omissions of George's ch. 55 and part of ch. 33, see above, pp. 3-5, on the contents of the *Life*.

²⁵ George, p. 191, 26-28 Sa.; p. 141, 1-4 Ha.

²⁶ See BAUR, 'Georgius Alexandrinus' [as in n. 10], p. 4.

²⁷ It seems that Nicetas had a special interest in presenting relatively extensively Rome's interest in avenging and reinstating Chrysostom (see below, p. 15 with notes 53-54), given his own support for Ignatios' case, as expressed in his *Vita Ignatii*. Patriarch Ignatios was, like John, deposed and his followers resorted to Rome's help. Cf. e.g. F. DVORNIK, *The Photian Schism. History and Legend*, Cambridge, 1948 (repr. 1970), Part I, esp. pp. 272-274 on the *Vita Ignatii*. However, there is no hint at such a connection in the *Life* of Chrysostom.

²⁸ George, p. 183, 24 Sa.; p. 123, 20-21 Ha.; cf. Nicetas, ch. 20, f. 99^r.

his return from the first exile has been celebrated ever since, “until today”.²⁹ It is noteworthy that the author reacts to an existing contemporary critical attitude towards miracles³⁰ by introducing sentences or even whole paragraphs in which he tries to convince his audience of the truth of the supernatural episodes he is relating. For example, before narrating one of John’s miracles, he requests that his audience have faith comparable to the Gospel’s mustard seed, a point on which he dwells at length. In another case, he asks them to pay attention and not to hesitate to hear the story (the vision of Proclus), since it is true.³¹ The search for the truth as regards the life of a saint was one of Nicetas’ preoccupations in composing his hagiographical oeuvre.³² Actually, in other works of his, he reacted against the exaggerations and false evidence found in his sources, while at the same time admitting the possibility of even extraordinary miracles.³³

Almost without exception, Nicetas did not add any stories on John that are not found in George.³⁴ Nevertheless, he brought about slight changes to the story as narrated in his model, which can be explained as having to do

²⁹ Ch. 47, f. 135^v, ἄχρι καὶ τήμερον. The feast in question is also connected with the particular event in the *Chrysostomic Life* by the Anonymous of Vatopedi; see F. VAN OMME-SLAEGHE, *Une Vie acéphale de Saint Jean Chrysostome dans le Batopedinus 73*, in *AB*, 94 (1976), pp. 317-356, esp. 343, n. (h), noting that in the majority of the synaxaries the feast is said to commemorate the beginning of John’s second exile. Nicetas agrees with the Anonymous of Vatopedi, ch. 46, 31-34, ed. *ibidem*, and Symeon Metaphrastes’ *Life* of Chrysostom, *PG* 114, 1173A, 10-12; this “coincidence” can very well be explained in terms of the relationship of the three works to each other, on which see below, ch. IV, esp. pp. 30-38.

³⁰ See ANTONOPOULOU, *Homiletic Activity* [as in n. 17], pp. 336, 340, 345; cf. M.-F. AUZÉPY, *L’évolution de l’attitude face au miracle à Byzance (VII^e-IX^e siècle)*, in *Miracles, prodiges et merveilles au Moyen Age. XXV^e Congrès de la Société des Historiens Médiévistes de l’Enseignement Supérieur Public (Orléans, juin 1994) (Série Histoire Ancienne et Médiévale, 34)*, Paris, 1995, pp. 31-46, esp. 44-46; also, G. DAGRON, *L’ombre d’un doute: L’hagiographie en question, VI^e-XI^e siècle*, in *DOP*, 46 (1992) (= *Homo byzantinus. Papers in Honor of Alexander Kazhdan*), pp. 59-68; and D. KRAUSMÜLLER, *Denying Mary’s Real Presence in Apparitions and Icons: Divine Impersonation in the Tenth-Century Life of Constantine the Ex-Jew*, in *Byz*, 78 (2008), pp. 288-303.

³¹ Ch. 13, f. 91^r and ch. 25, f. 109^v respectively.

³² On this point, see M. HINTERBERGER, *Byzantinische biographische Literatur des 10. Jahrhunderts: Quellenkritik – reizvolle Erzählungen – Fiktion*, in S. ENDERWITZ – W. SCHAMONI (eds), *Biographie als Weltliteratur. Eine Bestandsaufnahme der biographischen Literatur im 10. Jahrhundert*, Heidelberg, 2009, pp. 57-81, esp. 74-75 with literature.

³³ See especially his prefaces to the *Martyrium* of St George in K. KRUMBACHER, *Der heilige Georg in der griechischen Überlieferung (Abhandlungen der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Philosophisch-philologische Klasse, 25.3)*, München, 1911, pp. 181-182, and the *Encomium* on the Martyr Procopius of Palestine in F. HALKIN, *Le panégyrique du martyr Procope de Palestine par Nicétas le Paphlagonien*, in *AB*, 80 (1962), pp. 174-193, esp. 178-179 (par. 1); also, his *Encomium* on St Anastasia, *PG* 105, 336-372, esp. 344CD. Cf. ANTONOPOULOU, *Homiletic Activity* [as in n. 17], p. 336.

³⁴ Except for parts of the story on the translation of the saint’s relics (ch. 68), on which see below in this chapter, p. 15. Cf. also n. 37 below.

with his special interests, for example in monastic life.³⁵ The author, who identifies himself as the narrator, seldom makes his appearance in the first person,³⁶ yet in a way he is always in the fore. Perhaps the greatest interest of Nicetas' work for the modern reader lies in the demonstration of his knowledge³⁷ and, especially, the expression of his own views on various issues that come up in the course of the *Life*.³⁸ Unlike other authors who depended on George and just presented a summary of his work, Nicetas took every opportunity to make a comment, which his text offered him. It can even be argued that Nicetas was almost as much interested in commenting on the life of his hero as in narrating John's life itself. In this, he followed in the steps of Emperor Leo VI, who had included some, although fewer, comments in the *Life* of John he composed.

As regards language, Nicetas feels free to adopt that of his main model, which, in turn, was to a large extent the language of George's sources. Nicetas inserts at will words and even whole phrases of George into his own work. However, his borrowings (which will be indicated in the edition) make clear the rather limited, though not negligible, extent of his dependence on George on the level of vocabulary and expressions. Moreover, Nicetas eagerly distances himself from the borrowed material. On the whole, he adapts the phrasing of his source to match the needs of his own text as regards, for example, tenses, moods, and cases. He may also move through his model, transposing the order in which particular words occur in it either within an episode or even from one episode to another.³⁹ In addition, he replaces words or expressions found in his model, which his audience would find difficult to comprehend.⁴⁰ Even if he keeps an unusual word, he finds himself obliged to interpret it.⁴¹

³⁵ See above, p. 10, for such changes in a story, apparently with a view also to a monastic audience.

³⁶ E.g. Ἀξιῶ δὲ ὑμᾶς ὧδε (ch. 1, f. 78^v), ἐμοὶ δοκεῖν (ch. 16, f. 95^v), καὶ μοι προσέχετε (ch. 25, f. 109^v).

³⁷ See below, ch. III, on Nicetas' divergencies from George and on his use of other, secondary sources.

³⁸ See in particular ch. V below, concerning his views on monastic habit; also above, pp. 9 and 11, for samples of Nicetas' literary criticism.

³⁹ A look at the *apparatus fontium* of the forthcoming edition will easily make this practice obvious. An example can be mentioned here: at ch. 4, f. 81^r the references to George provided are first p. 162, 20. 32 Sa.; p. 80, 2-3. 20 Ha., then p. 161, 32 Sa.; p. 78, 19 Ha.

⁴⁰ Such is the case of ch. 12, f. 90^v, *θεραπεινίσιν* instead of *ἄβρας*, George, p. 174, 5 Sa.; p. 103, 27 Ha. Also, at ch. 28, f. 114^v, the concrete *ἀμανρούς τινας καὶ ἀτίμους κάχληκας* has replaced George's obscure *σκοτεινὸν καὶ ἀφεγγές εἶδος* at p. 197, 41 Sa.; p. 153, 22-23 Ha.

⁴¹ See, e.g., George, p. 185, 11 Sa.; p. 127, 11-12 Ha., *δημοσίῳ βερέδῳ*; cf. Nicetas, ch. 20, f. 101^v, *βερέδοις, ἦτ' οὖν ἡμίονοις*. Also, George, p. 246, 5 Sa.; p. 259, 23 Ha., *ἐκπορίζουσιν ἀντιγραφὴν*; cf. Nicetas, ch. 63, f. 147^r, *ὥστε ἀντιγράφειν ἦτοι κελεύειν*.

Nicetas reworked his model stylistically as well with a view to upgrading it, since George did not have high literary pretensions. He often adopts other words than those of his model for stylistic reasons and for achieving variation. The *Life* also displays a fair degree of rhetoric, which is mainly exemplified in metaphors and comparisons,⁴² as well as in paragraphs of a high-flown character and varying length, which serve as introductions to various episodes and may have been inspired by George.⁴³ In addition, there are explicit or implicit references to other texts, exclusively by ecclesiastical authors.⁴⁴ At one point, Nicetas plays with the audience's expectations and raises their suspense, when he postpones the revelation of the identity of the invisible person visiting Chrysostom (namely St Paul) until the end of the story, whereas George states his name right at the beginning.⁴⁵

Furthermore, Nicetas frequently intertwines Biblical phrases and references, which are not in his model. Such are, for example, direct references to a Biblical book,⁴⁶ the parallelism of John with Christ when He announced to His disciples that He was leaving them (ch. 16, f. 94^r; cf. Ioh. 16, 5-6), the parallelism of John with Stephen the First Martyr through the quotation used (ch. 19, f. 97^v; cf. Act. 6, 8), the parallelism of the woman John cured with the tenth leper who was cured by Christ and came back to thank Him (ch. 19, f. 98^v; this is already in George, but becomes more obvious by Nicetas' adding of the Biblical phrase *μεγάλαις φωναίς*; cf. Lc. 17, 15-16), and the development of a word found in George (*σκότου*) into a quotation from the Bible (ch. 19, f. 99^r; cf. Act. 13, 11). In this way Nicetas embellishes his narration and displays his knowledge of the Bible and his personal literary interests, which probably reflect those of his audience.

In conclusion, it can be reasonably suggested that to the extent that the *Life* displays a stylistic-rhetorical elaboration of George's work, it could be

⁴² E.g. ch. 16, f. 95^{r-v}; ch. 18, ff. 96^v-97^r; ch. 20, f. 99^v; ch. 22, f. 104^v.

⁴³ E.g. the beginnings of ch. 7, f. 87^r and ch. 8, f. 88^v (for the latter, cf. George, p. 170, 41-43 Sa.; p. 97, 6-10 Ha.).

⁴⁴ This will be made clear from the *apparatus fontium* to the edition. A couple of references to profane authors there are second-hand. First, Maurice's *Strategicon* VIII 2, 79, 225-226, p. 294, ed. G. T. DENNIS, *Das Strategikon des Maurikios*, Einführung, Edition und Indices. Übersetzung von E. GAMILLSCHEG (*CFHB*, 17), Wien, 1981 (*πέφυκε τῷ φρονήματι τῶν ἀρχόντων συνδιατίθεσθαι τοὺς ἀρχομένους*) is in reality the source of Leo VI, *Homily* 13, II. 108-109, p. 185 (*πέφυκεν γάρ πως τὸ ἀρχόμενον ταῖς ἀρεταῖς ἢ κακίαις ὡς ἐπὶ πολὺ τῶν κρατούντων συνδιατίθεσθαι*), to whose text Nicetas, ch. 19, f. 97^v, is very close; and second, the reference to Emperor Julian's *Epist.* 89b, 296b, p. 164, 2-3, ed. J. BIDEZ, *L'empereur Julien. Œuvres complètes* I, 2, *Lettres et fragments*, Texte revu et traduit (*CUF*), Paris, 1960², is indirect, since the quotation at Nicetas, ch. 21, f. 102^r comes from George, p. 186, 12-13 Sa.; p. 129, 18-20 Ha.

⁴⁵ See Nicetas, ch. 25, ff. 110^r, 111^r; cf. George, p. 193, 5-7 Sa.; p. 144, 9-11 Ha.

⁴⁶ E.g. ch. 17, ff. 95^v-96^r; ch. 22, f. 105^v; ch. 27, f. 113^v.

described as a *metaphrasis* of it. This reworking should be placed within the context established by previous *metaphraseis* of hagiographical texts and presented by Nicetas himself in his epistolary preface to the *Martyrium* of St George and by Michael Psellos in his *Encomium* on Symeon Metaphrastes.⁴⁷ On the other hand, and despite the dependence of the *Life* on a known model in terms of contents, structure, and partly language, the working procedures which Nicetas employed, as described above, resulted in a work that offers more than a simple abridgement or reworking of George. This is a highly personal literary work, which is indispensable for understanding Nicetas' personality and literary interests.

Apart from George, another text needs to be considered in connection with Nicetas. It was long ago realized that the epilogue of the *Life* (ch. 70) resembles the first part of the epilogue (ch. 41) of a recension of Theodore of Trimitous' *Life* of Chrysostom. The original *Life* is probably of the second half of the seventh century,⁴⁸ but the recension in question, preserved in an eleventh-century manuscript (*Mosquensis 161*),⁴⁹ is of a later date that cannot be determined more precisely.⁵⁰ The resemblance between the two epilogues is so striking that either Nicetas' epilogue was inspired by Theodore's and partly copied it *verbatimim* or the opposite was the case. Moreover, it now turns out that the borrowing in one direction or the other is far more extensive than previously suggested, also covering Nicetas' chs. 66 (from f. 152^r, καὶ ἡ κατ'αὐτοῦ σύνοδος) – 69 and Theodore's chs. 33-39. The two texts are practically identical.

If Theodore's chapters under consideration (33-39 and 41) were authentic and thus earlier than Nicetas, then our author would have had them at his disposal and would have reworked them. The situation is, however, complicated by the fact that chs. 33-41 do not come from Theodore's original text but form an Appendix to it written by an unknown author (perhaps the

⁴⁷ For the preface of the *Martyrium*, see KRUMBACHER, *Der heilige Georg* [as in n. 33], pp. 181-182. For Psellos' *Encomium*, ll. 156-206, see E. FISHER, *Michaelis Pselli Orationes hagiographicae (BSGRT)*, Stuttgart – Leipzig, 1994, pp. 276-279. Cf. the commentary on the relevant passages by PASCHALIDIS, *Νικήτας Δαβίδ Παφλαγών* [as in n. 4], pp. 187-190, 207, 305-310; moreover, see recently B. FLUSIN, *Vers la Métaphrase*, in S. MARJANOVIĆ-DUŠANIĆ – B. FLUSIN (eds), *Remanier, métaphraser. Fonctions et techniques de la réécriture dans le monde byzantin*, Belgrade, 2011, pp. 85-99, pp. 85-86, 94-99, who also underlines that "Nicetas cannot be considered as a *metaphrast* proper when he writes encomia rather than *Lives* or *Passions*".

⁴⁸ Theodore's text (BHG 872) is easily accessible in PG 47, coll. li-lxxxviii.

⁴⁹ BHG 872b; ed. HALKIN, *Douze récits* [as in n. 8], pp. 7-44; see also the editor's short introduction at p. 7. The part of the epilogue that concerns us here is found at ch. 41, p. 44, 6-18. Its connection with Nicetas was made by F. van Ommeslaeghe and was reported by HALKIN, *Douze récits*, p. 44, n. 86.

⁵⁰ HALKIN, *Douze récits* [as in n. 8], p. 7.

person responsible for the recension of Theodore's *Life*).⁵¹ Therefore, the only *terminus ad quem* available for the Appendix is the date of the manuscript, namely the eleventh century. On chronological grounds it is equally possible that either Nicetas drew on "Theodore" (namely, the anonymous Appendix to the recension of Theodore's *Life*) or vice versa.

If we assume, as a working hypothesis, that Nicetas copied "Theodore", the situation emerges as follows: Nicetas follows George of Alexandria up to John's death (ch. 63) and the intervention of Rome, which supposedly took the form of a series of letters, all fictional,⁵² between Rome and Constantinople (chs. 64-66). A version of this exchange of letters also occurs in the original Theodore (chs. 26-32), but Nicetas follows George's presentation and phraseology,⁵³ albeit with some variation⁵⁴ (without questioning the historicity of the account). Then suddenly, when he comes to narrate the end of the protagonists' lives, Pope Innocent I, Emperor Arcadius, Theophilus of Alexandria and his accomplices, and Empress Eudoxia (chs. 66, f. 152^r, καὶ ἡ κατ'αὐτοῦ σύνοδος – 67, f. 152^v, πάντα παθεῖν), he switches to "Theodore"'s concise report (ch. 33) rather than keeping to George's extensive one.⁵⁵ In his usual manner, Nicetas includes his own comments on Eudoxia's painful death (ch. 67, f. 152^v, καὶ γὰρ <ἡ> λίαν ἀγαθαρχική – παρασκευάσειεν), probably inspired by a relevant passage of George.⁵⁶ He sticks to "Theodore" (chs. 34-38) for the narration of the translation of John's relics to Constantinople (ch. 68), which is fuller than George's,⁵⁷ thus reflecting Nicetas' (and Constantine VII's, Nicetas' recipient) personal interest in the subject. At the same time, he keeps an eye on George, borrowing from him a few passages and inserting them into "Theodore"'s text.⁵⁸

⁵¹ The editor of *BHG* 872b, F. HALKIN, calls chs. 33-41 "an Appendix on the Translation" and refers to their author as "the author of the Appendix"; see *Douze récits* [as in n. 8], pp. 7 and 42, n. 83 respectively.

⁵² See BAUR, *Chrysostomus und seine Zeit* I [as in n. 10], p. xx.

⁵³ For example, like George, Nicetas reports that Arcadius also sent a letter to Honorius (ch. 65, f. 151^v; cf. George, p. 251, 4-7 Sa.; p. 269, 23-28 Ha.) and that Innocent sent one to Proclus (ch. 66, f. 151^v; cf. George, p. 251, 11-14 Sa.; p. 270, 2-7 Ha.); Theodore mentions neither of these letters.

⁵⁴ Most notably, Nicetas does not mention the letter of Eudoxia to Innocent, whereas George reports its contents in brief (p. 250, 39-40 Sa.; p. 269, 11-14 Ha.). Theodore quotes it *in extenso* (ch. 31, pp. 35-36).

⁵⁵ See George, pp. 252,18 - 254,2 Sa.; pp. 272, 5-13; 273,18 - 276,16 Ha.

⁵⁶ See George, p. 250, 31-34 Sa.; p. 269, 1-4 Ha.

⁵⁷ See George, pp. 254,27 - 255,31 Sa.; pp. 276,17 - 278,26 Ha.

⁵⁸ See Nicetas, ch. 68, f. 153^v, βοῶν - ἀπεσταλμένους, which is not in "Theodore"; cf. George, p. 255, 3-4 Sa.; p. 277, 18-19 Ha. Also, ch. 68, f. 153^v, τὸν Βοσπόριον – πορθμίον reflecting George, p. 255, 10-11 Sa.; p. 277, 28-30 Ha., whereas "Theodore", ch. 36, p. 40, 30-31 only has τὸν Χαλκηδόνος ναύσταθμον ὄλον λαμπάδων καὶ πλοίων πεπληρωσθαι. Moreover, see ch. 68, f. 154^r, ποδαλγὸν καὶ χειραλγὸν, as in George, p. 255, 17-18 Sa.; p. 278, 5-6 Ha., against "Theodore", ch. 38, p. 42, 2, πόδας καὶ χεῖρας ... ἀλγῶν.

He shows his linguistic preferences by omitting a colloquial word mentioned by “Theodore”, who informed his audience that the vehicle that bore Chrysostom’s relic was called a βαστέρνιον (37, p. 41, 9). Nicetas’ Constantinopolitan civic pride surfaces when he changes “Theodore”’s reference to the city as τὴν ἰδίαν πόλιν (36, p. 40, 24-25) to τὴν τῶν πόλεων βασιλίδα (f. 154^v). The relation of the vision of Adelphios regarding John’s *post mortem* fate (ch. 69) comes from “Theodore” (ch. 39), although the story exists in George, and Nicetas must have had the latter in mind as well.⁵⁹ Finally, it should be mentioned that Nicetas omits the vision of Cyril of Alexandria, found in “Theodore” (ch. 40) but not in George, and this is yet another indication that Nicetas did not refrain from consulting George until the very end of the composition of his work. To sum up the results of this working hypothesis, Nicetas used “Theodore” for the final part of his work, while having George at hand and using him for some details.

If we now assume the opposite, namely that Nicetas’ final part is an original reworking of George, then “Theodore” must have selected this part of the *Life* by Nicetas, slightly reworked it, and then attached it to the *Life* by Theodore of Trimithous so as to complement it. He would have drawn the vision of Cyril of Alexandria from an extra source. The advantage of such a hypothesis would be the simplification of Nicetas’ working method in the final part of his *Life*, which would not differ from that employed in the rest of his work, that is, the reworking of a single source. However, the main argument against this hypothesis is that “Theodore” includes a passage that concerns the fate of Bishop Cyrinus, an enemy of Chrysostom, which exists in George but not in Nicetas.⁶⁰ Therefore, “Theodore” drew directly on George or a common source, not Nicetas (unless this passage once existed in Nicetas as well, for which there is no proof). Another argument, though inconclusive, against “Theodore”’s dependence on Nicetas would be that, despite offering a quasi-identical text, “Theodore” includes nothing of Nicetas’ aforementioned extensive comment at ch. 67. Moreover, certain phrases of “Theodore” must be closer to a source other than Nicetas. For example, Nicetas mentions the ἀργύρεον σκεῦος, in which the imperial envoys placed the relic of Chrysostom at Comana (ch. 68, f. 153^v). “Theodore”, on the other hand, calls it an ἀργύρεον γλωσσόκομον (ch. 36, p. 40, 15-16). This description corresponds to the one by another author who wrote on the translation of John, the probably ninth-century preacher Cosmas Vestitor: γλωσσοκόμῳ πάντοθεν

⁵⁹ For the story, see George, p. 254, 3-26 Sa.; pp. 272,14 - 273,17 Ha. A few phrases of Nicetas exist in George, though not in “Theodore”; see Nicetas, ch. 69, f. 154^v, τὸν μακάριον ἐν Κουκουσῶ ... τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν ... τῆς ἐκκλησίας ... σώματι (against Theodore’s σαρκί) and κατιδεῖν (cf. George’s ἰδεῖν, whereas “Theodore” has θεάσασθαι).

⁶⁰ See “Theodore”, ch. 33, p. 38, 2-5; George, p. 253, 22-29 Sa.; p. 275, 15-24 Ha.

περιηργυρωμένω.⁶¹ George provides no such indication. “Theodore” and Cosmas reflect a common tradition, whereas Nicetas is a step further from it.

The arguments presented above offer no certainty about the validity of either of the two hypotheses. However, it can be suggested with good reason that the first hypothesis explains the situation better, making it more plausible that it was Nicetas who used the Appendix rather than the other way round. This result is of importance for the constitution of his text, since it emerges that the Appendix is a source of, not a testimonium to, Nicetas’ *Life*, and will be treated as such in the edition.

III. DIVERGENCES FROM GEORGE OF ALEXANDRIA AND SOME SECONDARY SOURCES OF NICETAS DAVID

As already stated, Nicetas follows George of Alexandria closely. Nevertheless, in certain cases there are divergences from the story, which, to the extent that they are not the result of the inadequate editorial state of George’s work, are worth dwelling upon in more detail. This is so, because such divergences reveal a certain degree of independence in Nicetas’ treatment of the material and go some way to show the extent of the author’s readings.⁶² Some particularly noteworthy passages are commented upon below. As a result of the relevant investigation, a few secondary sources can be added to the two main ones (George of Alexandria and the Appendix to Theodore of Trimitheus), as cases a, c and e below suggest. On the whole, Nicetas emerges once again as more than a simple compiler, having the ability to think for himself, even if his solutions were not always the best (cases a, b, d and f).

a) Ch. 5, ff. 84^v-85^r:⁶³ Nicetas wrongly identifies Basil the Great, bishop of Caesarea, with Basil the friend of John. The confusion can be traced back

⁶¹ On Cosmas, a shadowy figure, see briefly BECK, *Kirche und theologische Literatur*, p. 502, and M. CUNNINGHAM, *Wider than Heaven. Eighth-Century Homilies on the Mother of God* (St Vladimir’s Seminary Press. Popular Patristics Series, 35), New York, 2008, pp. 47-49. For the passage that is of interest here, see his fourth *Encomium* on the translation of Chrysostom, ed. K. DYOBOUNIOTIS, *Κοσμά Βεστίτωρος ανέκδοτα ἐγκώμια εἰς τὴν ἀνακομιδὴν τοῦ λειψάνου τοῦ ἐν ἁγίοις πατρὸς ἡμῶν Ἰωάννου τοῦ Χρυσοστόμου*, in *EEBS*, 2 (1925), pp. 50-83, esp. 72,37 - 73,1.

⁶² It goes without saying that Nicetas also possessed good knowledge of the Scriptures, as testified by the *apparatus fontium*; see also above, p. 13.

⁶³ The passage runs as follows: ... χρώμενος δὲ φίλοις καὶ συνεργοῖς ἄλλοις τε οὐκ ὀλίγοις τῶν λογιωτάτων καὶ περὶ τὴν ἄσκησιν θερμότερων, μάλιστα δὲ πάντων τῶ ἐν ἁγίοις Βασιλείῳ, τῷ τὸν θρόνον τῆς Καισαρείας ὕστερον ὑπερφυῶς λόγοις καὶ ἔργοις θείοις κατακοσμήσαντι καὶ σεμνύναντι, τότε δὲ τῇ Ἀντιοχείῳ ἐπιδημοῦντι, ὅτε καὶ

to the *Ecclesiastical History* of Socrates of Constantinople,⁶⁴ from which it passed over to George of Alexandria (p. 167, 7-8 Sa.; p. 89, 11-15 Ha.). Modern scholarship does not accept this identification, not least because it contradicts the evidence of John's *De sacerdotio* (I 1, 9-10, pp. 60-62), according to which the two friends must have been of (roughly) the same age.⁶⁵ Nicetas was aware of the age difference between Basil of Caesarea and John (the former was born ca. 330 and the latter ca. 349/354), and for this reason argued that Basil could not escape ordination because he was older than John and more advanced in Christian life. Nicetas could have drawn the latter argument concerning Basil's spiritual progress from the *De sacerdotio* (I 3, 36-37, p. 76, ἐκεῖνον δὲ τὸν πολὺ συνετώτερον καὶ ἐπιεικέστερον). One suspects that he had realized that the identification of the two Basils was questionable, but he made it clear that this posed no problem for him by suggesting his own solution, even at the expense of John's explicit testimony on the issue of age. The confusion of the two Basils was corrected by the Anonymous of Savile and Metaphrastes in their respective *Lives of Chrysostom*, who noted that John's friend was a different Basil, not the Cappadocian.⁶⁶

Leaving aside the acceptance of the erroneous identification found in his source, Nicetas' story of the ordination of the two friends differs from George in that the latter mentions neither the pressure that Meletius supposedly exercised on Basil and John to become deacons in Antioch nor Basil's acceptance (in the belief that John had done the same; see *De sacerdotio*, I 3, 28-51, pp. 74-76; cf. Nicetas, προδούς) nor his subsequent scolding of

τὴν τοῦ διακόνου χειροτονίαν ὃ ἐν ὄσια τῇ μνήμῃ Μελέτιος ἀμφοτέροις αὐτοῖς πολὺς ἐγένετο παρασχεῖν, αὐτῶ τε Βασιλείῳ τῷ θείῳ καὶ τῷ Ἰωάννῃ, πείραν τῆς κατ' αὐτοὺς παιδεύσεως δεδωκόσι τὰς διὰ τῶν συγγραμμάτων ἐκφωνηθείσας αὐτοῖς θεηγορίας. Ἀλλὰ Βασίλειος μὲν, ἐπειδὴ καὶ τὴν ἡλικίαν τοῦ Ἰωάννου πρεσβύτερος καὶ τὸν κατὰ Χριστὸν βίον εὐδοκιμώτερος ἐπιστεύετο, οὐχ' οἷός τε γέγονει τὸν ἱερὸν ζυγὸν τῆς διακονίας φυγεῖν· ὁ δὲ, τὸ μήπω μηδὲν ἄξιον τοῦ βαθμοῦ προεισηνεγκεῖν προφασισάμενος, ὑπὸ εὐλαβείας ἀπέδρασε τῆς χειροτονίας, ὅτε δὴ καὶ μέμψιν εἰσεπράττετο ὑπὸ Βασιλείου, ὡς αὐτὸς μὲν φυγὼν, ἐκεῖνον δὲ προδούς. Ὑστερον δέ, μετὰ τὴν τοῦ διακόνου χειροτονίαν, ἦν καὶ αὐτὸς μετὰ ταῦτα ὑπὸ τοῦ ἱεροῦ Μελετίου καταδέδεκται, ὡς προϊόντες ἐροῦμεν, τοὺς Περί ἱερῶσνης ἱεροῦ καὶ θειοτάτους πρὸς αὐτὸν τουτονὶ τὸν μέγαν Βασίλειον ἀποτεινόμενος ἀνετάξατο λόγους, τὸ μέγεθος τῆς ἱερᾶς τελετουργίας καὶ τὴν δύναμιν αὐτῆς καὶ τὸν πόνον ὅσον οἱ γνησίως αὐτὴν μετερχόμενοι τῷ ἀρχιερεῖ τῷ μεγάλῳ καὶ πρώτῳ ὀφειλοῦσιν ὑπέχειν ὑπὲρ αὐτῆς, ἐνδεικνύμενος καὶ διαμαρτυρούμενος, ὁμοῦ δὲ καὶ ἀπόλογον εὐλογον ὑπὲρ τῆς φυγῆς ἐνιστάμενος.

⁶⁴ *Historia Ecclesiastica*, VI 3, 8, p. 314, ed. G. C. HANSEN, *Sokrates, Kirchengeschichte. Mit Beiträgen von M. ŠIRINJAN (GCS, N.F., 1)*, Berlin, 1995.

⁶⁵ *CPG 4316*; ed. A.-M. MALINGREY, *Jean Chrysostome, Sur le Sacerdoce (Dialogue et Homélie)*. Introduction, texte critique, traduction et notes (*SC*, 272), Paris, 1980; see *ibidem*, pp. 8-10 on the problem in question as well as on the difficulty to identify John's friend.

⁶⁶ Cf. below, pp. 28-29.

John for evading ordination nor the composition of the *De sacerdotio* as a justification for John's behaviour. The story as related by Nicetas is his own summary exposition of the setting of John's dialogue *De sacerdotio* (esp. I 3, pp. 72-76),⁶⁷ with two exceptions that point to Nicetas' usage of George. The first regards the person of Meletius, who, according to Socrates, George, and Nicetas, ordained Basil and John deacons. John himself left unnamed the persons who wished to have the two friends ordained (*De sacerdotio*, I 3, 4-9, p. 72). The second exception concerns the actual ordination to deaconship in the narration of Socrates, George, and Nicetas. In the *De sacerdotio* the level of ordination to which John and Basil were urged is not specified as to that of the deaconate.⁶⁸

Consequently, Nicetas draws not only on George, who in turn combines data provided by Socrates and the *De sacerdotio*,⁶⁹ but also (and most probably directly) on John's work in question. Moreover, he attempts to reconcile the accounts of his sources by adducing his own clarifications.

b) Ch. 17, f. 96^r (τὰ ἤδη αὐτῷ προανατεταγμένα τῶν συγγραμμάτων ὑπαναγινώσκων αὐτοῖς, οἷα τὰ Περὶ ἱερωσύνης, τὰ Περὶ ἀκαταλήπτου, τὰ Κατὰ Ἰουδαίων): According to George (following Socrates),⁷⁰ John composed the orations *Adversus Iudaeos* when he was a reader (*lector*) in Antioch (pp. 167,44 - 168,1 Sa.; p. 91, 6-7 Ha.), whereas he wrote the dialogue *De sacerdotio* and the homilies *De incomprehensibili Dei natura* while being a deacon (p. 176, 4-6 Sa.; p. 108, 2-6 Ha.). In his *Life*, Nicetas presents these works together as having been delivered at the time of John's presbyterate. This situation must be attributed to the author's over-simplification of the source material due to his decision to treat John's Antiochene preaching and writing activity in one main passage of the *Life*.⁷¹

This is all the more probable given Nicetas' double mention of the *De sacerdotio*, the composition of which is placed after John's ordination as deacon (ch. 5, f. 85^r, Ὑστερον δέ, μετὰ τὴν τοῦ διακόνου χειροτονίαν ... τοὺς Περὶ ἱερωσύνης ἱεροῦς καὶ θειοτάτους πρὸς αὐτὸν τουτονὶ τὸν μέγαν Βασίλειον ἀποτεινόμενος ἀνετάξατο λόγους), while its delivery after his ordination as priest (ch. 17, f. 96^r as quoted in the previous paragraph). As regards the date of this work, medieval sources are not unanimous, since some, such as Socrates and George, place it in the time of John's deaconship, as mentioned above, whereas others, such as Metaphrastes

⁶⁷ On this setting, see MALINGREY, *Sur le Sacerdoce* [as in n. 65], p. 8.

⁶⁸ See MALINGREY, *Sur le Sacerdoce* [as in n. 65], pp. 12-13; pp. 72, n. 1 - 73.

⁶⁹ See BAUR, 'Georgius Alexandrinus' [as in n. 10], p. 7.

⁷⁰ *Historia Ecclesiastica*, VI 3, 9-10, p. 314, 17-20, HANSEN [as in n. 64].

⁷¹ See above, p. 9 with n. 20.

(PG 114, 1060D), in the period when John was a solitary, which cannot be correct.⁷² The work probably dates from 388 to 390, when John was a presbyter.⁷³ Moreover, according to modern studies, the other two works concerned were likewise composed during John's presbyterate.⁷⁴

c) Ch. 22, f. 106^r (τοὺς καλουμένους Ἀνδριάντας ἐν Ἀντιοχείᾳ πρῶτον συνέταξεν ἀφορμῆς ἐκ τῶν βασιλικῶν ἀνδριάντων οὓς Ἀντιοχεῖς ὑβρίζοντες ἔρραξαν, τὸν κίνδυνον δὲ πτοουμένους τὸν ἀπὸ τοῦ βασιλέως αὐτὸς παραμυθούμενος καὶ ὁμιλῶν ἐκεῖ τοῖς λαοῖς, σφόδρα μεγίστην ὑπὲρ τοῦ τὸν ὄρκον ἐκκόψαι κατεβάλετο σπουδῆν): The interest of this passage, which concerns John's famous homilies *On the statues*,⁷⁵ a series of twenty-one discourses preached in Antioch in 387, lies in that it is not found in George. The reference appears in the way of a flashback, while relating John's pastoral activity in Constantinople. Nicetas presents John's efforts against swearing, notes that he wrote several treatises against taking oaths and makes especial mention of the homilies *On the statues*. A cursory look at the titles of the individual homilies confirms Nicetas' information, since the problem of swearing appears in fifteen of the homilies.⁷⁶ Moreover, John deals with this problem in other works too, notably in the relevant parts of his exegetical homilies on the Acts, nos. 9-11, 13, and 44.⁷⁷ The passage must derive from Nicetas' own readings of Chrysostom's oeuvre.

d) Ch. 24, f. 107^v (Μετὰ ταῦτα τὸ τῶν χηρῶν ἐπιτηρεῖ τάγμα. Τὰς νεωτέρας μὲν οὖν καὶ ὅσαι οὐ σῶφρονες, ἀλλὰ φιλήδονοι μᾶλλον ἢ φίλαγνοι παραιτούμενος, ὅτι τάχιστα πρὸς δεύτερον γάμον ἦκειν ἐπέσπευδε, τὰς σπουδαιοτέρας δὲ καὶ οὐκ ἔλαττον ἐτῶν ἐξήκοντα γεγону<ί>ας νηστείας σχολάζειν τὸ πλεῖον καὶ προσευχαῖς, βαλανείων δὲ καὶ θρύψεως πάσης καὶ οἰνοφλυγίας ἀπέχεσθαι παρήνει): In discussing

⁷² See MALINGREY, *Sur le Sacerdoce* [as in n. 65], p. 11. W. LACKNER, *Eine Abhandlung des Konstantinos Stilbes zum Problem der Pseudo-Chrysostomica*, in *JÖB*, 33 (1984), pp. 107-121, esp. 115-116, provides a very useful succinct account of the various Chrysostomic works mentioned in published *Lives* of John, furnishing exact references and noting whether the medieval authors place them before or after John's ordination as priest; for the works dealt with here, all placed before his priesthood, see esp. p. 115 with n. 48.

⁷³ See MALINGREY, *Sur le Sacerdoce* [as in n. 65], pp. 11-13.

⁷⁴ See the overview of past scholarship on the dating of John's homilies in the relevant tables drawn by W. MAYER, *The Homilies of St John Chrysostom – Provenance. Reshaping the Foundations* (OCA, 273), Roma, 2005, esp. pp. 255, 259-260 on CPG 4318 (*De incomprehensibili Dei natura*) and 4327 (*Adversus Iudaeos*).

⁷⁵ *De statuis*, CPG 4330, PG 49, 15-222.

⁷⁶ That is in all of them except nos. 1-3, 17-18, and 21; e.g. hom. 4, περὶ τῆς τῶν ὄρκων ἀποχήης; hom. 19, περὶ τοῦ μὴ ὀμνύειν.

⁷⁷ CPG 4426; PG 60, 13-384, esp. 81-84, 91-94, 98-100, 112, 312.

John's admonitions to widows, Nicetas distinguishes between two groups. On the one hand, the younger ones and those who (regardless of age) are not prudent but lascivious, were urged to undertake a second marriage. On the other, the serious widows who were over sixty years of age were encouraged to persist in their widowhood following a strict way of life.

The inspiration for this passage comes from George, who wrote (p. 189, 34-37 Sa.; p. 137, 5-10 Ha.): μετὰ τοῦτο οὖν προσκαλεῖται τῶν χηρῶν τὸ τάγμα, ἐκπερινοστῶν ἐν αὐταῖς τὰς οὐκ ὀρθῶς ἀναστρεφομένας, καὶ εὐρῶν φιλοσάρκους τινάς, παραινεῖ τὴν νηστείαν ἀναλαβεῖν ἀπεχομένας βαλανείων καὶ περιέργων ἱματίων, ἢ θᾶπτον χωρεῖν ἐπὶ δευτέρου γάμου, ἵνα μὴ ὑβρίζεται ὁ νόμος τοῦ Θεοῦ. In turn, George had taken over this passage from Palladius' *Dialogue on the life of Chrysostom*.⁷⁸ The passage refers to widows in general, of whom the lascivious ones should either correct their behaviour or remarry. Neither Palladius nor George made an age distinction, and that with good reason, since John had never imposed a distinction based on the age of sixty in his writings. In fact, he argued for the superiority of Christian widowhood over second marriage, just as for the superiority of virginity over marriage. Accordingly, he advised all widows regardless of age to prefer not to remarry, provided that they would keep the Christian way of life (e.g. in his letter to a young widow or in the treatise on the uniqueness of marriage).⁷⁹ At the same time, he allowed for human weakness and left it up to them to choose the best course (*Vidua eligatur*,⁸⁰ ch. 3, col. 324, 15-16, Ἄν αὐτὴ βούλεται οἰκοθεν καὶ παρ' ἑαυτῆς αἰρεῖσθαι ταῦτα, ποιεῖτω; also ch. 4, col. 325, 2-5, οὕτω καὶ ἐνταῦθα ταῖς εὐχειρώτοις τῶν γυναικῶν, καὶ μὴ δυναμέναις ἐνεγκεῖν τὸν μετὰ ἀκριβείας βίον τῆς χηρείας, ταύταις παραινεῖ καὶ συμβουλεύει [sc. Paul] δευτέρου ἐπεισάγειν νυμφίον).

Nicetas apparently considered the description found in his source unsatisfactory, so he went a step further and drew the idea of an age-oriented differentiation from St Paul's admonitions in I Timothy 5, 9-16 (9 Χήρα καταλεγέσθω μὴ ἔλαττον ἐτῶν ἐξήκοντα γεγονυῖα ... 11 νεωτέρας δὲ χήρας παραιτοῦ ... 14 Βούλομαι οὖν νεωτέρας γαμεῖν). He then applied it to John Chrysostom, an ardent admirer of Paul, who repeatedly quoted Paul's opinions on widowhood.⁸¹ Nevertheless, Nicetas used Paul's age

⁷⁸ Ch. 5, 140-145, pp. 122-124, MALINGREY, *Palladius* [as in n. 10].

⁷⁹ *Ad viduam iuniorem* and *De non iterando coniugio*, CPG 4314 and 4315 respectively; ed. G. H. ETTLINGER in G. H. ETTLINGER – B. GRILLET, *Jean Chrysostome. À une jeune veuve. Sur le mariage unique* (SC, 138), Paris, 1968, pp. 112-159 and 160-201.

⁸⁰ CPG 4386; PG 51, 321-338.

⁸¹ E.g. twice in *Ad viduam iuniorem*, ll. 71-73, 107-108 and 117, pp. 118, 122, ETTLINGER [as in n. 79]. For a discussion of Paul's and John's ideas on remarriage, see the introduction by GRILLET, *ibidem*, pp. 35-40 on Paul, 55-57 and 68-73 on Chrysostom.

criterion rather superficially, since it concerned only those widows who were to be included in the “choir of widows” dedicated to charity under the supervision of the church: these should be over sixty and of well-known good behaviour. John himself, when elucidating I Tim. 5, 9 in his aforementioned sermon *Vidua eligatur*, referred to that special group of widows, which he placed in its historical dimension considering it as something of the past (ch. 3, col. 323, 43-47, Καθάπερ γάρ εἰσι παρθένων χοροί, οὕτω καὶ χηρῶν τὸ παλαιὸν ἦσαν χοροί, καὶ οὐκ ἐξῆν αὐταῖς ἀπλῶς εἰς τὰς χήρας ἐγγράφεσθαι. Οὐ περὶ ἐκείνης οὖν λέγει τῆς ἐν πενία ζωῆς καὶ δεομένης βοήθειας, ἀλλὰ περὶ ταύτης τῆς ἐλομένης χηρείαν). On the other hand,⁸² when referring to τῶν χηρῶν τὸ τάγμα Palladius and George probably had the whole social group of widows in mind.

Therefore, not only does Nicetas slightly misrepresent John’s thought in his effort to expound on his source, but he also partly misinterprets Paul’s passage (in both cases with regard to the widows over the age of sixty). At the same time, he probably projects on Chrysostom his own attitude towards widowhood and remarriage.

e) Ch. 24, ff. 107^v-108^r (“Ὅθεν καὶ τὴν ἱερὰν λειτουργίαν Ἰακώβου τοῦ θείου καὶ ἀδελφοθέου εἰς μῆκος οὐκ ἐλάχιστον ἐκτεινομένην, αὐτὸς τῶν ῥαθυμοτέρων κηδόμενος, εἰς θεωρημοσύνην βραχεῖαν τὴν ὄλην αὐτῆς δύναμιν συνεῖλε): The information that John shortened the long liturgy of St James the Brother of the Lord as a compromise to human weakness, is not found in George or in the other published Chrysostomic *Lives*. However, the same information, including the reason for the shortening, is provided by the contemporary Constantinopolitan *Synaxarion* (Oct. 23 on St James), which runs as follows: Ἰάκωβος ... πρῶτος τὴν θείαν λειτουργίαν ἐγγράφως ἐξέθετο, παρὰ τοῦ Χριστοῦ αὐτὴν διδαχθεῖς· ἦν ὕστερον συντομωτέραν ἐποίησεν ὁ μέγας Βασίλειος, καὶ μετ’αὐτὸν ὁ Χρυσόστομος διὰ τὴν τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἀσθένειαν.⁸³ The *Synaxarion*, which adds Basil the Great to John, clearly considers the liturgies of Basil and Chrysostom as consecutive shortenings of the original liturgy of James.⁸⁴

⁸² As correctly pointed out by MALINGREY, *Palladius, Dialogue II* [as in n. 10], p. 123, n. 4.

⁸³ Ed. H. DELEHAYE, *Synaxarium Ecclesiae Constantinopolitanae e codice Sirmondiano nunc Berolinensi adiectis synaxariis selectis (Propylaeum ad Acta Sanctorum Novembris)*, Bruxellis, 1902, coll. 155,35 - 156,31.

⁸⁴ On the historical improbability of this information as found in a sixteenth-century forgery formerly attributed to Proclus of Constantinople (for bibliography see the following note), see H.-J. SCHULZ, *The Byzantine Liturgy. Symbolic Structure and Faith Expression (Die byzantinische Liturgie, Trier, 1980; English edition introduced and reviewed by R. TAFT)*, New York, 1986, pp. 5-7 (with no reference to the *Synaxarion*); also R. TAFT, *Liturgy*, in *ODB II*, pp. 1240-1241, noting that “Byzantine authors claim, dubiously,” that the liturgy of

Nicetas may well have had this text or an unknown common source in mind. Roughly the same view is encountered in later centuries as well, while, to my knowledge, the *Synaxarion* statement has escaped the attention of liturgists so far.⁸⁵

f) Ch. 28, f. 115^r (“Ὅθεν αὐτὸς ἱερωτάτους καὶ ἀντιφώνους ὕμνους, οὓς δὴ καὶ κανόνας ὀνομάζομεν, ἀναταξάμενος καὶ ταῦτα τοῖς λαοῖς ἄδειν κατὰ τὰς ὀρθρινὰς δοξολογίας παραδιδούς, τὰς τῶν αἰρετιζόντων ἐφίμωσε κενολογίας): Nicetas argues that Chrysostom composed for the Morning Office “antiphonal hymns, which we call canons”, that is, liturgical canons performed by two choirs in alternation. He thus appears to have confused the hymns known as antiphons, dealt with in this episode (f. 115^r v), with the canons, which appeared much later than Chrysostom (in the 7th-8th centuries).⁸⁶ The passage as such is not in George or in other Chrysostomic *Lives*. In particular, George only notes that John reacted to the Arian nocturnal antiphonal hymns by juxtaposing the (perhaps pre-existing) hymns of his own people, which were sung during the night (p. 198, 36-37 Sa.; p. 155, 19-20 Ha.): ἀντιτίθησιν αὐτοῖς τοὺς τοῦ ἰδίου λαοῦ, ὅπως ἂν καὶ αὐτοὶ ταῖς νυκτεριναῖς εὐχαῖς σχολάζοντες, ... The elaboration of this passage must have led to Nicetas’ own version.

Finally, a case apart is worth commenting upon here. According to Nicetas, the patrician who fell out of favour with the empress was called Theodoret (26, ff. 112^r-113^r, Θεοδώρητος), whereas according to George his name was Theodorich (Θεοδώριχος). Θεοδώρητος does not occur elsewhere. The reading could have been due originally to a mistake of iotacism (η instead of ι), followed by the change of χ into τ. In fact, Θεοδώριχος occurs in some manuscripts of George (in the Halkin version, ch. 28, e.g.

Chrysostom prevailed over that of Basil because it “was shorter”. Cf. also G. WINKLER, *Preliminary Observations about the Relationship between the Liturgies of St. Basil and St. James*, in *OCP*, 76 (2010), pp. 5-55, esp. 52 on the still unclear relationship of the two liturgies, “although several signs point toward some influence” of the anaphora of Basil on that of James.

⁸⁵ Apart from Ps.-Proclus mentioned in the previous note, two other late texts contain the information on the consecutive shortenings; see F. J. LEROY, *Proclus, “de traditione divinae Missae”: un faux de C. Palaeocappa*, in *OCP*, 28 (1962), pp. 288-299, esp. 289-290 on Mark Eugenikos and 291, 293-294 on Ps.-John the Faster. Leroy rightly suspected that this view might “one day” be traced back to the time of Symeon Metaphrastes; see *ibidem*, p. 294.

⁸⁶ See E. WELLESZ, *A History of Byzantine Music and Hymnography*, Oxford, 1961 (repr. 1998), pp. 34-35 on early Christian antiphonal singing, and esp. 35, n. 2 on the Byzantine antiphon; p. 204 on Andrew of Crete as the traditional inventor of the canon. Cf. also K. ONASCH, *Kunst und Liturgie der Ostkirche in Stichworten unter Berücksichtigung der Alten Kirche*, Wien – Köln – Graz, 1981, p. 31, s.v. “Antiphon[on]”; pp. 179-180 s.v. “Kanon”.

p. 148, 16-17) and of other works on Chrysostom, such as the encomium by Leo VI.⁸⁷ So it appears that Nicetas used a manuscript of George, his main source, which contained the reading Θεοδώρηχος. From there it was just a step over to the more usual name Θεοδώρητος. Admittedly, however, it cannot be excluded that the scribe of Nicetas' work was responsible for this error.

IV. THE RELATIONSHIP OF SOME TENTH-CENTURY CHRYSOSTOMIC *LIVES* TO THE *LIFE* BY NICETAS DAVID

The tenth century was rich in the production of *Lives* of John Chrysostom, not all of which survive. In particular, three works come into question in connection with Nicetas' *Life*: the anonymous *Life* edited by Savile (the so-called Anonymous of Savile), another anonymous *Life* edited from an Athonite codex (the so-called Anonymous of Vatopedi), and the *Life* that Symeon Metaphrastes composed for his *Menologion*. The present chapter will investigate their relationship to Nicetas, while their relationship to each other will be examined only to the degree that it offers evidence relevant to Nicetas.

The *Life* of the Anonymous of Savile, to begin with, is a neglected text. It was printed at the beginning of the seventeenth century by Henry Savile, and this remains the only edition so far.⁸⁸ What is more, no study dedicated to the work exists. Some years ago the Bollandist Florent van Ommeslaeghe dealt with it in passing in his introduction to the edition of another Chrysostomic *Life* that he published, viz. that of the Anonymous of Vatopedi; I will comment on his views later on.⁸⁹

The Anonymous of Savile (henceforth, Anonymous or Anon. Sa.) can be dated with some accuracy to around 950 or the third quarter of the tenth century at the latest thanks to a list that precedes his work and contains all previous writers on Chrysostom's life known to him: (p. 293, 9-11) Ὅσοι εἰς τὸν βίον τοῦ Χρυσοστόμου συνεγράψαντο.⁹⁰ These add up to a total of twenty authors, who are in general presented in no precise chronological order and not all of whom can be identified. The list includes Emperor Leo VI at no. 15, Nicetas the Paphlagonian at no. 17, and last of all the *Encomium*

⁸⁷ See the *apparatus criticus* to *Homily* 38, l. 848, p. 518, ANTONOPOULOU [as in n. 1].

⁸⁸ *BHG* 876 cum 881a (see also below, n. 90); ed. SAVILE, *Chrysostomi Opera* VIII [as in n. 8], pp. 293-371.

⁸⁹ See VAN OMMESLAEGHE, *Une Vie acéphale* [as in n. 29]; below, pp. 30-38.

⁹⁰ This list is *BHG* 881a.

by Emperor Constantine VII Porphyrogenitus.⁹¹ This is the latest among the known texts of the list, which has allowed scholars to place the composition of the Anonymous *Life* between Constantine VII and Symeon Metaphrastes, who is not mentioned.⁹²

In a three-line note at the end of the list the Anonymous describes his work as a compilation from all previous works: (p. 293, 37-39) Ἐκ πάντων οὖν τούτων τὰ καιριώτερα καὶ κάλλιστα συλλεξάμενοι ἡμεῖς, ὧν θάτερον θατέρου ἐκείνων μὲν ἔσχε τὴν εἶδησιν, τὸ παρὸν τοῖς φιλοθέοις συνεταξάμεθα σύγγραμμα, εἰς δόξαν τοῦ Θεοῦ καὶ μνήμην τοῦ Ἁγίου.

A comparison between the *Life* of the Anonymous and the *Life* of Nicetas easily proves that the two texts are closely connected. In fact, whole passages occur almost *verbatim* in the two *Lives*. On the other hand, there are passages in the Anonymous that are absent from Nicetas. This observation leads to two possibilities: either Nicetas was the source of the Anonymous for the shared passages or they go back to a common source. An investigation of the other surviving and published older works on Chrysostom shows that none of them could have served as the common source in question. Moreover, since the Anonymous himself testifies that Nicetas was among his sources, the conclusion can be drawn that the Anonymous could have taken the shared passages from Nicetas' *Life*. It should be mentioned here that Baur thought that the Anonymous referred to Nicetas' *Encomium* of Chrysostom, but this suggestion is not supported by the actual texts and was due to the fact that Baur ignored the existence of the *Life* by Nicetas.⁹³ This ignorance led Baur to another erroneous suggestion, namely that the anonymous *Life* is based primarily on George of Alexandria.⁹⁴ If this were so and George was Nicetas' main source, as argued above,⁹⁵ the passages Nicetas and the Anonymous share would be traced back to George. In fact, it turns out that the Anonymous depends to a considerable extent and directly on the *Life* by Nicetas. At the same time, he used other sources too, in particular

⁹¹ On the list and its authors, see BAUR, *Chrysostomus und seine Zeit* I [as in n. 10], p. xii ("Die Biographienliste des Anonymus").

⁹² BAUR, *Chrysostomus und seine Zeit* I [as in n. 10], pp. xxi-xxii, and before him I. STILTING, in AASS Septembris IV (1753), pp. 401-700, esp. 406-407 par. 30. Following long discussions, Symeon's *Menologion* may be said to have been composed in the eighties of the tenth century; see C. HØGEL, *Symeon Metaphrastes. Rewriting and Canonization*, Copenhagen, 2002, pp. 70, 127.

⁹³ See BAUR, *Chrysostomus und seine Zeit* I [as in n. 10], p. xii, where Nicetas is listed only among the panegyrist of Chrysostom. On his *Encomium*, see below, ch. VI.

⁹⁴ BAUR, *Chrysostomus und seine Zeit* I [as in n. 10], p. xxi: "Die Vita des Anonymus fußt hauptsächlich auf Georg Al."

⁹⁵ See ch. II.

George of Alexandria, who, as will be shown later in this chapter, was always at hand and used in parallel with Nicetas. This is not the place to provide a full list of the correspondences between the Anonymous and Nicetas, nor, for that matter, to examine in detail the other sources actually used by the Anonymous apart from Nicetas. This should be the task of a future edition of the Anonymous and its *apparatus fontium*. The present analysis will focus on demonstrating the Anonymous' direct dependence on Nicetas suggested above. A few examples will make the case clear.

First, the Anonymous repeats with slight changes passages narrating John's life, whose wording is Nicetas' own and was not derived from George of Alexandria. In order to avoid repeating Nicetas' text here, I have marked his words using non-bold characters, while the Anonymous' original wording is in boldface; in case words also occur in George of Alexandria, they are placed in italics as well.

i) Anon. Sa., p. 295, 25-29, ἐκ **δὴ** τοιούτων οἷά τις εὐθαλέστατος **κλάδος** ὁ τίμιος **οὗτος** Ἰωάννης **βεβλαστηκῶς**, τοσοῦτον εὐθὺς ἐκ πρώτης *ἡλικίας* κατ'ἀρετὴν *πᾶσαν* καὶ ταπεινοφροσύνην τοῦς **αὐτοῦ γεννήτορας** ὑπερέβαλεν, ὅσον ἐκεῖνοι κατὰ *πᾶσαν ἀρετὴν* πάντων ὑπερεῖχον τῶν πολιτῶν. ἔδει **καὶ** γὰρ τὸν **ἀρετῆς** περιουσία πάντας ἀνθρώπους παρευδοκιμεῖν μέλλοντα, **μηδὲ** τῶν οἰκείων καθυστερεῖν; cf. Nicetas, ch. 2, f. 78^v.

The Anonymous and Nicetas diverge only in minor points: for example, the easier word κλάδος has replaced Nicetas' *ράδαμνος*; *βεβλαστηκῶς* is used instead of *ἀναδοθείς*, because it makes the vegetal comparison clearer; *κατὰ πᾶσαν ἀρετὴν* explains Nicetas' *κατὰ ταῦτα*; the easier *μηδὲ καθυστερεῖν* is used in place of Nicetas' *καθυπερτερεῖν*; some words of Nicetas have been left out, etc. In Nicetas' passage, only two words come from George (ἐκ ... *ἡλικίας*, p. 159, 9 Sa.; p. 73, 14 Ha.) and have been taken over by the Anonymous, who on the whole makes small interventions in order to make his source more easily comprehensible.

ii) Anon. Sa., p. 295, 34-42, ἀρχὴν δὲ σοφίας πάσης καὶ ἐπιστήμης τὸν φόβον Κυρίου, γραφικῶς εἰπεῖν, ὁ ὅσιος ὑποτιθέμενος, καὶ ἄκρα φρονήματος [*scripsi*: φρονήματα Savile] ταπεινότητι, τὸν **Κύριον** Ἰησοῦν **διαπαντὸς ἔχων παρ'ἑαυτῶ**, οὕτως, ὡς ἐπὶ θεμελίῳ ἀρραγεῖ, τοῦτ'ω χρυσόν, ἄργυρον, λίθους τιμίους, πάντα τὰ κάλλιστα ἐπφοδοῦμαι **ἔργα** τε καὶ μαθήματα. πάσας μὲν **οὖν** μεираκιώδεις παιδιάς **καὶ ἀθύρματα**, πάσας δὲ νεωτερικὰς ἐπιθυμίας, θεατρομανίας, πανηγύρεις, συμπόσια, καὶ πᾶν ὅλως εἰπεῖν **ἐπιτήδευμα, ἢ σπουδασμα**, ὃ μὴ πρὸς Θεὸν φέρει, μηδὲ **κατ'ἀρετὴν** βελτίους τοὺς περὶ αὐτὸ σπουδάζοντας **ἀπεργάζεται**, ὡς ξύλα, χόρτον, καλάμην [*scripsi*: χαλάμην Savile], τῆς αὐτοῦ ψυχῆς ἐξεφύσα καὶ ἀπερρίπτετο; cf. Nicetas, ch. 2, f. 79^v.

Again, the Anonymous omits some words of Nicetas, while he replaces others; e.g. he uses the simpler διαπαντός ἔχων παρ' ἑαυτῶ in place of Nicetas' high-flown κρυφίως καὶ μυστικῶς ἐγκολπούμενος; likewise, ἔργα replaces δράματα. The Anonymous also adds a couple of explanations: πᾶν ὅλως εἰπεῖν ἐπιτήδευμα, ἢ σπούδασμα, ὃ – φέρει clarifies Nicetas' πᾶν συνόλως εἰπεῖν ὃ – φέρει, while κατ' ἀρετὴν underlines the level of improvement sought.

Secondly, sometimes the Anonymous even copies the passages that express Nicetas' opinions and constitute his comments and significant personal contribution to the literary tradition of *Lives* of John. A most striking case concerns Nicetas' unique views on the monastic habit (ch. 6, f. 86^{r-v}),⁹⁶ which the Anonymous copies almost *verbatim*, while bringing about small, insignificant changes, such as leaving out the mention of St Hilarion (pp. 301,37 - 302,9).

Thirdly, in passages that Nicetas and George have in common, the Anonymous frequently follows Nicetas' phrasing rather than George's. To give but one instructive example:

Anon. Sa., p. 314, 3-7, γράφει τινὰ ἐπιστολὴν περὶ τούτου τῷ τῶν ἐκεῖσε κόμητι μυστικῶς ὁ βασιλεὺς· ὃς τὴν βασιλικὴν δεδεγμένος γραφὴν, προσκαλεσάμενος ἔξω τῆς πόλεως πλησίον τῆς καλουμένης Ῥωμανησίας τὸν μέγαν Ἰωάννην, ὡς δὴ τι μέλλων τῶν ἀναγκαίων αὐτῷ προσειπεῖν, εὐθύς αὐτὸν καὶ μὴ βουλόμενον, πάνυ μὲν οὖν καὶ ἀχθόμενον, ἡμίονοις ἐπιβίβασας, τῇ βασιλίδι τῶν πόλεων, ὡς τι θεῖον δῶρημα, προσανέπεμψεν.

Nicetas, ch. 20, f. 101^v (in this quotation George's words are printed in non-bold characters; cf. George, p. 185, 7-11 Sa.; p. 127, 5-12 Ha.) Γράφει τοιγαροῦν μυστικῶς τῷ κόμητι τῆς Ἀντιοχείας ὁ βασιλεὺς· καὶ ὃς ἔξω τῆς πόλεως πλησίον τῆς καλουμένης Ῥωμανησίας, ὡς δὴ τι ἀναγκαῖον αὐτῷ προσλαλεῖν μέλλων, τὸν Ἰωάννην προσκαλεσάμενος, βερέδοις εὐθύς, εἴτ' οὖν ἡμίονοις, καίπερ ἀχθόμενον ἐπιβίβασας καὶ δυσχεραίνοντα, καὶ τοῖς διάγειν αὐτὸν ἐντίμως ἀπεσταλμένοις τὴν πόλιν λαθῶν παραδεδωκώς, τῇ βασιλίδι τῶν πόλεων ἀνέπεμψεν.

In this passage the Anonymous most notably retains only the explanation ἡμίονοις provided by Nicetas, while leaving aside George's original term βερέδω. Furthermore, he takes over words and phrases of Nicetas which are not in George. In cases where the wording of Nicetas and George is closely related but not identical, the Anonymous offers the version of Nicetas (for instance, προσκαλεσάμενος instead of George's παρεκάλει). And while omitting some words and phrases of Nicetas (and George), he adds others of his own, which do not presuppose another source, since they are

⁹⁶ Cf. the commentary below, ch. V, with n. 124 for the text.

mostly explanatory, simplifying or ornamental without adding anything new to the story. An exception to the above is the clause τὴν βασιλικὴν δεδεγμένος γραφήν, which reflects George's δεξάμενος ὁ κόμης τὰ γράμματα τοῦ βασιλέως (p. 185, 8-9 Sa.; p. 127, 8-9 Ha.) and shows that the Anonymous used George as well.

The latter remark on the Anonymous' dependence on George is indicative of the complexity of the Anonymous' working method. In fact, he used George directly, drawing passages from him. In some instances, while depending on Nicetas, he made parallel use of George, as in the case of p. 314, 3-7 commented on above. Another example of this usage is the following: Nicetas narrates the episode at Athens in a more concise manner than George. While on the whole the Anonymous follows Nicetas, whom he renders freely, he obviously thought that Nicetas' concision was occasionally more than needed, so he borrowed phrases from George as well (as at p. 297, 38-40, ἐθεάσατο – ἡμῖν = George, p. 162, 22. 24-26 Sa.; p. 80, 5. 9-11 Ha.).

The Anonymous generally followed Nicetas' text in a linear manner. Occasionally, however, he changed the location in which a certain passage appeared in his source. For example, in his ch. 1 (pp. 295,17 - 296,16) the Anonymous used passages from Nicetas' ch. 2 in varying order. In another case, the Anonymous, either by himself or perhaps influenced by another source, moved the stories of Theodorich and Eutropius to a place long after where they would have been expected: they are found at pp. 338,41 - 340,37 instead of at p. 325 after the narration of the vision of Proclus as in Nicetas, chs. 26-27, and George, chs. 28-29.

In addition, the Anonymous omits some passages of varying length of Nicetas and adds others. For example, he repeats nothing of his model's prologue (ch. 1), while he omits two passages (ch. 27, f. 113^{r-v} and f. 114^r) that reveal an unfavourable attitude towards John by some of his contemporaries. The former passage concerns John's criticism of unworthy clerics and the authorities, and contains Nicetas' comments on their ensuing inimical stance towards John, while the latter passage mentions the negative criticism that John received for his reaction in the Eutropius affair. On the other hand, the Anonymous adds a number of episodes and passages that are not in George either and were drawn from still unidentified sources (e.g., pp. 320,18 - 321,28, on John's missionary care and influence).

Furthermore, the Anonymous corrects his main source(s). A characteristic case of his alertness in dealing with his sources concerns the confusion that surrounded the identity of Basil, John's friend at Antioch, who, according to the church historian Socrates, George and Nicetas, was identical with Basil of Caesarea, as was noted earlier, when dealing with Nicetas'

divergences from his main source, George.⁹⁷ This misconception was rightly dispelled by the Anonymous, who underlined that this was a different Basil: p. 300, 40-43, Βασιλείῳ σαφεστάτῳ τινὶ φίλῳ καὶ ὁμογνώμονι, πατρίδα τε τὴν αὐτὴν καὶ τύχην λαχόντι, οὐ τῷ τῆς Καππαδοκῶν ὀρμωμένῳ χώρας, ὡς τινες ὑπειλήφασιν τῇ ὁμωνυμίᾳ ἴσως ἠπατημένοι, ἀλλ' ὄν ἐν τοῖς περὶ ἱερωσύνης παρακολουθῆσαι αὐτῷ τὸν ἅπαντα χρόνον φησί, διδασκάλους τε τοῖς αὐτοῖς χρησάμενον καὶ μαθήμασι.⁹⁸

Finally, the Anonymous occasionally normalizes Nicetas' syntax, most notably by replacing the infinitives that stand for indicatives in several, though not all, of the instances.

Such replacements concern, e.g., Nicetas, ch. 9, f. 89^v, κελεῦσαι; ch. 20, f. 100^r, ἐπιδειῖσαι ... στενάξαι ... ταλανίσαι ... εἰπεῖν; see Anon., p. 304, 43, κελεύει; p. 313, 16-18, ἐπιδεικνύει ... στενάξας ... ταλανίσας ... εἶπεν respectively. On the contrary, the infinitives in question are retained, e.g., at Anon. Sa., p. 298, 4 and 41 (παρασκευάσασθαι ... ἐπιλαβέσθαι ... ἵκετεύειν), which correspond to Nicetas, ch. 4, f. 81^v (ἀποκρίνασθαι) and f. 83^r (παρασκευάσαι ... ἐπιλαβέσθαι ... παραιτεῖσθαι) respectively.

In the light of the foregoing investigation, a significant part of Nicetas' work turns out to have indirectly, yet unconsciously, been known for centuries, namely since the publication of the Anonymous, intermingled with a number of other sources. However, it is clear by now that the Anonymous does not depend on Nicetas to the same extent throughout his text, since at some places he copies Nicetas slavishly, whereas elsewhere he reworks his source or takes it into account for a few phrases only, if at all, being dependent on other works as well. As a result, the publication of the Anonymous does not affect the need for the edition undertaken, which is an *editio princeps* indeed. For the same reasons, the text of the Anonymous is not just a reworked version of Nicetas' *Life*, but a different text composed by a different author and based on Nicetas as one of its principal sources.

Nonetheless, because of the situation just described, the dependence of the Anonymous on Nicetas still appears so striking for the large part that they have in common, that the Anonymous can be considered as an indirect witness to the earlier text. As a result, one wonders whether the Anonymous can be used to correct Nicetas' text, complementing its unique manuscript. The answer has to be largely negative. Faithful though he is to his model to the point of copying it *verbatim* at places, the Anonymous is not faithful

⁹⁷ See above, pp. 17-18.

⁹⁸ In his *Life of Chrysostom*, 1053C11-D1, Metaphrastes used similar words to express the same idea; this fact implies that the idea of this correction may either be the Anonymous' own or the two authors may have drawn it from a common source; see below in this chapter, pp. 31-38, esp. on *Life X* and the Anon. Sa.

enough for the purposes of a critical edition, since he has regularly made all sorts of changes to his model. Only in very few cases can the later work be used as an indirect textual witness, and that with much caution. Such editorial interventions in the text of Nicetas on the basis of the Anonymous will be accordingly noted in the apparatus criticus.

In his above-mentioned article, van Ommeslaeghe rightly noted a close relationship among four Chrysostomic *Lives*: the *Lives* of Nicetas, the Anonymous of Savile, Symeon Metaphrastes⁹⁹ and the Anonymous of Vatopedi. He published the latter work (henceforth Anon. Vatop.) from codex *Vatopedi* 73 of the first half of the eleventh century, where the text, the first of the manuscript, is unfortunately mutilated at the beginning, starting with the punishment of the Marcionites just before John's invitation to Constantinople.¹⁰⁰ In the introduction to the edition, van Ommeslaeghe noted that the Anon. Vatop. shares whole passages with Metaphrastes as well as displaying certain divergences from him. He also remarked that there are textual similarities between the two authors and Nicetas, though a direct dependence on him is out of the question (unfortunately, the scholar made only general references to Nicetas, providing no specific examples and exact references). Moreover, the Anon. Vatop. and the Anon. Sa. share certain passages. Van Ommeslaeghe rightly argued that, since the Anon. Vatop. used the funeral oration on Chrysostom by ps.-Martyrius of Antioch¹⁰¹ and Metaphrastes contains none of the passages in question, it should be ruled out that Metaphrastes used the Anon. Vatop. In addition, van Ommeslaeghe rejected the reverse possibility, namely that the Anon. Vatop. copied the Metaphrastic *Life*, which uniquely ends immediately after John's death, since in that case the anonymous author would have returned to a more ancient language and style and for this purpose he would have also used ("hasard inouï!") the redactions of Nicetas and the

⁹⁹ BHG 875; PG 114, 1045-1209.

¹⁰⁰ BHG 874h; ed. VAN OMMESLAEGHE, *Une Vie acéphale* [as in n. 29], pp. 326-355. See the recent description of the manuscript by E. LAMBERZ, *Katalog der griechischen Handschriften des Athosklosters Vatopedi*, I. *Codices 1-102* (*Κατάλογοι ελληνικών χειρογράφων Ἁγίου Ὁρους*, 2), Thessaloniki, 2006, pp. 315-318. The complete text of the *Life* exists in codex *Parisinus gr. 1552* (13th-14th c.), ff. 167^v-222^r, as noted by C. ASTRUC, *Fragments d'un Ménologe de novembre dans un manuscrit de Patmos* (*Patm.* 390), in *AB*, 96 (1978), pp. 271-276, esp. 273, n. 3 - 274. For his edition van Ommeslaeghe collated the latter part of the work (chs. 64,15 - 68) with three later codices, one of which was the aforementioned *Parisinus*. In the other two codices this part survives as an appendix to the recension of the Metaphrastic *Life* BHG 875a (the same is true of another codex, *Patmos 390*, which preserves a fragment of this appendix); see ASTRUC, *o.c.*, correcting F. HALKIN, *Un appendice inédit à la Vie de S. Jean Chrysostome par Syméon Métaphraste*, in *AB*, 94 (1976), pp. 19-21, who had thought that in all three codices the part under discussion served as an appendix to the Metaphrastic *Life*. On the latter part of the Anon. Vatop., see also below in this chapter, pp. 36-37.

¹⁰¹ See *Epitaffio attribuito a Martirio di Antiochia*, ed. WALLRAFF [as in n. 1].

Anon. Sa. Consequently, he suggested that the Anon. Vatop. and Metaphrastes depend on the same lost prototype, which they reworked independently of each other and which was very close to Nicetas' work, though shorter and drawing on other documents as well. The Anon. Sa. could have drawn on this lost work too. The Anon. Vatop. must be placed in the tenth century, in-between Nicetas and Metaphrastes.

My study of the texts in question has confirmed that van Ommeslaeghe was right to postulate a lost *Life* of Chrysostom as the common source of Metaphrastes and the Anon. Vatop.¹⁰² Indeed, the two texts share several passages against Nicetas and the Anon. Sa.,¹⁰³ the latter two being in turn closely related to each other, as shown above. It is worth looking at a couple of cases in detail.

We may start with the mutilated beginning in the edition of the Anon. Vatop., ch. 1, 1-6.¹⁰⁴ This is identical to Metaphrastes 1080C7-D1; the passage also

¹⁰² Van Ommeslaeghe's suggestion was also accepted by W. LACKNER, but without further investigation; see his *Konstantinos Stilbes* [as in n. 72], p. 116; also W. LACKNER, *Zu Editionsgeschichte, Textgestalt und Quellen der Passio S. Polyeucti des Symeon Metaphrastes*, in *BYZANTIOS. Festschrift für Herbert Hunger zum 70. Geburtstag*, Wien, 1984, pp. 221-231, esp. 229. On the other hand, in spite of having knowledge of Lackner's second article, HÖGEL, *Symeon Metaphrastes* [as in n. 92], p. 186, gave preference to EHRHARD, *Überlieferung* II, pp. 468-469, and without further comment he only mentioned George of Alexandria and the Anon. Sa. as Metaphrastes' sources. Ehrhard, however, did not expressly consider the two older *Lives* as Symeon's sources. Even though he stated that the surviving exemplars of the old *Menologion* of November contain "almost all" of the models that Symeon used for his November texts, which had been discovered by Ehrhard's time, he also noted (*Überlieferung* II, 468, n. 1) that a number of feasts of the month of November, including that of Chrysostom, had not yet been dealt with in the *AASS*. Cf. also below, n. 109.

¹⁰³ See the broad passages indicated by VAN OMMESLAEGHE, *Une Vie acéphale* [as in n. 29], p. 322.

¹⁰⁴ The relevant passages run as follows: Anon. Vatop. (*incipit*), ch. 1, 1-6, τὴν σπουδὴν εἰσενέγκαντες καί, ὡς περὶ ὁ λόγος, πάντα κάλων κινήσαντες τὴν εἰς τὰ πρόωγα τούτων ἀπέγνων ὑποτροφὴν μάγον τε ἀπεκάλουν τὸν Ἰωάννην καὶ ἄλλα πλεῖστα τὴν πόλιν περιιόντες εἰς αὐτὸν ὕβριζον. Ὁ δὲ τοσοῦτον ἀπέσχε τοῦ καὶ πρὸς ὀλίγον ἐπιστραφήναι τῶν ὕβρεων καὶ [app. cr.: *an* ὡς καὶ?] σεμνύνεσθαι μᾶλλον ἐπ' αὐταῖς εἶχε τῷ πρὸς τὸν Δεσπότην ὁμοίῳ; Metaphrastes 1080C7-D1, Ὡς δὲ πολλὴν ἐκεῖνοι τὴν σπουδὴν εἰσενέγκαντες, καὶ ὡς περὶ ὁ λόγος, πάντα κάλων κινήσαντες, τὴν εἰς τὰ πρόωγα αὐτῶν ὑποτροφὴν ἀπέγνων, μάγον τε ἀπεκάλουν τὸν Ἰωάννην, καὶ ἄλλα πλεῖστα, τὴν πόλιν περιιόντες, εἰς αὐτὸν ὕβριζον. Ὁ δὲ τοσοῦτον ἀπέσχε τοῦ καὶ πρὸς ὀλίγον ἐπιστραφήναι τῶν ὕβρεων, ὅτι καὶ σεμνύνεσθαι μᾶλλον ἐπ' αὐταῖς εἶχε, τῷ πρὸς τὸν Δεσπότην ὁμοίῳ; Nicetas, ch. 19, f. 98^v, Οἱ πλεῖστα παρακλαυσάμενοι καὶ πειράσαντες αὐθις πρὸς ἑαυτοὺς ἐπαναγαγέσθαι, ἐπειδὴ τέλεον ἀπερραπίσθησαν καὶ τῆς αὐτῶν προσδοκίας ἀπεκρούσθησαν, μάγον τὸν Ἰωάννην ἀπεκάλουν, καὶ ἄλλα ὅτι μάλιστα πλεῖον κατὰ τὴν πόλιν περιιόντες ἐδυσφήμουν οἱ ἐναγεῖς. Τοσοῦτον δὲ ἀπέειχεν ἐκεῖνος τοῦ δυσχεραίνειν ἐπὶ ταῖς αὐτῶν ὕβρεσιν ἢ ἀγανακτεῖν, ὅτι καὶ ἐσεμνύνετο τούτοις μᾶλλον τῆ πρὸς τὸν διδάσκαλον ὁμοιότητι ἢ ἤχθετο; Anon. Sa., p. 311, 20-24, οὗς πλεῖστα ἐκπειράσαντες οἱ δυσώνυμοι ἐπαγαγέσθαι αὐθις πρὸς ἑαυτοὺς, ἐπειδὴ τέλεον ἀπερραπίσθησαν, καὶ τῆς αὐτῶν προσδοκίας οἱ δεύλαιοι ἐξεκρούσθησαν, μάγον λοιπὸν τὸν Ἰωάννην ἀπεκάλουν, ἄλλα τε πλεῖστα κατὰ τὴν πόλιν περιιόντες ἐδυσφήμουν οἱ ἐναγεῖς, οἷς τοσοῦτον ἐκεῖνος ἐπέσχε τοῦ δυσχεραίνειν, ὅτι καὶ μᾶλλον αὐτῶν κατὰ Χριστὸν ὑπερηύχθετο.

closely resembles Nicetas, ch. 19, f. 98^v, who is, however, closer to the Anon. Sa., p. 311, 20-24. In place of the Anon. Vaton., ch. 1, 1-2 = Metaphrastes 1080C7-10, the other two texts share a different wording: Nicetas, ch. 19, f. 98^v (Οἱ – ἀπεκρούσθησαν); Anon. Sa., p. 311, 20-21.

In the second, a little more complicated case,¹⁰⁵ the Anon. Vaton., ch. 2, 7-10 and Metaphrastes 1084A3-7 offer the same text (with insignificant divergences), whereas Nicetas, ch. 20, f. 99^v is similar, but not identical to them. For his part, Anon. Sa., p. 312, 30-31 agrees partly with Nicetas and partly with the two other texts: his l. 30 is closer to Anon. Vaton., ch. 2, 7-8 = Metaphrastes 1084A3-4 (due to the presence of ἐκνικῶν) than to Nicetas (ἔδει καὶ τὸ – προχειρίζειν), while he omits the rest of the passage; then, his l. 31 is similar to Nicetas, ch. 20, Ἔδει δὲ αὐτὸν – ἔχειν, a passage absent from the other two texts.

We will come to these passages again later in this chapter.

Metaphrastes could not have used the Anon. Vaton. for the sound reason adduced by van Ommeslaeghe in connection with ps.-Martyrius and noted above. The same argument can be applied in connection with another source that the Anon. Vaton. used but van Ommeslaeghe did not identify. This source is the homily on the life of Chrysostom by Emperor Leo VI, from which the Anon. Vaton. copied several passages almost word for word.¹⁰⁶ These passages are found in none of the other texts; if Metaphrastes had used the Anon. Vaton., one would expect him to have copied at least one of the passages from Leo if only by chance. The Anon. Sa. also used Leo VI,¹⁰⁷ whom he mentions among his sources, but he drew independently on the emperor's work.

¹⁰⁵ See Anon. Vaton., ch. 2, 7-10, ἔδει λοιπὸν τὸ Πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον νικᾶν καὶ τὸν εἰς αὐτὸ τοῦτο προωρισμένον ὑπ' αὐτοῦ προχειρίζεσθαι καὶ τῆς Ἰωάννου γλώττης καὶ ἀρετῆς ἠττηθῆναι πάντας καὶ τῶν πρεσβειῶν (*lege* πρεσβειῶν) αὐτῶ τῆς ἐκκλησίας παραχωρῆσαι; Metaphrastes 1084A3-7, ἐπει ἔδει τὸ ἅγιον Πνεῦμα νικᾶν καὶ τὸν εἰς αὐτὸ τοῦτο προωρισμένον ὑπ' αὐτοῦ προχειρίζεσθαι, τῆς Ἰωάννου τε, φημί, ἀρετῆς καὶ γλώττης ἠττηθῆναι πάντας, καὶ τῶν πρεσβειῶν αὐτῶ τῆς ἐκκλησίας παραχωρῆσαι; Nicetas, ch. 20, f. 99^v, ἔδει καὶ τὸ Πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον τὸν εἰς αὐτὸ τοῦτο ὑπ' αὐτοῦ προητοιμασμένον προχειρίζειν, ἔδει καὶ πάντας ἠττᾶσθαι τῆς Ἰωάννου θεωρημοσύνης καὶ θεοσοφίας καὶ τῆς ὅλης αὐτοῦ θεοσεβείας καὶ ἀρετῆς, καὶ τούτω τὸ πρεσβεῖον τῆς ἐκκλησίας εὖ μάλα προθύμως παραχωρεῖν and *ibidem*, Ἔδει δὲ αὐτὸν καὶ τὴν ἀπὸ τῶν ἔξω κατὰ τὸν θεῖον νόμον μαρτυρίαν καλὴν ἔχειν; Anon. Sa., p. 312, 30-32, ἐπειπερ ἔδει τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον ἐκνικᾶν, καὶ τὸν εἰς αὐτὸ τοῦτο προωρισμένον προχειρίζειν καὶ καθιστᾶν, ἔδει δὲ τὸν τοιοῦτον καὶ τὴν ἀπὸ τῶν ἔξωθεν μαρτυρίαν καλὴν ἔχειν κατὰ τὸν ἀπόστολον.

¹⁰⁶ E.g., chs. 31,7-9, 12 - 32,3, 6-7, pp. 336-337; ch. 34, 5-8, p. 337; ch. 43, 41-46, p. 342; chs. 51,4 - 53,1, 7-15, p. 345; cf. Leo VI, *Homily* 38, ll. 1023-1031, 1038, p. 527; ll. 1067-1070, p. 529; ll. 1286-1290, p. 539; ll. 1397-1409, p. 544 and ll. 1437-1446, p. 546, ANTONOPOULOU [as in n. 1] respectively (the latter passage in combination with what is ultimately Nicetas, ch. 51, f. 138^v, Ἐγὼ παρὰ τοῦ Θεοῦ – τὴν αὐθεντίαν τὴν σὴν).

¹⁰⁷ E.g., p. 325, 26-28; cf. Leo VI, *Homily* 38, ll. 819-820, 823, 826, 830-831, pp. 517-518, ANTONOPOULOU [as in n. 1].

On the other hand, the Anon. Vatop. did not use Metaphrastes. In verification of van Ommeslaeghe's arguments, one notices that in passages which the two works have in common, but which can also be compared with Nicetas and the Anon. Sa., the Anon. Vatop. is often closer to them than Metaphrastes, who elaborates more on the language of his source. A characteristic example will suffice to illustrate the case.

It concerns the Anon. Vatop., ch. 2, 3-7, which corresponds to Metaphrastes 1081D7-1084A3, Nicetas, ch. 20, f. 99^{r-v}, and the Anon. Sa., p. 312, 27-29.¹⁰⁸ In this passage, the Anon. Vatop. is closely connected to Metaphrastes due to the exclusive presence of the word *φιλία*. However, Metaphrastes omits the Anon. Vatop.'s phrase *ἄλλων δὲ – ἀξιούντων*, which is found in similar form in Nicetas too; moreover, he has changed two words that occur in the Anon. Vatop. and in Nicetas: *προχειριζόντων* has become *τὰ πρωτεῖα νεμόντων*, and *ἐξωνουμένων* has become *ὄνιον ποιουμένων*.

It becomes obvious from this example that Metaphrastes could not have been the source of the Anon. Vatop., but they both derived the passage in question from a common source which contained the word *φιλία*. This source was, therefore, neither Nicetas nor the Anon. Sa., where this word does not occur, but a lost text, which could be named *Life X* of Chrysostom.¹⁰⁹

Furthermore, the Anon. Sa. could not have served as the source of the Anon. Vatop.: In the same passage, the Anon. Sa. has kept Nicetas' and the Anon. Vatop.'s words *προχειριζόντων* and *ἐξωνουμένων*, but has changed *ἄλλων δέ* into *τινῶν δέ* and *προτιμᾶσθαι* into *προκεκρίσθαι*.

The situation seems to be complicated by the fact that in the same passage again the two Anonymi share a word, *εὐροῖα*, which is absent from the other texts. Given that this is not a word that they would have come up with

¹⁰⁸ See Anon. Vatop., ch. 2, 3-7, Ἄλλων οὖν ἄλλους, ὡς ἔθος ἐν τοῖς τοιοῦτοις γίνεσθαι, προχειριζόντων καὶ ὧν μὲν φιλία ὧν δὲ δυναστεία, ἔστι δ' ὧν καὶ χρυσίῳ τὴν τῆς ἀρχιερωσύνης ἐξωνουμένων ψῆφον, ἄλλων δὲ τῆ κατ' αὐτοὺς σοφία καὶ τῶν λόγων εὐροῖα προτιμᾶσθαι ἀξιούντων; Metaphrastes 1081D7-1084A3, Ἄλλων οὖν ἄλλοις, ὡσπερ ἔθος ἐν τοῖς τοιοῦτοις, τὰ πρωτεῖα νεμόντων, καὶ τῶν μὲν φιλία, τῶν δὲ δυναστεία τὸ θαρρεῖν ἐχόντων, ἔστι δὲ ὧν καὶ χρυσίῳ τὴν τῆς ἀρχιερωσύνης ψῆφον ὄνιον ποιουμένων; Nicetas, ch. 20, f. 99^{r-v}, Ἄλλων οὖν ἄλλους, ὡς ἔθος ἐν τοῖς τοιοῦτοις γίνεσθαι, προχειριζόντων, καὶ ὧν μὲν χρυσίῳ τὴν ψῆφον ἐξαγοραζομένων, ὧν δὲ δυναστείας τὴν ἀρχιερωσύνην ἐξωνουμένων, ἄλλων δὲ καὶ τῆ κατ' αὐτοὺς ἀρετῆ ἢ σοφία περὶ τοὺς λόγους κατοιομένων προτιμᾶσθαι; Anon. Sa., p. 312, 27-29, Ἄλλων οὖν ἄλλους (ὡς ἔθος ἐν τοῖς τοιοῦτοις γίνεσθαι) προχειριζόντων, καὶ ὧν μὲν χρυσίῳ, ὧν δὲ δυναστεία τὸ τῆς ἀρχιερωσύνης ἐξωνουμένων ἀξίωμα, τινῶν δὲ καὶ τῆ προσοῦση σοφία καὶ τῆ τῶν λόγων εὐροῖα καὶ στωμυλία προκεκρίσθαι διὰ σπουδῆς τιθεμένων.

¹⁰⁹ In ANTONOPOULOU – PASCHALIDIS, *Ένα ανέκδοτο κείμενο* [as in n. 2], pp. 119-120, it is argued that Nicetas was Symeon's main source, a view that I have since reconsidered in the light of the present evidence. The common points between the two texts which are listed in the article, p. 120, and had led to that suggestion should be explained as coming to Symeon from Nicetas via *Life X*.

independently of each other, and that the Anon. Sa. was not the source of the Anon. Vatop., either the opposite must be surmised, or a third text postulated. The former option is improbable on the basis of the whole of the available evidence, so the latter must be preferred. This third text must be the lost *Life X*, with which the Anon. Sa. was closely connected either by having exploited that *Life* as one of his own sources or by being one of that *Life*'s tributaries. *Life X* contained εὔροια, which does not occur in Metaphrastes, only because he altogether left out the phrase that included it. A couple of other examples lead to the same conclusions:

The Anon. Vatop., ch. 6, 6-7 has ὑμῖν δὲ ἀσφαλὲς εὐλαβεῖσθαι καὶ φοβεῖσθαι, Metaphrastes 1088D9-10 ὑμῖν δὲ ἀσφαλὲς τὸ φοβεῖσθαι, the Anon. Sa., p. 315, 29-30 ὑμῖν δὲ ἀσφαλὲς εὐλαβεῖσθαι, and Nicetas, ch. 21, f. 103^r ὑμῖν δὲ φοβητέον. The reading of the Anon. Vatop. must have been that of *Life X*, the author of which would have had direct access to Nicetas for the word φοβεῖσθαι.

In another case, the Anon. Vatop., ch. 59, 7-17, displays a combination of Chrysostom's Letters 120 and 234, while Metaphrastes 1188C-1192C has an amplified version including other letters as well.¹¹⁰ The Anon. Sa., p. 357, 31-38, used only Letter 120,¹¹¹ namely the passage also found in the Anon. Vatop., but with a couple of variants that bring it close to Symeon, plus a passage found only in Symeon and in the same version as his (1188C12-D8 and 1189A4-6 respectively). Nicetas includes no such quotation. As van Ommeslaeghe suggested, the extracts from Letters 120 and 234 must have existed in *Life X*.¹¹² It can be argued that the Anon. Sa. had access to *Life X*, from which he would have drawn the two passages from Letter 120; alternatively, *Life X* could have drawn them both or just the one that also occurs in the Anon. Vatop. from the Anon. Sa. and then added the extract from Letter 234. Afterwards, the Anon. Vatop. borrowed the extracts from *Life X*, while Symeon largely amplified his source drawing directly on John's letters.

The lost *Life X* was not simply very close to Nicetas' text, as van Ommeslaeghe suggested, but used it as its main source. In fact, Nicetas turns out to be at the beginning of a whole tradition of Chrysostomic *Lives* that includes the Anon. Sa., *Life X*, Metaphrastes and the Anon. Vatop. The precedence and independence of Nicetas *vis-à-vis* the other texts is possible on chronological grounds and is proved beyond doubt by its closeness to its

¹¹⁰ See VAN OMMESLAEGHE, *Une Vie acéphale* [as in n. 29], p. 322.

¹¹¹ LACKNER, *Konstantinos Stilbes* [as in n. 72], p. 116, n. 55, wrongly noted that both quotations from Letters 120 and 234 occur in the passage in question of the Anon. Sa.

¹¹² See VAN OMMESLAEGHE, *Une Vie acéphale* [as in n. 29], pp. 324-325.

exemplar, the *Life* of Chrysostom by George of Alexandria. An examination of the passages that Nicetas has more or less in common with the Anon. Vatop. and Metaphrastes, and therefore with *Life X*, reveals that the Anon. Vatop. and Metaphrastes do not share Nicetas' close relationship to George, as the following examples will demonstrate.

At ch. 20, ff. 99^v-100^r, Nicetas stays relatively close to George's vocabulary, quoting a few words from the letter of Emperor Arcadius to Bishop Flavian of Antioch regarding John's invitation to Constantinople.¹¹³ The Anon. Sa. (pp. 312,39 - 313,15) was apparently not satisfied with the information Nicetas provided and went back to George's text, from which he copied the whole letter (pp. 183,38 - 184,9 Sa.; pp. 124,17 - 125,8 Ha.). However, he kept Nicetas in mind and intermingled a sentence from Nicetas' rendering in the letter (Anon. Sa., p. 313, 11-13; cf. Nicetas, ch. 20, f. 100^r, ὡσπερ γὰρ ἑνὸς – τῆ αὐτῆ). Metaphrastes (1084A10-B2) and the Anon. Vatop. (ch. 2, 12-17) have practically identical passages (apart from an ornamental phrase of Symeon, 1084A15-B2), apparently drawn from *Life X*, where they provide neither the actual letter nor an extended summary and include none of George's significant words. Their brief summary still shows a few verbal similarities with both Nicetas (ch. 20, f. 100^r, γνωρίζοντα) and the Anon. Sa. (p. 312, 38, τὸν χρυσοῦν Ἰωάννην).

¹¹³ Nicetas, ch. 20, ff. 99^v-100^r (text in non-bold characters shows Nicetas' borrowings from George), Ἐδοξε τοίνυν κοινῆ ψήφῳ τῶν τ'ἐκκλησιαστικῶν καὶ πολιτικῶν ἐκ προσώπου τῶν βασιλέων, Ἀρκαδίου φημί δὴ καὶ Ὀνωρίου τῶν ἀδελφῶν, γράμματα χαράξαι Φλαβιανῶ τῷ Ἀντιοχείας ἱεράρχῃ καὶ ταῦτα διὰ ἰπιστοτάτων κληρικῶν καὶ ἀρχόντων ἀποστείλαι, γνωρίζοντα τὴν τε ἀποβίωσιν Νεκταρίου τὴν τ'ἀξίωσιν καὶ ἐπιθυμίαν καὶ αἴτησιν τῆς τε βασιλείας καὶ ἱερωσύνης, ἣν ὑπὲρ τοῦ Ἰωάννου πρὸς αὐτὸν κατατεινόμενοι ἀξιοῦσιν, ὥστε αὐτὸν ἀνυπερθέτως σταλῆναι πρὸς τὴν βασιλίδα ὡς μέλλοντα τῆ ἐνούση αὐτῷ σοφία καὶ ἀρετὴ τὸν αὐτῆς θρόνον κατακοσμεῖν· δίκαιον γὰρ εἶναι τὸν ἐν ὀλίγῳ πιστόν, καὶ ἐν πολλῷ ἀποδειχθῆναι πιστόν, καὶ ὡσπερ αὐτοὶ ἀπέλαυσαν ἤδη τῆς θεοσοφίας τοῦ ἀνδρός, οὕτω καὶ αὐτοὺς ἀξίον εἶναι πάντως τῆς οὐρανίας ἐν αὐτῷ χάριτος μετασχεῖν· ὡσπερ γὰρ ἑνὸς Θεοῦ καὶ Πατρὸς καὶ ἑνὸς Χριστοῦ Ἰησοῦ καὶ Πνεύματος ἁγίου ἑνὸς πάντας ὁμοίως μετέχουν τοὺς τῆ αὐτῆ πίστει τετελειωμένους, οὕτω καὶ τῆς ἐν τῷ Ἰωάννῃ δοθείσης διὰ Χριστοῦ χάριτος πάντας ἀξίον μετασχεῖν τοὺς διαθέσει πίστεως κερημένους πρὸς τὸν αὐτὸν τῆ αὐτῆ; Anon. Sa., see esp. p. 313, 11-13, ἀλλ' ὡσπερ τοῦ ἑνὸς Θεοῦ πάντες ὁμοίως μετέχομεν οἱ τῆ αὐτῆ πίστει τετελειωμένοι, οὕτω καὶ τῆς ἐν τῷ δούλῳ αὐτοῦ δεδομένης διὰ τοῦ Χριστοῦ χάριτος πάντας ἀξίον μετασχεῖν, τοὺς ὁμοίᾳ διαθέσει πίστεως ὑποδεχομένους αὐτόν; Anon. Vatop., ch. 2, 12-17, τέλος, τῶν τῆς ἐκκλησίας καὶ τῆς πολιτείας ἀρχόντων εἰς μίαν γνώμην ἐλθόντων τῷ βασιλεῖ, γράμματα πρὸς τὸν ἱεράρχην Ἀντιοχείας Φλαβιανὸν πέμπονται, ὁμοῦ μὲν τὸν Νεκταρίου γνωρίζοντα θάνατον, ὁμοῦ δὲ καὶ τὸν χρυσοῦν Ἰωάννην εἰς τοῦτο μετακαλούμενα = Metaphrastes, 1084A10-B2, τέλος – γνώμην τῷ βασιλεῖ συνελθόντων, γράμματα – Ἰωάννην, τὸ γῆν καὶ θάλατταν περιέχον θαῦμα, καὶ αὐτοῦ δέ, φημί, παραπαῖον τοῦ οὐρανοῦ, πρὸς τοῦτο μετακαλούμενα.

In another case,¹¹⁴ Nicetas (ch. 21, f. 103^{r-v}) keeps a phrase of George's and adds two New Testament quotations. The two Anonymi have practically identical texts, where George's phrase has disappeared and the New Testament quotations have been altered (Anon. Sa., p. 315, 32-34, notably keeping Nicetas' ὄσα ἔν; Anon. Vator., ch. 6, 10-12). The Metaphrastic passage (1089A1-5) is close to that of the Anonymi, though somewhat amplified. (A little earlier, the Anon. Sa. [p. 315, 27-28] had also kept a phrase of Nicetas [ch. 21, f. 103^r],¹¹⁵ which is absent from the other two texts, another proof of the Anon. Sa.'s direct access to Nicetas). *Life X* must have lent to or borrowed from the Anon. Sa. their common passage, and then passed it over to its descendants.

A vital proof of *Life X*'s independent access to Nicetas is that it kept Nicetas' phraseology that is absent from the Anon. Sa.

Relevant examples were already encountered above, when commenting on Nicetas, ch. 20, f. 99^v and ch. 20, f. 100^r.¹¹⁶ In the former case, the Anon. Vator., ch. 2, 9-10 and Metaphrastes 1084A5-7 contain text not found in the Anon. Sa. and ultimately derived from Nicetas via *Life X*.

Moreover, the wording of Nicetas, ch. 19, f. 98^v (Τοσοῦτον – ἤχθετο) is partly found in the Anon. Sa., p. 311, 23-24 and partly in the Anon. Vator., ch. 1, 5-6 = Metaphrastes 1080C13-D1, because the Anon. Sa. and *Life X* made different choices.¹¹⁷

A good example is offered by the final part of the Anon. Vator. (chs. 64,15 - 68).¹¹⁸ F. Halkin had thought that the material for this part was perhaps borrowed from George of Alexandria except for the vision of Cyril of Alexandria, which is absent from George but is narrated in the aforementioned reworking of the *Life* by Theodore of Trimitous (*BHG* 872b) and in the second encomium on the translation of Chrysostom by Cosmas Vestitor

¹¹⁴ Nicetas, ch. 21, f. 103^{r-v} (non-bold as in n. 113), ἀλλ' ἀπὸ τῆς τοῦ ἁγίου Πνεύματος ἐμπνεόμενοι (George, p. 186, 33-34 Sa.; p. 130, 19-20 Ha.) χάριτος, πάντα ὅσα ἂν ἀκούσωμεν παρ' αὐτοῦ, ταῦτα λαλήσομεν ὑμῖν (cf. Ioh. 8,26), μὴ φειδόμενοι εἰ τινες ἄρα καὶ τοῖς παρ' ἡμῶν προσοχθήσαιεν ἐλεγμοῖς· οὐ γὰρ ἐσμὲν ὑποστολῆς ἢ εἰς ἀπόλειαν τέκνα, ἀλλὰ πίστεως εἰς περιποίησιν (Heb. 10, 39); Anon. Sa., p. 315, 32-34, ἀλλ' ὅσα περ ἂν ἀπὸ τῆς θεοπνεύστου καὶ ἁγίας γραφῆς πεπαιδευμένα, ταῦτα χρεωστικῶς, μὴ ὑποστελλόμενοι πρόσωπον ἀνθρώπου, λαλήσομεν ὑμῖν = Anon. Vator., ch. 6, 10-12, ἀλλ' ὅσον ἀπὸ τῆς – ὑμῖν; Metaphrastes, 1089A1-5, ἀλλ' ὅσα τοῦ θεοῦ νάματος τῆς θεοπνεύστου Γραφῆς ἠρυσάμεθα, ταῦτα δὲ οὐδένα ὑποστελλόμενοι, οὐδὲ ἡμέρας, τοῦτο δὴ τὸ τοῦ ἱερωτάτου Δαβίδ, φοβούμενοι, φθεγξόμεθα πρὸς ὑμᾶς.

¹¹⁵ Nicetas: ἡ τῶν οὐρανῶν ἠγγίκει βασιλεία, πολλῶ μᾶλλον νῦν ἠγγισεν, ὅτε τοσοῦτοι ἐξ ἐκείνων τῶν χρόνων ἐξεκένωθησαν καιροί; Anon. Sa.: ἠγγικε γὰρ ἡ βασιλεία τῶν οὐρανῶν, πολλῶ μᾶλλον νῦν ἠγγισεν, ὅτε τοσοῦτοι ἔκτοτε ἐξεκένωθησαν χρόνοι.

¹¹⁶ See above, p. 32 with n. 105; and p. 35 with n. 113, esp. on the word γνωρίζοντα, on the two passages of Nicetas respectively.

¹¹⁷ See above, p. 31 with n. 104.

¹¹⁸ See above, n. 100.

(*BHG* 877y).¹¹⁹ Van Ommeslaeghe rightly pointed out that this part and the Anon. Sa. have comparable passages, as in the case of the vision of Cyril of Alexandria,¹²⁰ which is significantly absent from Nicetas. In my view, the material and the wording of this part of the Anon. Vatop. attest to its close relationship to both the *Life* by Nicetas and the *Life* by the Anon. Sa., as a collation of the texts in question easily reveals. In fact, most of the material and the phraseology in the Anon. Vatop. is Nicetas' own, albeit in a shortened form, while passages encountered in the Anon. Sa. have also been included in the text of the Anon. Vatop. For example, ch. 63, 21-25 of the Anon. Vatop. is not in Nicetas but is found with some changes in the Anon. Sa., p. 365, 33-39. Though the Anon. Sa. used Nicetas, the Anon. Vatop., or rather its source, drew directly on Nicetas; e.g. at Anon. Vatop., ch. 65, 22-23, αὐτὸν δὲ σκότου, δίνης καὶ ἀπορίας πληρούμενον, the wording comes from Nicetas, ch. 66, f. 152^r, σκότους καὶ δίνης τὴν ὄψιν καὶ τὴν ψυχὴν ἐπὶ τούτοις ὁ Θεόφιλος πληρωθεῖς, not from the Anon. Sa., p. 368, 17-18, πρὸς τὴν ἐγκειμένην τούτοις φρίξας ἀπειλήν, τίνος οὐκ ἀθλιώτερος ὄρᾶται καὶ ταπεινώτερος;. Taking all of the available evidence into account, it can be argued that, in compiling this last part, the Anon. Vatop. used, on the one hand, Nicetas David via the lost *Life X* and, on the other, *Life X* again (rather than the Anon. Sa.) for the passages now surviving in the Anon. Sa., such as the vision of Cyril. Incidentally, one more source can be added, which the Anon. Vatop. used either directly or not, namely the anonymous Appendix to the recension of the *Life* by Theodore of Trimitheus, from which he copied, essentially *verbatim*, ch. 65, 30-39, Εὐθὺς – μὴν, on the fate of the protagonists, a passage that occurs in "Theodore" at ch. 33, pp. 37,28 - 38,5.

It should be noted that *Life X* did not take over characteristic personal comments of Nicetas, which are found in the Anon. Sa., but are absent from the other two texts. Such is the passage on the monastic habit mentioned earlier,¹²¹ which is absent from Symeon (the relevant part of the Anon. Vatop. is unpublished). On the other hand, Metaphrastes includes whole episodes and passages that are neither in Nicetas nor in the Anon. Vatop. but exist in the Anon.

¹¹⁹ See HALKIN, *Un appendice inédit* [as in n. 100], p. 21. For the recension of the *Life* by Theodore and its "Appendix on the Translation", see above, pp. 14-15 with notes 49 and 51.

¹²⁰ See VAN OMMESLAEGHE, *Une Vie acéphale* [as in n. 29], p. 323.

¹²¹ See above, p. 27. However, *Life X* apparently did borrow two basic points from Nicetas' proemium, which reappear in adapted form in Symeon (but are absent from the Anon. Sa.; cf. above, p. 28), namely the comparison of an author with a painter and the reference to the "middle way" (μέση ὁδός) that he will follow in his narration; see Metaphrastes 1045A15-B9; cf. Nicetas, ch. 1, f. 77^{r-v}. Nicetas' painters of royal portraits were replaced by painters of most beautiful models; thus, Nicetas' reference to his serving a royal command disappeared from Symeon and had probably disappeared already from *Life X*.

Sa.¹²² If he had taken them over from *Life X*, they would have left a trace in the Anon. Vatop. Since this is not the case (at least in the existing partial edition), they must have been absent from *Life X* as well. I would suggest that Symeon and the Anon. Sa. could have had access to a common source.

To sum up the results acquired here, Nicetas's work lay in the hands of two later tenth-century authors of Chrysostomic *Lives*, who used him extensively, namely the Anon. Sa. and the unknown author of the lost *Life X*, which was a principal source of the Anon. Vatop. and Metaphrastes. It has also become clear that Metaphrastes and the Anon. Vatop. profited from Nicetas' work only indirectly through *Life X*. Both the Anon. Sa. and the Anon. Vatop. exploited the homily on Chrysostom's life by Leo VI independently of each other. The Anon. Vatop., apart from Ps.-Martyrius and Leo VI, used "Theodore of Trimithous" as well (perhaps only indirectly), while he did not use the Anon. Sa. The Anon. Sa. has a very close relationship to *Life X*, but the direction of the dependence as well as the relationship of the Anon. Sa. to Metaphrastes for their common passages which are absent from Nicetas and the Anon. Vatop. need to be further investigated. To this purpose, a detailed and systematic study of the sources of the Anon. Sa. and of Symeon as well as a full publication and subsequent re-examination of the sources of the Anon. Vatop. are needed, this being a substantial task for the future. In this context, it should be noted that the use of multiple sources by an author should neither be surprising nor excluded *a priori* in case these have a dependency relationship among them. The aforementioned testimony of the Anon. Sa., according to which the author claims (most probably with some exaggeration) that he drew on all of the pre-existing texts known to him,¹²³ is characteristic of the compilatory method he and other authors of Chrysostomic *Lives* employed.

In conclusion, in the current investigation it became possible to go further than van Ommeslaeghe by revealing the part that Nicetas played in the hagiography of John Chrysostom. In the development of the hagiography in question Nicetas' role was seminal. His text was read, exercised influence and was exploited more widely than its unique surviving manuscript alone allows us to surmise. This diffusion took place in the tenth century, whereas the work was subsequently eclipsed by one of its descendants, the *Life* by Metaphrastes. Its publication provides a crucial, so far missing link in the hagiographical tradition on Chrysostom.

¹²² See, for example, Metaphrastes 1080D13-1081D3; cf. Anon. Sa., pp. 311,38 - 312,24. Also, Metaphrastes 1113B3-1116A8; cf. Anon. Sa., pp. 333,43 - 334,8 and pp. 331,7 - 332,26. The two authors use a similar, occasionally identical, language.

¹²³ See the passage quoted above, p. 25.

V. NICETAS DAVID ON MONASTIC HABIT AND TONSURE

One of the most interesting and intriguing passages of Nicetas' *Life* occurs at ch. 6, f. 86^{r-v}.¹²⁴ These lines form an excursus on monastic habit and include a critique of the unworthiness of some contemporary men who wore it. Brought into correlation with similar views expressed in other works of Nicetas, this passage also verifies the authenticity of the attribution of the *Life*, as will be shown below.

In the first part of the passage (Οὐ γὰρ – ὑπονενοήκασιν) Nicetas argues that John could not have worn the *koukoulion* (hood, cowl) and the *analabos* (cf. scapular), since these were said to have first been introduced in Egyptian monasticism by St Pachomios and had not yet been popular by John's time. The argument is thus based on the short time discrepancy between Pachomios' lifetime (he died in 346) and John's admission to the monastic status (after ca. 371), in conjunction with the geographic distance between Egypt and Syria. At the same time, Nicetas attacks those who thought otherwise, whom he does not name. He also inveighs in passing against those contemporaries who were unworthy of wearing the items under discussion, unfortunately without specifying whom he meant.

As regards Nicetas' assertion of the Pachomian origin of the *koukoulion* and the *analabos*,¹²⁵ the key-text of relevance here is a passage from the

¹²⁴ See f. 86^{r-v}, καὶ τὸν ὄντως ἀποστολικὸν καὶ ἄσκευον καὶ ἀπέριττον καὶ λιτόν, τῶν ἀληθῶς μονοτρόπων, ἡρετίσατο τρόπον. Οὐκ ἐν ὑποκρίσει, ἀλλ' ἐν ἀληθείᾳ, οὐδὲ σχήματι, ἀλλὰ πράγματι τὴν ταπεινῶσιν ἐπεδείκνυτο. Οὐ γὰρ τῷ λεγομένῳ κουκουλίῳ καὶ ἀναλάβῳ καθόπιστο πρὸς ἀντιπάρταξιν τοῦ ἐχθροῦ· οὐπω γὰρ ἐνεπλατύνθη τῷ κόσμῳ ταῦτα, διὰ τοῦ ὁσίου, φασί, Παχωμίου Αἰγυπτίου πρώτον παραδοθέντα καὶ ὑστέροις νῦν χρόνοις πέρα τοῦ δέοντος καὶ ἐπὶ τοὺς ἀναξίους πλατυνόμενα καὶ χυδαιούμενα. Οὐκ οὖν τούτοις ὁ μέγας Ἰωάννης ἐσχηματίζετο, κἄν τινες ἀλογίστως οὕτως ὑπονενοήκασιν, ἀλλὰ τῇ ἀποστολικῇ δηλονότι παραδόσει τοῦ τῶν μοναχῶν σχήματος ἐπόμενος – ὅσπερ δὴ καὶ ὁ μέγας Βασίλειος καὶ Ἀντώνιος καὶ πρὸ αὐτοῦ ὁ Θεβαΐος Παῦλος καὶ Ἰλαρίων καὶ οἱ τούτων πρεσβύτεροι καὶ ὁμόφρονες καὶ ὁμότροποι, τὴν ἀπλῆν αἰρούμενοι καὶ ἀσχημάτιστον καὶ ἀληθῶς ἐμφιλόσοφον καὶ ἀποίκιον ζωῆν, ἐν χρῶ μὲν ἀπεκείραντο εἰς ἔμφασιν τῆς τῶν βιωτικῶν ἐκτομῆς μεριμνῶν, ἡμειβον δὲ τὸ ἱμάτιον εἰς ἔνδειξιν ἐναργῆ τῆς τοῦ βίου παραλλαγῆς, ἐπετίθεντο δὲ καὶ παλλίον, σύμβολον οἴμαι τῆς περισκεπούσης τοῦ Θεοῦ σκέπης, ἃ δὴ σαφέστατα καὶ ὁ μέγας Διονύσιος τὴν ἀποστολικὴν περὶ τῶν μοναχῶν διαγορεύων ἐξέφηνε διάταξιν –, τούτῳ καὶ Ἰωάννης τῷ τρόπῳ σχηματισθεὶς καὶ τοῖς μονοτρόποις ἐκείνοις συντεταχῶς ἑαυτὸν, ...

¹²⁵ On the *koukoulion* and the *analabos*, see LAMPE's *Lexicon*, s.v., for several early patristic references. On the Byzantine monastic habit, see P. OPPENHEIM, *Das Mönchskleid in christlichen Altertum (Römische Quartalschrift für christliche Altertumskunde und für Kirchengeschichte, 28, Supplementheft)*, Freiburg i.B., 1931, esp. pp. 134-142 ("Superhumerales, Analabos und Scapulare") and 142-174 ("Kukullus und Kukulla"); also N. P. ŠEVČENKO, *Costume*, in *ODB I*, pp. 538-540, esp. 539 ("Monastic and Ecclesiastical Costume"); *Tunic*, in *ODB III*, pp. 2127-2128; *Himation* in *ODB II*, p. 932; and *Mandyas*, in *ODB II*, p. 1282. On the *analabos*, see in addition the relevant lemma in *Θρησκευτικὴ καὶ Ἠθικὴ*

Pachomian Precept 81 according to St Jerome's Latin translation: "This is their equipment: two linen tunics plus the one already worn, a long scarf for the neck and shoulders, a goat skin hanging from the shoulder, shoes, two hoods, a belt and a staff".¹²⁶ The respective text from the Greek Excerpts, "an adaptation of the pachomian rule to a monastic organization different from that of the pachomian monasteries",¹²⁷ runs as follows: ... παρεκτός τοῦ ἐνδύματος· ἄπερ εἰσὶν· δύο λεβητονάρια (λευϊτώνάρια PG) καὶ ἡμιτριβακὸν στρῶμα, δέρμα, μηλωτή, σανδάλια, κουκούλια δύο, ζώνη καὶ ῥάβδος.¹²⁸ Moreover, in his Preface to the Pachomian Rule, par. 4, Jerome notes: "They have nothing in their cells except a mat and what is listed here below; two *lebitonaria* (which is a kind of Egyptian garment without sleeves), and a third one, already worn, for sleeping and working, a linen mantle, two hoods, a goat skin which they call *melote*, a linen belt, and finally shoes and staff to go on journeys".¹²⁹ These texts agree on most items, among which are the two hoods. Of interest is also what Precept 81 calls a long scarf for the neck and shoulders (*sabano longiore, quod collo*

Ἐγκυκλοπαιδεία, 2 (1963), coll. 487-488 (P. PAPAΕVANGΕLOU). On the various forms and items of the Egyptian monastic habit, cf. the views of K. C. INNEMÉE, *Ecclesiastical Dress in the Medieval Near East (Studies in Textile and Costume History, 1)*, Leiden – New York – Köln, 1992, pp. 91-128, esp. 99-101, 106-108, 117-120 on the *koukoul(l)ion*, and 106-110, 124-127 on the *analabos*. See further, A. PΑPATHOMAS, *Fünfundzwanzig griechische Papyri aus den Sammlungen von Heidelberg, Wien und Kairo (P.Heid. VII) (Heidelberger Akademie der Wissenschaften, philosophisch-historische Klasse. Veröffentlichungen aus der Heidelberger Papyrus-Sammlung, N.F., 8)*, Heidelberg, 1996, pp. 181-182 on the papyrological evidence on the *koukoul(l)ion*; S. TORALLAS TOVAR, *The Terminology of Egyptian Monastic Garments*, in M. GRÜNBART – E. KISLINGER – A. MUTHESIUS – D. C. STATHAKOPOULOS (eds), *Material Culture and Well-Being in Byzantium (400-1453). Proceedings of the International Conference (Cambridge, 8-10 September 2001) (Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, philosophisch-historische Klasse. Denkschriften, 356)*, Wien, 2007, pp. 219-224, esp. 221-222 on the *koukoul(l)ion* and the *analabos*; and S. TOMEKOVIĆ, *Les saints ermites et moines dans la peinture murale byzantine (Byzantina Sorbonensia, 26)*, Paris, 2011, pp. 75-96, 110-121 (chapters on the "Habit monastique", esp. 111-117 on the "Principales sources écrites sur l'habit monastique").

¹²⁶ See the critical edition of the Latin text by A. BOON, *Pachomiana latina. Règle et épîtres de s. Pachôme, épître de s. Théodore et "Liber" de s. Orsiesius. Texte latin de s. Jérôme (Bibliothèque de la Revue d'histoire ecclésiastique, 7)*, Louvain, 1932, p. 37, 7-10; also, the English translation by A. VEILLEUX, *Pachomian Koinonia. The Lives, Rules, and Other Writings of Saint Pachomius and his Disciples II. Pachomian Chronicles and Rules, translated, with an introduction (Cistercian Studies Series, 46)*, Kalamazoo, Michigan, 1981, p. 160.

¹²⁷ See the introduction in VEILLEUX, *Pachomian Koinonia* [as in n. 126], p. 9.

¹²⁸ See PG 40, col. 952A; L.-T. LEFORT, *La règle de s. Pachôme (2e étude d'approche)*, in *Mus*, 37 (1924), pp. 1-28, esp. 17, ll. 8-15, series B; and again, L.-T. LEFORT, in BOON, *Pachomiana latina* [as in n. 126], pp. 169-182 ("Les 'Excerpta' grecs"), esp. 178, 10-16 of *Recensio B*.

¹²⁹ Latin text in BOON, *Pachomiana latina* [as in n. 126], p. 6, 7-12; English translation by VEILLEUX, *Pachomian Koinonia* [as in n. 126], p. 142.

umerisque circumdatur), Jerome's preface a linen mantle (*amictu lineo*), and the Greek excerpts a skin (δέρμα). These descriptions refer perhaps to the *analabos*, which was usually made of linen or skin and is clearly attested from the mid-fourth century.¹³⁰

A couple of other texts should also be mentioned here in possible justification of Nicetas' view concerning the two items in question. The Evagrian *Practicus* speaks of these garments when presenting the Egyptian monastic habit (of the areas of Nitria and the Scete in particular): τὸ συμβολικὸν σχῆμα τῶν ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ μοναχῶν ... Τὸ μὲν κουκούλιον ... Ὁ δὲ ἀνάλαβος πάλιν ὁ σταυροειδῶς τοῖς ὤμοις αὐτῶν περιπλεκόμενος.¹³¹ In his *Ecclesiastical History*, Sozomen provides another, similar description of the habit of the Egyptian monks, among whom he mentions Pachomios: ... καὶ Παχώμιος, ὃς ἀρχηγὸς ἐγένετο τῶν καλουμένων Ταβεννησιωτῶν. Σχῆμα δὲ τούτοις ἦν καὶ πολιτεία ἐν τισὶ παρηλλαγμένη τῆς ἄλλης μοναχικῆς, ... τὸ δὲ ἐπὶ τῆς κεφαλῆς σκέπασμα, ὃ κουκούλιον καλοῦσιν, ... ἀναβολεύς, ... ὃ δὲ τοὺς ὤμους καὶ τοὺς βραχίονας ἀνέχων.¹³²

A detailed picture of monastic habit which is comparable to and only a little earlier than the one that Nicetas provides has escaped attention so far. It is found in a work by Emperor Leo VI, Nicetas' old adversary and father of Constantine VII, the *Life's* commissioner. In his *Οἰακιστικὴ ψυχῶν ὑποτύπωσις* (chs. 38-44),¹³³ Leo analyzes the symbolic meaning of the various items worn by the monks, for which he gives both their current names and his own archaizing descriptions. These items include the *hypokamison* worn on the flesh and the *himation* worn atop it (or else ὁ κατὰ σάρκα καὶ ὑπερκείμενος χιτῶν, undershirt and tunic, ch. 39), the *koukoulion* (or περικεφαλαία and περιστέρνιον, ch. 40), the *analabos* (described as an

¹³⁰ See OPPENHEIM, *Das Mönchskleid* [as in n. 125], pp. 135-138; also *Θρησκευτικὴ καὶ Ἡθικὴ Ἐγκυκλοπαιδεία* 2 (1963), col. 487 [as in n. 125] and TOVAR, *Terminology* [as in n. 125], p. 222 on the materials of the *analabos*. These are all different items according to INNEMÉE, *Ecclesiastical Dress* [as in n. 125], pp. 99, 106; cf. also TOVAR, *Terminology*, p. 223 for views connecting Jerome's *sabanum* and *amictus* with the *maphorion*.

¹³¹ See *Prologus*, pp. 482, 2-3; 484, 8; 488, 29-30, ed. A. & C. GUILLAUMONT, *Évagre le Pontique, Traité pratique ou Le moine* II (SC, 171), Paris, 1971. On the various elements of the Egyptian monastic habit as described by Evagrius, see the commentary on the prologue of the work, *ibidem*, pp. 482-495, esp. 485-486 on the *koukoulion* and 488-489 on the *analabos*. For an English translation of the passages in question, see R. E. SINKEWICZ, *Evagrius of Pontus, The Greek Ascetic Corpus. Translation, Introduction, and Commentary* (Oxford Early Christian Studies), Oxford, 2003, pp. 95-96.

¹³² See *Ecclesiastical History* III, 14, 4-8, pp. 118,21 - 119,18, ed. J. BIDEZ in *Sozomène, Histoire ecclésiastique, Livres III-IV*. Texte grec de l'édition J. BIDEZ. Introduction et annotation par G. SABBAAH, traduction par A.-J. FESTUGIÈRE, revue par B. GRILLET (SC, 418), Paris, 1996; also, *ibidem*, pp. 118-119, n. 2 for a commentary on the *analabos*.

¹³³ Ed. A. PAPADOPOULOS-KERAMEUS, *Varia Graeca Sacra*, S.-Peterburg, 1909; repr. Leipzig, 1975, pp. 213-253, esp. 239-240.

αὐχένιος ἱμάς, ch. 41), the *loros* (or περιγᾶστριος δέρρις, ch. 42), the *mantion* (or ἐπώμιος πέπλος, mantle, ch. 43), and the *sandalia* (κρηπίδες, ch. 44). Unlike Nicetas, Leo does not mention the Pachomian origin of the *koukoulion* and *analabos* nor does he express any criticism of their use by unworthy men in his time.

Having exercised a double criticism, namely of certain unnamed contemporary monks who disgrace the *koukoulion* and the *analabos* they wear, and of those who believe that John wore these items, in the second part of the passage (ἀλλὰ τῆ ἀποστολικῆ to the end) Nicetas takes the opportunity to argue in favour of what he calls the “apostolic tradition of monastic habit”, which, according to him, John followed. It included tonsure, the change of garments, and the use of the *pallion* (i.e. *pallium*, *himation*, cloak, mantle).¹³⁴ In support of his view, Nicetas mentions SS Basil, Antony, Paul of Thebes and Hilarion as witnesses to such a tradition and also calls upon the testimony of Ps.-Denys the Areopagite.

Concerning the saints to whom Nicetas refers, the following can be noted. According to St Athanasius’ *Life* of St Antony, the saint wore a garment that was hairy on the interior and made of leather on the exterior (namely a *cilicium*). He also possessed two *melotes* (goat skins) and a *himation* on which he slept.¹³⁵ It is this latter garment, which had been presented to Antony by Athanasius, that is implied here.¹³⁶

Jerome’s *Life* of St Paul of Thebes¹³⁷ informs us that the hermit asked St Antony to bring him the aforementioned *pallion* that Athanasius had given Antony, in order to serve as Paul’s shroud (12, 4, p. 168, τὴν στολὴν ἣν σοι Ἀθανάσιος ὁ ἐπίσκοπος ἐδωρήσατο, πρὸς ἐντυλιγμὸν τοῦ σώματός μου ἐπικόμισαι).

Furthermore, Jerome’s *Life* of St Hilarion¹³⁸ speaks of his change of habit, which was modelled on St Antony’s (3, 2, p. 313, ἰδὼν αὐτόν [sc. Antony], εὐθὺς μεταλλάξας τὸ σχῆμα; 10, 2-3, p. 315, σάκκον τε ἄπαξ ὄν ἐνεδύσατο

¹³⁴ On the *pallion*, see OPPENHEIM, *Das Mönchskleid* [as in n. 125], pp. 104-119 (“Das Pallium”); ODB II, p. 932 (*Himation*; see above, n. 112); INNEMÉE, *Ecclesiastical Dress* [as in n. 125], p. 128. It should be noted that the Pachomian monks were not allowed to wear the *pallion*; see the Pachomian Precept 81 (*non pallium*), p. 37, 3; cf. Precept 128, p. 47, 7-8, BOON [as in n. 126]; OPPENHEIM, *Das Mönchskleid* [as in n. 125], pp. 105-106.

¹³⁵ BHG 140; CPG 2101; ed. G. J. M. BARTELINK, *Athanase d’Alexandrie, Vie d’Antoine* (SC, 400), Paris, 1994; see esp. 47, 2, 6-7, p. 262; cf. 91, 9, 42, p. 370, τρίχινον ἔνδυμα for the first garment; 91, 8-9, 38, 41, p. 370 for the second; and 91, 8, 39, p. 370 for the third.

¹³⁶ On this point, see OPPENHEIM, *Das Mönchskleid* [as in n. 125], p. 105.

¹³⁷ BHG 1466; ed. K. TUBBS COREY, *The Greek Versions of Jerome’s Vita Sancti Pauli*, in W. A. OLDFATHER, *Studies in the Text Tradition of St Jerome’s Vitae Patrum*, Urbana, 1943, pp. 158-172; see OPPENHEIM, *Das Mönchskleid* [as in n. 125], pp. 104-105.

¹³⁸ BHG 751z; ed. R. FRENCH STROUT, *The Greek Versions of Jerome’s Vita Sancti Hilari-onis*, in OLDFATHER, *Studies* [as in n. 137], pp. 312-332.

... ἐν κιλικίῳ ... χιτῶνα), and of his cutting off his hair every Easter (10, 1, p. 315, Τὴν κόμην ἅπαξ τοῦ ἐνιαυτοῦ ἐν ἡμέρᾳ τοῦ Πάσχα ἔκειρε). At the time of his death, Hilarion had a *cilicium*, a *koukoulion* and a *pallion* (44, 1, p. 331, τὸν χιτῶνα τὸν σάκκινον, τό τε κουκούλλιον καὶ τὸ χλαμύδιον). The mention of the hood proves Nicetas wrong in this case, given that according to him this piece of garment would have been unknown to Hilarion.

As for the reference to St Basil, it probably concerns his monastic rules, where he mentions the tunics, belt, shoes, and *himation*;¹³⁹ it is the latter item that is of relevance here.

Finally, Ps.-Denys the Areopagite speaks in general terms of the exchange of clothing (ἐσθῆς πᾶσα) at tonsure,^{139a} without mentioning the *pallion* or any other garment by name. Therefore, Nicetas wrongly makes a case for the *pallion* by calling on Ps.-Denys' authority on monastic habit. He also proceeds to his own symbolic interpretation of it (οἶμαι). Furthermore, Nicetas speaks of the apostolic tradition on monastic habit (τῆ ἀποστολικῆ – σχήματος), whereas a little later he refers to an apostolic constitution concerning the monks (τὴν ἀποστολικὴν – διάταξιν). In both these cases, just like at f. 85^v,¹⁴⁰ Nicetas appears to be using the term “apostolic” in a rather broad sense, without making a specific reference to the New Testament or the rules attributed to the Apostles. In fact, he probably implies that the supposed closeness of Ps.-Denys to St Paul lends apostolic origins or at least approval to his writings, including the passage on the subject under consideration. In any case, Nicetas follows in a long tradition whereby the Apostles together with certain Old Testament prophets and John the Baptist were considered as predecessors of the monks in general and with regard to their clothing in particular.¹⁴¹ Oppenheim has provided the relevant Greek and Latin references, among which particularly pertinent is a passage from John Chrysostom: Οὐ γὰρ δὴ κατὰ τοὺς ἐλκεχίτωνας καὶ ἐκνευρισμένους καὶ διακλωμένους εἰσὶν ἐστολισμένοι (sc. the monks)· ἀλλὰ κατὰ τοὺς μακαρίους ἐκείνους ἀγγέλους, τὸν Ἥλιαν, τὸν Ἐλισσαῖον, τὸν Ἰωάννην, κατὰ τοὺς ἀποστόλους· τῶν ἱματίων κατεσκευασμένων αὐτοῖς, τοῖς μὲν ἀπὸ τριχῶν αἰγῶν, τοῖς δὲ ἀπὸ τριχῶν καμήλων· εἰσὶ δὲ οἷς καὶ δέρματα ἤρκεσε μόνον, καὶ ταῦτα πάλαι πεπονηκότα.¹⁴²

Nicetas does not inveigh against monastic habit in general. He accepts the change of clothing, grounded on an “apostolic” tradition, but expresses reservations about the use of two particular items. Therefore, at f. 86^v, the word *schema* refers twice to the “apostolic” monastic habit in general (τοῦ τῶν

¹³⁹ *Regulae brevius tractatae* (CPG 2875.1), no. 50, PG 31, 1056, 57; 1116, 40.

^{139a} *De eccl. hier.*, 6, Μυστήριον, p. 117, 12-13, HEIL [as in n. 144].

¹⁴⁰ For the text see n. 146 below.

¹⁴¹ See OPPENHEIM, *Das Mönchskleid* [as in n. 125], pp. 238-246.

¹⁴² *In Mt.*, Hom. 68, 3, PG 58, 644, 27-34.

μοναχῶν σχήματος and σχηματισθείς), whereas twice (σχήματι and ἐσχηματίζετο) it seems to be focused on the *analabos* and the *koukoulion*.¹⁴³ The word-play between the monastic *schema* and the ἀσχημάτιστος monastic life according to Ps.-Denys, meaning “unpretentious, simple”,¹⁴⁴ is noteworthy.

An interesting, though coincidental, quasi-parallel to Nicetas’ views on the authentic monastic appearance is encountered in the Latin world of ca. 400, where Paulinus of Nola considered the monks wearing the *pallium/sagulum*, *cilicium* and *cingulum* and having the correct tonsure as the real ones (Epistle 22, 2).¹⁴⁵

Finally, it is worth noting that Nicetas mentions a double tonsure of John, first as a lector (f. 85^v), then as a monk (f. 86^{r-v}).¹⁴⁶ George of Alexandria does not mention tonsure in either case, so this must be an inference made by Nicetas. Regarding the former tonsure in particular, the author speaks of the relevant “apostolic tradition”, which does not seem to be that old however: St Euthymios the Great is said to have been tonsured as a reader in Melitene ca. 379, a piece of information found in the sixth-century *Life* by Cyril of Scythopolis (p. 10, 20-21, τὸν μὲν παῖδα δεξάμενος ἐβάπτισεν καὶ ἀποθρίξας ἀναγνώστην τῆς ὑπ’ αὐτὸν ἐκκλησίας ἐποίησεν).¹⁴⁷ As for cutting the hair of the monks, it is already mentioned in Precept no. 97 of St Pachomios.¹⁴⁸

VI. THE *LIFE* AND NICETAS DAVID’S *ENCOMIUM* OF CHRYSOSTOM

Apart from the *Life* of John Chrysostom, Nicetas David composed an *Encomium* of the saint.¹⁴⁹ The relationship of the two texts will be examined

¹⁴³ See OPPENHEIM, *Das Mönchskleid* [as in n. 125], pp. 135-136 for the possibility of the double meaning of the word *schema*, which mostly denotes the whole of the monastic garment, but it can also refer to the *analabos*; also TOVAR, *Terminology* [as in n. 125], p. 222.

¹⁴⁴ See LAMPE’s *Lexicon*, s.v., 3. For ἀσχημάτιστον ... ζώην the reference is Pseudo-Dionysius Areopagita, *De eccl. hier.*, 6, Θεωρία 3, p. 118, 8, ed. G. HEIL, in G. HEIL – A. M. RITTER, *Corpus Dionysiacum II. Pseudo-Dionysius Areopagita. De coelesti hierarchia, De ecclesiastica hierarchia, De mystica theologia, Epistulae* (PTS, 36), Berlin – New York, 1991 (PTS, 67, 2012²).

¹⁴⁵ See *Sancti Pontii Meropii Paulini Nolani Epistulae*, ed. G. DE HARTEL. Editio altera supplementis aucta curante M. KAMPTNER (CSEL, 29), Wien, 1999, p. 155, ll. 11-16. The passage is noted by OPPENHEIM, *Das Mönchskleid* [as in n. 125], p. 193.

¹⁴⁶ F. 85^v, “Ἦδη δὲ καὶ τὴν τοῦ ἀναγνώστου χειροτονίαν καταδεξάμενος καὶ σχήματι στεφανίτου κατὰ τὴν ἀποστολικὴν παράδοσιν τὰς τρίχας ἀποκειράμενος. For the passage at f. 86^{r-v}, see above, n. 124 (ἐν χρῶ – μεριμνῶν and τούτῳ καὶ – σχηματισθείς).

¹⁴⁷ BHG 648; ed. E. SCHWARTZ, *Kyrrillos von Skythopolis* (TU, 49.2), Leipzig, 1939.

¹⁴⁸ See p. 40, 8, BOON [as in n. 126]; also A.-M. TALBOT – A. KAZHDAN, *Tonsure*, in ODB III, pp. 2093-2094, with literature.

¹⁴⁹ BHG 881c; ed. K. DYOBOUNOTIS, *Νικήτα Παφλαγόνοσ ἀνέκδοτον ἐγκώμιον εἰς Ἰωάννην τὸν Χρυσόστομον*, in *Θεολογία*, 12 (1934), pp. 51-68, esp. 53-68. The edition is not without some problems, especially concerning the division of sentences.

in this chapter. To this purpose, the contents of the *Encomium* will be briefly presented first.

The author states *in extenso* his intention to compose an *Encomium* of John, which will in essence be a praise of God's grace (this is a pun on the saint's name)¹⁵⁰ and, therefore, of God Himself through His works as exemplified in His children. The *Encomium* will be based not on the external features of the hero's life but on his virtues. Others have dealt with his origins and education, whereas Nicetas admires the dignity of his words, the piety of his life, his other wondrous feats and, finally, his sorrows and death (p. 54). For this reason, the author cursorily mentions John's parents, city of origin and education, leaving it to others to deal with these issues in detail, while he hopes to do the same in the future. For the time being, he will demonstrate that John was a son and inheritor of God, a brother and co-inheritor of Christ (cf. Rom. 8, 17) through the purest imitation and in the spirit of sanctity (cf. Rom. 1, 4) (p. 55). The *Encomium* develops in the most abstract way and uses a very rhetorical language, full of metaphors and comparisons.¹⁵¹ It speaks of John's spiritual parents (God and the Church) and city of origin (the heavenly Jerusalem), makes a first parallelism of him with Christ, and presents the spiritual significance of his baptism (p. 56). It proceeds to the praise of his dedication to prayer and fasting, and of his tranquillity (*ἀπάθεια*) *vis-à-vis* the temptations of pleasure (*φιληδονία*, which includes gluttony/*γαστριμαργία*), money (*φιλαργυρία*) and glory (*φιλοδοξία*). Such praise is probably a covered reference to John's time as a monk, given that the *Encomium* generally adheres to a chronological sequence of the events in his life. Subsequently, Nicetas focuses on John's study and exegesis of the Scriptures, his ordination as a priest (pp. 57-58), his preaching activity, struggle against heresies, and theological and moral teaching. He also insists on John's influence on all three parts of the soul of his people (pp. 59-61). The reference to Chrysostom's election to the Constantinopolitan throne is followed by the discreet presentation of his miracles, mostly interpreted on the spiritual level, his struggle against sin, and the parallelism of John with Christ in His Transfiguration (pp. 62-63). The archbishop's first exile and return lead to a parallelism with Christ's Entry into Jerusalem, while his subsequent preaching is compared with the whip of cords that Jesus used in the Temple (Ioh. 2, 16). John's story unravels in yet another parallelism with the various episodes of Christ's passion. For this reason, in the *Encomium*, the synod (of the Oak) which condemned John

¹⁵⁰ On the Hebrew name Ἰωάννης being explained as Θεοῦ χάρις, see, for example, the references in LAMPE's *Lexicon*, s.v., A1.

¹⁵¹ Cf. ANTONOPOULOU, *Homilies of Leo VI* [as in n. 12], p. 125.

is silently placed before his second exile instead of before the first, just as the trial of Jesus led to His death sentence. John's clerical opponents and the empress are mentioned in passing (pp. 64-65). There follow the second exile, the continuous maltreatment of John, and his death, which contrary to his enemies' folly, resulted in his reward in heaven (p. 66). The *Encomium* concludes in the traditional way with a series of parallelisms: first with Christ's passion (again), resurrection, ascension, and Second Coming, where John will assume the role of a judge; secondly with John the Baptist; and finally with the Apostles (p. 67). Another reference to John's homilies and exegesis of the Scriptures together with the final prayer conclude the *Encomium* (p. 68).

In the final prayer Nicetas prays for, among other things, true and continuous peace in the Church, the abolishment of lawlessness and impiety, and the prevalence of justice and piety in it. Moreover, he prays for the emperors to be victorious against the enemies, as well as blessed, merry, glorious and majestic. This evidence suggests a dating of the work to shortly after 920, the year of the promulgation of the *Tomus Unionis*, which brought to an end the schism caused by the Tetragamy affair, namely by the fourth marriage of Emperor Leo VI the Wise. The reference to more than one emperor fits well the time of Romanos I Lekapenos, whereas the couple of months between Constantine VII's independent rule (which began on 27 January 945) and the crowning of his son Romanos II as co-emperor (on 6 April 945) do not come into question. The composition of the *Encomium* in the following few years cannot be ruled out, yet it appears less probable on account of the final prayer.

The dating of the *Encomium* is important for the dating of the *Life* as well, since the *Encomium* makes it clear that it preceded the composition of the *Life*. In particular, as mentioned above when presenting the contents of the *Encomium*, the author states that he will not deal with John's youth, since at an opportune moment he will hopefully expound on it in another work of his, which will narrate "the whole life of the great bishop from beginning to end" (p. 55, ἄλλοι, καθάπερ ἔφθην εἰπών, φιλοσοφείτωσαν [sc. on his origins and education] καὶ ἡμεῖς δὲ τούτοις εὐκαίρως συμφιλοσοφήσειν πᾶσαν τοῦ μεγάλου ἀρχιερέως τὴν ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἄχρι τέλους βίωσιν ἠλπίκαμεν ἱστορικώτερόν τε καὶ ἀκριβέστερον ἢ λεπτομερέστερον). He obviously lived up to his promise by composing, at the behest of Constantine VII, the *Life* edited here, which explicitly states that it concerns the whole of Chrysostom's life (ch. 70, f. 154^v, αὕτη τοῦ Χρυσοστόμου ἡ ἀπ' ἀρχῆς καὶ ἄχρι τέλους βίωσις ἐπὶ γῆς καὶ πολιτεία).

The author is clearly conscious of the different genres to which his two works belong. The *Encomium* is repeatedly called a "praise" (p. 54,

εὐφημίαν ... ἔπαινον). The narration (*diegesis*) and systematic treatment (*philosophia*) of John's origins and youth, Nicetas says, is the subject of other authors, who have already composed works dealing in detail with these "minor issues": Ταῦτα μὲν ἄλλοι διηγείσθωσαν καὶ φιλοσοφείτωσαν· καὶ γὰρ πεφιλοσοφήκασί γε ἤδη διεξοδικῶς τε καὶ φιλοτίμως, οἷς σχολὴ τὰ ἐλάττω τῶν ἐκείνου καταριθμεῖν. On the other hand, he himself is concerned with the admiration of the saint, his feats, sorrows and death: Ἔμοι δὲ θαυμάζειν ἔπεισι τὸ περὶ τὸν λόγον εὐτονον καὶ εὐπρεπές, τὸ περὶ τὸν βίον ἔνθεον καὶ εὐσεβές, τὸ κατ' ἄμφω τέλειον, ... τὸ τῶν λοιπῶν θαυμασιῶν πλῆθος καὶ μέγεθος ... διώξιν τε καὶ θλίψεις καὶ θάνατον ... (p. 54).¹⁵² Once again Nicetas clarifies that his analysis will not be elaborated on the basis of mere stories, but will solemnly feature comparisons of John with evangelical models, which will show his imitation of Jesus, to the extent that this is possible: Ταῦτά μοί γε τῷ λόγῳ φιλοσοφητέον, φιλοσοφητέον δὲ οὐ ψιλοῖς διηγήμασιν ἐγκαλλωπιζομένῳ, εὐαγγελικοῖς δ' ὁμοιώμασι σεμνυνομένῳ καὶ πρὸς τὴν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ μίμησιν κατὰ δύναμιν τὸν ἐγκωμιαζόμενον ἀφομοιοῦντι (*ibidem*). This announcement materializes indeed in the parallelisms between various episodes in John's and Christ's life as well as in those between John and other New Testament figures.¹⁵³ Such parallelisms constitute a *topos* in encomiastic literature.

Nicetas juxtaposes narration and laudation once more, when a little later he states that the character of the future *Life* will be "more historical and more precise or rather more detailed" than that of the *Encomium* (see the passage at p. 55 quoted above).¹⁵⁴ The desired features apply to the *Life*, which is a linear narration of events and contains many details that lend it a historical-biographical character. What is more, in the *Life* itself (1, f. 77^r, διήγησιν ... ἀνατάξασθαι) Nicetas employs a well-known phrase of the Evangelist Luke (1, 1) to describe it as a narrative. He also speaks of the sequence of events in John's life, which has been temporarily interrupted by a section on the hero's miracles (chs. 8-12), but will be taken up again after the author has added one more miracle to the narrative (ch. 13, f. 91^r, Ἐτερον δὲ πρὸς τοῖς εἰρημένοις θαυμάσιον τῷ διηγήματι προσθέντες, ἐπὶ τὴν τοῦ βίου χωρήσομεν ἀκολουθίαν). It should be underlined that Nicetas' use of the terms *diegesis* and *diegema* follows in a long tradition

¹⁵² See above, p. 45.

¹⁵³ Briefly noted above, pp. 45-46.

¹⁵⁴ See above, p. 46. Dyobouniotis was certainly wrong, when in interpreting this passage he argued that Nicetas, "following the manner of preaching prevalent at his time, believed that by omitting the details his own preaching became more historical and precise" (p. 52). This misunderstanding must have resulted from his not being aware of the existence of the *Life*.

of their employment in Greek hagiographical works going back to the Early Byzantine period.¹⁵⁵

By contrast with the *Life*, in the *Encomium* Nicetas mentions the various episodes briefly, sometimes only alluding to events, while avoiding concrete details. For example, John's parents, the empress, and his opponents are not named once. Antioch and Constantinople are the only place names explicitly mentioned. John's works, apart from the exegeses of the Scriptures, are only implied (more clearly so the *De Sacerdotio* and the *De incomprehensibili Dei natura*),¹⁵⁶ contrary to the *Life*, where several of his works are named.¹⁵⁷ It is noteworthy that the wrong temporal placement of the Synod of the Oak is not the only case where Nicetas somewhat confuses his data, albeit with good excuse, as explained above. When presenting John's theological thought he mentions that the saint propagated the two wills and natures of Christ (p. 59), a subject of later Christological controversies. The latter two points do not reappear in the *Life*. In addition, although various comments of Nicetas on the narrated events are encountered in the *Life*, the *Encomium* presents an analysis that is deeper than in the later work, symbolical and on a more theoretical and abstract level.

Like Nicetas, Cosmas Vestitor, a probable ninth-century homilist,¹⁵⁸ also composed a *Life* and two *Encomia* of John Chrysostom apart from the more well-known five orations on the translation of his relics.¹⁵⁹ In the manuscripts the *Life*, which deals with the events of John's life, is entitled Βίος καὶ πολιτεία καὶ ἀγὼν καὶ μετάστασις; on the other hand, the single published and highly rhetorical *Encomium* bears the title Ἐγκώμιον εἰς τὸν ἐν ἁγίοις πατέρα ἡμῶν καὶ διαπρύσιον τῆς οἰκουμένης διδάσκαλον Ἰωάννην τὸν Χρυσόστομον. Like both of these authors, their fellow medieval Greek authors, as well as the scribes of manuscripts, were usually conscious of the difference between the various hagiographical genres and

¹⁵⁵ On the terms *diegesis* and *diegema* in early hagiographical works, their meaning and non-Christian roots, see C. RAPP, *Storytelling as Spiritual Communication in Early Greek Hagiography: The Use of Diegesis*, in *Journal of Early Christian Studies*, 6 (1998), pp. 431-448, esp. 436-439, on their application to *Vitae*, and 445-446, on the beginning of the Gospel of Luke.

¹⁵⁶ On these two works, see *Encomium*, pp. 59 and 61 respectively.

¹⁵⁷ Cf., e.g. above, ch. III, cases b-c.

¹⁵⁸ See above, n. 61.

¹⁵⁹ *Life*: BHG 876m; CPG 8147; ed. HALKIN, *Douze récits* [as in n. 8], pp. 429-442; *Encomium*: BHG 880a-b; CPG 8148; ed. K. I. DYOBOUNOTIS, *Κοσμῷ Βεστίτωρος ἀνέκδοτον ἐγκώμιον εἰς Ἰωάννην τὸν Χρυσόστομον*, in *EEBS*, 16 (1940), pp. 148-155, esp. 151-155; cf. ANTONOPOULOU, *Homilies of Leo VI* [as in n. 12], p. 125. The second *Encomium* is unpublished; see BHG 880c; CPG 8149. For the five orations on the translation of John's relics, see BHG 877v-878a; CPG 8142-8146; cf. also, BHG 880d; CPG 8150 for an unpublished oration on John's exile.

designated their works accordingly. It has been noted that a *Life* would be called βίος καὶ πολιτεία, whereas for the laudation of a saint the term ἐγκώμιον was used.¹⁶⁰ Moreover, an *encomium* could be characterized as a λόγος,¹⁶¹ a term that was also applied to festive sermons in general.¹⁶²

It should be borne in mind, however, that, in essence, the distinction of these two genres was in general far from sharp. An *encomium* contained more or less explicit or extended references to the life of the saint, while a *Life* was not always devoid of encomiastic elements, which could be employed to a varying degree. This is the case with Nicetas' works too. On the one hand, as explained above, the main part of his *Encomium* is structured chronologically following the main events of the hero's life, which the author mentions or alludes to. On the other, the *Life* has a long rhetorical prologue (ch. 1), partly focused on the *topoi* of the willingness of the author to write on the life of the saint, his inadequacy in relation to the magnitude of the subject, and his obedience to a superior order. There is also a short rhetorical epilogue (ch. 70), while encomiastic and rhetorical elements are scattered throughout the main text, including, most notably, metaphors, comparisons and rhetorical paragraphs introducing sections of the *Life*.¹⁶³ Nicetas himself speaks of the middle way that he will follow (ch. 1, f. 77^v, τὴν μέσῃν ἰόντες ὁδόν) in comparison to his predecessors, which not only refers to the length of his work but also includes his decision not to altogether leave out the praise of his subject when relating the noteworthy events in John's story (*ibidem*, οὐτέ τι τῶν ἀξίων μνήμης ... παρήσομεν οὔτε τῶν κατὰ τὸ ἐφικτὸν ἐπαίνων ... ἐπιλησόμεθα).

It is worth mentioning here that the boundaries between a *Life* and an *encomium* could be considered to be so vague that sometimes the result was actually described as a *vita-cum-encomio*. The designation of a number of texts of the ninth century onwards as βίος μετ' ἐγκωμίου and the like (such as βίος σὺν ἐγκωμίῳ or βίος ἐγκωμίῳ συμπλεκόμενος) occurs in the

¹⁶⁰ See A. EHRHARD's presentation in KRUMBACHER, *Geschichte der byzantinischen Literatur*, p. 181; cf. E. SCHIFFER, *Aussagen byzantinischer hagiographischer Autoren zur rhetorischen Theorie über die Abfassung von Enkomien*, in W. KOFLER – K. TÖCHTERLE (eds), *Pontes III. Die antike Rhetorik in der europäischen Geistesgeschichte (Comparanda. Literaturwissenschaftliche Studien zu Antike und Moderne)*, 6), Innsbruck – Wien – Bozen, 2005, pp. 92-102, esp. 92-94.

¹⁶¹ See HINTERBERGER, *Byzantinische biographische Literatur* [as in n. 32], pp. 59-60, who also offers a useful brief presentation of *Lives* and *encomia* as well as other hagiographical genres.

¹⁶² See ANTONOPOULOU, *Homilies of Leo VI* [as in n. 12], p. 49 (with n. 85; note that *Homily 14* is an ἐπιτάφιος λόγος, i.e. a funeral oration), regarding the manuscript designation of the *Homilies* of Leo VI (*logoi*, *encomia* and *homilies*).

¹⁶³ See above, p. 13.

manuscripts, the terms being applied to works of a mixed genre, which combined the narration of the life of a saint with the panegyric.¹⁶⁴

In the light of what was noted above, H. Delehaye cannot be blamed for suggesting that “without doubt, in hagiography, there is no substantial difference between the history and the panegyric of a saint”.¹⁶⁵ Nonetheless, the same expert scholar did not refrain from investigating the special characteristics of the encomia,¹⁶⁶ while the authors of panegyrics themselves repeatedly refer, directly or indirectly, to the “encomiastic laws”, which they either followed or, like Nicetas, pretended not to follow.¹⁶⁷ The relevant prescriptions eventually went back to Menander Rhetor, but the authors mainly used the previous ecclesiastical orations as their models, among which the most famous were the funeral orations by Gregory of Nazianzus and Gregory of Nyssa. Two examples from the literature on Chrysostom will demonstrate the consciousness of medieval authors and critics with regard to the “encomiastic laws” and at the same time the flowing borders of the encomium. In his *Bibliotheca* (cod. 273), Photius reports on Theodoret of Cyrrhus’ five lost homilies on John Chrysostom, which he calls

¹⁶⁴ While referring to the hagiographical works on Theophanes the Confessor, K. Krumbacher rightly noted that under the general description of “Saints’ Lives”, one must discern between a) narrative biographies, which are full of details, b) Lives-with-encomia, with a prominent rhetorical-catechetical character, which narrate the most important facts of the saint’s life, and c) encomia proper, which generally avoid concrete facts and due to their strong rhetorical style come close to hymns; see K. KRUMBACHER, *Ein Dithyrambus auf den Chronisten Theophanes*, in *Sitzungsberichte der philosophisch-philologische und historische Classe der Königlich Bayerische Akademie der Wissenschaften*, 4 (1896), pp. 583-625, esp. 596-597 and 586 (on the βίος σὺν ἐγκωμίῳ); see also D. KRAUSMÜLLER, *Metaphrasis after the Second Iconoclasm. Nicephorus Skeuophylax and his Encomia of Theophanes Confessor (BHG 1790), Theodore of Sykeon (BHG 1749), and George the Martyr (BHG 682)*, in *Symbolae Osloenses*, 78 (2003), pp. 45-70, esp. 58-59; M. VINSON, *Rhetoric and Writing Strategies in the Ninth Century*, in E. JEFFREYS (ed.), *Rhetoric in Byzantium. Papers from the Thirty-fifth Spring Symposium of Byzantine Studies, Exeter College, University of Oxford, March 2001*, Aldershot, 2003, pp. 9-22, esp. 18; and HINTERBERGER, *Byzantinische biographische Literatur* [as in n. 32], p. 62. Cf. A. VOGT, *Vie de S. Luc le Stylite*, in *AB*, 28 (1909), pp. 5-56, esp. 7: “a Life in the form of a panegyric, like many other pious biographies of this period”.

¹⁶⁵ H. DELEHAYE, *Mélanges d’hagiographie grecque et latine* (SH, 42), Bruxelles, 1966, p. 125: “sans doute, en hagiographie, il n’y a pas de différence substantielle entre l’histoire et le panégyrique de saint”.

¹⁶⁶ H. DELEHAYE, *Les passions des martyrs et les genres littéraires* (SH, 13b), Bruxelles, 1966², pp. 133-169 (“Les panégyriques”). For the distinction between the two genres, see recently HINTERBERGER, *Byzantinische biographische Literatur* [as in n. 32], pp. 61-62.

¹⁶⁷ A prominent example of an older contemporary of Nicetas who referred to the (inadequacy of the) “encomiastic laws” in his encomia of saints was Leo VI; see his *Homilies* 9, l. 42, p. 126; 14, l. 97, p. 198; 21, l. 75, p. 281; 24, l. 35, p. 324; 27, l. 60, p. 373; 38, l. 35, p. 482, ANTONOPOULOU [as in n. 1]; cf. ANTONOPOULOU, *Homilies of Leo VI* [as in n. 12], pp. 120, 121-122 (*Hom.* 21), 123 (*Hom.* 38), 129, 131 (*Hom.* 27), 132 (*Hom.* 17), 139-140 (*Hom.* 24), 152 (*Hom.* 9), 246-247 (*Hom.* 14). See also VINSON, *Rhetoric and Writing Strategies* [as in n. 164], pp. 13-22; and SCHIFFER, *Aussagen* [as in n. 160], pp. 96-100.

logoi.¹⁶⁸ The first focused on John's story, and Photius applies the term ἱστορῶν to it (l. 29). The others were fully fledged encomia. The second oration in particular is said to have, like the first, followed the encomiastic laws, but its language and meanings were more polished: Ὁ δὲ μετὰ τοῦτον ἐγκωμίων μὲν καὶ αὐτὸς ὑπέρχεται νόμους, διαφέρει δὲ τῶν πρὸ αὐτοῦ τῇ καλλονῇ τῶν τε ῥημάτων καὶ τῶν νοημάτων (ll. 33-35). The second example is the recension of Theodore of Trimitous' *Life of Chrysostom*, the Appendix to which was recognized above as a source of Nicetas' *Life*.¹⁶⁹ The work bears the title ὁμιλία ἐν συντόμῳ. Its editor, François Halkin, rightly noted that this "abbreviated homily" is curiously a long text that relates the life of Chrysostom with nothing rhetorical about it except the prologue and the conclusion.¹⁷⁰ It appears that the rhetorical framing of the narration and the address to an audience¹⁷¹ were adequate for this particular author or scribe to consider the work different from a sheer *Life*.

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SUMMARY

The present study offers a detailed introduction to the unedited *Life* of St John Chrysostom by Nicetas David the Paphlagonian, the *editio princeps* of which is forthcoming. The following issues are dealt with: the date and structure of the work, its main sources, namely George of Alexandria and the Appendix to a recension of Theodore of Trimitous' *Life of Chrysostom*, its divergences from George's text, the identification of some secondary sources, the relationship of the *Life* to other tenth-century Chrysostomic *Lives*, the author's views on monastic habit and tonsure, and the relationship of the *Life* with the same author's *Encomium* of Chrysostom.

¹⁶⁸ R. HENRY, *Photius, Bibliothèque*, VIII (*Les Belles Lettres, Collection Byzantine*), Paris, 1977, 106-111, esp. 507b 16; *BHG* 878t-x; *CPG* 6225.

¹⁶⁹ See pp. 14-17.

¹⁷⁰ HALKIN, *Douze récits* [as in n. 8], p. 8, n. 1.

¹⁷¹ See ch. 1, p. 8, 7, HALKIN [as in n. 49], Ἀγαπητοί.

ARETHAS OF CAESAREA AND THE SCHOLIA
ON PHILOSTRATUS' *VITA APOLLONII* IN
CODEX LAURENTIANUS PLUTEUS 69.33*

C. L. Kayser included over three hundred scholia among the “Notae in Philostrati libros de Tyanensi Apollonio” and “Corrigenda et addenda” that follow his 1844 edition of *Tὰ ἐς τὸν Τυανέα Ἀπολλώνιον* or *Vita Apollonii* (hereafter *VA*).¹ Kayser had knowledge of seventeen codices, but he collected scholia from only four: 1. *Firenze, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Pluteus* 69.33, saec. X (**F**); 2. *Leiden, Universiteitsbibliotheek, BPG* 73 D, saec. XIV (**L**); 3. *Firenze, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Conventi Sopresi* 155, saec. XIV (**S**); and 4. *Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, gr.* 1801, saec. XIV (Kayser’s **π**, Boter’s **A**).² The notes in these manuscripts range from single-word glosses to marginal digressions of some length on grammar and syntax, classical authors, antiquarian interests, and geography. With the exception of a number of glosses that are unique to **A**, most of the scholia appear in the margins of **F**, and many of these later found their way

* I wish to express my gratitude to Dr. Niels Gaul and Dr. Gerard Boter for their many helpful comments and suggestions.

¹ C. L. KAYSER, *Flavii Philostrati quae supersunt. Philostrati junioris Imagines, Callistrati Descriptiones*, Zürich, 1844, pp. 177-198, 79*-80*. Just over quarter of a century prior to the publication of KAYSER’s *editio maior*, G. J. BEKKER edited and published scholia from the margins of the “Schellershemianus” – that is, *Laurentianus Conv. Soppr.* 155 (**S**), which ends abruptly at κἀργόθεν in *VA* VIII.16 – in an appendix titled “Scholia codicis Schellershemiani in Philostrati Vitae Apollonii septem libros priores”, in *Specimen variarum lectionum et observationum in Philostrati Vitae Apollonii librum primum*, Heidelberg, 1818, pp. 109-130.

² Detailed descriptions of the surviving manuscripts and excerpts and their stemmatic relationships are given by E. CRISCI, *Ricerche sulla tradizione manoscritta della Vita di Apollonio di Tiana di Filostrato*, Tesi di laurea, Sapienza – Università di Roma, 1983 and most recently by G. BOTER, *Towards a New Critical Edition of Philostratus’ Life of Apollonius. The Affiliation of the Manuscripts*, in K. DEMOEN – D. PRAET (eds), *Theios Sophistes. Essays on Flavius Philostratus’ Vita Apollonii* (Mnemosyne, bibliotheca classica Batava, 305), Leiden – Boston, 2009, pp. 21-56; IDEM, *Studies in the Textual Tradition of Philostratus’ Life of Apollonius of Tyana*, in *RHT*, n.s. 9 (2014), pp. 1-49. BOTER mentions five additional manuscripts containing scholia: *Escorial, Real Biblioteca*, Φ.III.8 (Andrés 227), saec. XII (**E**); *Firenze, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Plut.* 69.26, saec. XV (**G**); *Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, gr.* 1696, saec. XIV (**P**); *Città del Vaticano, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Palatinus gr.* 329, saec. XIV (**Q**), a gemellus of **F**; and *Città del Vaticano, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vaticanus gr.* 926, fol. 53^v-56^r, saec. XIV, which contains excerpts from *VA*. BOTER will include an edition of the scholia in an appendix to his new critical edition of *VA* (letter of 13 October 2011).

into the margins of **L** and **S**.³ The most conspicuous scholia in **F** consist of sarcastic and acerbic outbursts directed at both Apollonius, whom the scholiast considers a sorcerer and charlatan, and Philostratus, whom the scholiast rails against for peddling fiction as fact.

To date there has been no detailed study of this peculiar corpus of scholia. There is but a single scholion from the collection that has been cited with any degree of frequency in modern scholarship. It appears in the bottom margin of **F** on fol. 90^v and in the margins of **L**.

ad VA V.20.2 (p. 93.14 / p. 179.27 Kayser) ἡ δὲ ἀγαματοποιία κτλ.] τοὺς ἀγείροντας λέγει, ἦτοι ἀγύρτας, ὧν καὶ νῦν δεῖγμα οἱ κἀράτοι Παφλαγόνες (παφιλατῶνες **F**) ᾠδὰς τινας συμπλάσαντες πάθη περιεχούσας ἐνδόξων ἀνδρῶν καὶ πρὸς ὀβολὸν ᾄδοντες καθ' ἐκάστην οἰκίαν. ~ **F** (fol. 90^v) **L**⁴

The marginal comment was incited by Apollonius' condemnation of the shipowner at the port of Piraeus. He accused the shipowner of trafficking in images of the gods, a behavior wholly foreign to image-makers of old, who would never have thought to parade statues of the gods from city to city in hopes of turning a profit.⁵ The remark reminded the scholiast of a contemporary and equally contemptible example of such "beggars" and "vagabonds", i.e., "the accursed Paphlagonians who make up songs about the adventures of famous men and sing them for pennies from door to door." Modern scholars have taken this note concerning the activities of the

³ Two characteristics of the scholia in the manuscripts edited by KAYSER are immediately apparent: 1. **A** and **F** rarely contain the same scholia; 2. **L** and **S**, descendants of a common archetype which descended from **F**, rarely contain scholia that are not also found in **F**. That **A** and **F** are representatives of two distinct families in the manuscript tradition explains the lack of any significant overlap between the scholia in these two codices. It is also apparent that when **L** and **S** share scholia with **F**, these scholia derive from **F** (see BOTER's *stemma codicum* in *Towards a New Critical Edition* [see n. 2], p. 50). However, a significant number of scholia in **F** do not appear in **L** or **S**, which would suggest that the scribe of the archetype of **L** and **S** or the scribes of **L** and **S** independently chose not to copy certain scholia in the margins of these manuscripts. Most often, although there are several exceptions, those scholia which do not contribute to an understanding of the text or supplement it in some constructive manner do not appear in these later copies.

⁴ Citations of scholia on *VA* are preceded by references to their respective book, chapter, and section numbers in the most recent Loeb edition of C. P. JONES, *Philostratus I-II. The Life of Apollonius of Tyana*, 2 vols (Loeb Classical Library, 16-17), Cambridge (MA), 2005, followed by references to KAYSER's 1844 edition (page and line number), and, for ease of reference, to KAYSER's more readily accessible *editio minor* (page and line number), *Flavii Philostrati opera*, 2 vols (BSGRT), Leipzig, 1870, I. Of course, the scholia do not appear in KAYSER's edition of 1870.

⁵ The scholion was not provoked by the word ἀγύρτης as has been suggested by M. J. JEFFREYS, *The Nature and Origins of the Political Verse*, in *DOP*, 28 (1974), p. 160, n. 99.

“Paphlagonians” as an early, if not the earliest, attestation of the beginnings of the Akritan oral cycle.⁶

In the last decades of the 19th century Adolf Sonny and Rudolf Mueller each suggested the possibility that some of the scholia in *Laurentianus Pluteus* 69.33 originally belonged to Arethas of Caesarea, and by implication that *Laurentianus Pluteus* 69.33 derived from a codex annotated by Arethas, but their arguments were both brief and inconclusive.⁷ Arethas' alleged copy of VA does not figure in many of the discussions and reconstructions of the books that made up his personal library.⁸ Moreover, those scholars who have

⁶ S. B. KOUGEAS, Ἐρευναὶ περὶ τῆς Ἑλληνικῆς λαογραφίας κατὰ τοὺς μέσους χρόνους. A'. Αἱ ἐν τοῖς σχολίοις τοῦ Ἀρέθα λαογραφικαὶ εἰδήσεις, in *Λαογραφία*, 4 (1912-1913), pp. 239-240; J. A. NOTOPOULOS, *Akritan Ikonography on Byzantine Pottery*, in *Hesperia*, 2 (1964), pp. 108-110; K. DIMARAS, *A History of Modern Greek Literature*, trans. M. P. GIANOS, Albany, 1972, p. 24; R. BEATON, *Folk Poetry of Modern Greece*, Cambridge – New York, 1980, p. 77; E. JEFFREYS – M. JEFFREYS, *The Oral Background of Byzantine Popular Poetry*, in *Oral Tradition*, 1 (1986), p. 508, repr. in G. NAGY (ed.), *Greek Literature of the Byzantine Period (Greek Literature, 9)*, New York – London, 2001, p. 138; G. M. SIFAKIS, *Looking for the Tracks of Oral Tradition in Medieval and Early Modern Greek Poetic Works*, in *Journal of the Hellenic Diaspora*, 27 (2001), p. 83, n. 29. According to E. JEFFREYS and M. JEFFREYS the term “Paphlagonians” is used by the scholiast as slang for “windbags” rather than as a geographical marker; according to G. M. SIFAKIS this is not entirely clear. The scholion on the Paphlagonians, if the widely accepted conjecture is correct, is one of a handful of comments that contain information about the scholiast's present day, e.g., three times the scholiast clarifies words with contemporary terminology: ad VA III.15.4 (p. 49.25 / p. 94.26 KAYSER) Παμφύλων] ὁ νῦν Μαγνήσιον καλοῦσιν. ~ F (fol. 45^r) LS (cf. KOUGEAS, Ἐρευναὶ [see n. 6], p. 264); ad VA III.57.1 (p. 64.22 / p. 123.24 KAYSER) μαργαρίτιδος] περὶ τὸν παρ' ἡμῖν κοκκοφακίων (κοκκοβαφίων LS) λεγομένων. ~ F (fol. 61^r) LS (cf. KOUGEAS Ἐρευναὶ [see n. 6], pp. 259-260); ad VA IV.21.2 (p. 73.20 / p. 141.2 KAYSER) κροκωτοῖ] λεπτότατον ὕφασμα κροκοβαφῆς γυναξίν ἀρμόδιον. οἶμα δὲ ἂ νῦν φασί μεγλάμα τὰ μάλιστα κρόκινα ταῦτα εἶναι. ~ F (fol. 70^r) (cf. KOUGEAS Ἐρευναὶ [see n. 6], p. 264). Finally, a helpful comment informing the reader that “the Athenians do this to this very day” accompanies Apollonius' encounter with Athenians who liked to suntan naked in the summertime: ad VA IV.17 (p. 71.33 / p. 137.25 KAYSER) γυμνοὶ ἐθέροντο] τοῦτο καὶ ἐς τὸδε Ἀθηναῖοι πράττουσι. ~ F (fol. 68^v).

⁷ A. SONNY, *Zur handschriftlichen Überlieferung des Dion Chrysostomos*, in *Jahrbücher für classische Philologie*, 32 (1886), p. 95, n. 2; R. MUELLER, *De Lesbonacte grammatico*, Diss. inaug., Gryphiswaldiae, 1890, pp. 108-112.

⁸ See, e.g., A. VON HARNACK, *Die Überlieferung der griechischen Apologeten des zweiten Jahrhunderts in der alten Kirche und im Mittelalter (TU 1, 1)*, Leipzig, 1882, pp. 36-46; E. MAASS, *Observationes palaeographicae*, in E. BENOIST – A. BERGAIGNE (eds), *Mélanges Graux. Recueil de travaux d'érudition classique dédié à la mémoire de Charles Graux*, Paris, 1884, pp. 749-766; J. BIDEZ, *Aréthas de Césarée éditeur et scholaste*, in *Byz*, 9 (1934), pp. 391-408; J. IRIGOIN, *Survie et renouveau de la littérature antique à Constantinople*, in *Cahiers de civilisation médiévale*, 5 (1962), pp. 300-301; E. FOLLIERI, *Un codice di Areta troppo a buon mercato. Il Vat. Urb. gr. 35*, in *Archeologia classica*, 25 (1973-1974), pp. 262-279; B. L. FONKIČ, *Scriptoria bizantini. Risultati e prospettive della ricerca*, in *RSBN*, 17-19 (1980-1982), pp. 99-108; E. GAMILLSCHG, *Autoren und Kopisten. Beobachtungen zu Autographen byzantinischer Autoren*, in *JÖB*, 31 (1981), pp. 379-384; A. BRAVO GARCÍA, *Aretas, semblanza de un erudito bizantino*, in *Erytheia*, 6 (1985), pp. 241-253; L. PERRIA, *Arethaea. Il Codice Vallicelliano di Areta e la Ciropedia dell'Escorial*, in *RSBN*, 25 (1988), pp. 41-56; EADEM, *Arethaea II. Impaginazione e scrittura nei codici di Areta*, in *RSBN*, 27 (1990), pp. 55-87; N. G. WILSON, *Scholars of Byzantium*, rev. ed., London – Cambridge (MA), 1996, pp. 120-135.

posited a copy of *VA* among the bibliophile's stacks have relied exclusively on the conjectures of Sonny and Mueller.⁹ Reappraisal of this hypothesis is long overdue. In addition, there are approximately thirty scholia in *Laurentianus Pluteus* 69.33 that were never edited by Kayser and have remained unpublished until now.¹⁰

ARETHAS AND THE EXEMPLAR OF *LAURENTIANUS PLUTEUS* 69.33

In 1886 Adolf Sonny noted that *Laurentianus Pluteus* 69.33 was written in a hand very similar to that in *Urbinas gr.* 124, which contains the orations of Dio Chrysostom with prolegomena and scholia, and that both manuscripts shared common characteristics such as the color of the ink, the quality of the parchment, and the ratios of measurement.¹¹ Sonny ascribed both codices to the 11th century, in part relying on A. M. Bandini's catalogue, but both may be more plausibly ascribed to the 10th century.¹² On the basis of these

⁹ S. B. KOUGEAS, *Ὁ Καισαρείας Ἀρέθας καὶ τὸ ἔργον αὐτοῦ. Συμβολὴ εἰς τὴν ἱστορίαν τῆς πρώτης ἀναγεννήσεως τῶν Ἑλληνικῶν γραμμάτων ἐν Βυζαντίῳ*, Αθήνα, 1913, p. 43 n. 1 and p. 104 (citing SONNY and MUELLER); E. ZARDINI, *Sulla biblioteca dell'arcivescovo Areta di Cesarea (IX-X secolo)*, in F. J. DÖLGER – H.-G. BECK (eds), *Akten des XI. Internationalen Byzantinistenkongresses, München, 1958*, München, 1960, p. 675 (citing SONNY and MUELLER); L. G. WESTERINK (ed.), *Arethae archiepiscopi Caesariensis scripta minora*, 2 vols (BSGRT), Leipzig, 1968-1972, II, p. XIII (citing SONNY); P. LEMERLE, *Byzantine Humanism. Notes and Remarks on Education and Culture in Byzantium from Its Origins to the 10th Century (Byzantinia Australiensia, 3)*, trans. H. LINDSAY – A. MOFFATT, Canberra, 1986, p. 268 (citing KOUGEAS and SONNY). LEMERLE's discussion, however, is far from a wholesale endorsement of the hypothesis that Arethas owned a codex of *VA*; so N. G. WILSON, *Books and Readers in Byzantium*, in I. ŠEVČENKO – C. MANGO (eds), *Byzantine Books and Bookmen. A Dumbarton Oaks Colloquium*, Washington, D.C., 1975, p. 7 (citing ZARDINI); but cf. T. M. BANCHICH, *Eunapius and Arethas*, in *GBRS*, 24 (1983), p. 183 (citing WILSON).

¹⁰ The previously unedited scholia are referenced in the body of this article with an asterisk following the book, chapter, and section numbers; an edition of these scholia may be found in the appendix to this article.

¹¹ SONNY, *Zur handschriftlichen Überlieferung* [see n. 7], p. 95, n. 2. Since this work is no longer so easily accessible, I quote Sonny's remark here in full: "von sehr ähnlicher hand wie der Urbinas 124 ist der cod. Laur. 69, 33 (des Philostratos vita Apollonii enthaltend) geschrieben, der von Bandini in das elfte jh. gesetzt wird. auch in bezug auf farbe auf tinte, qualität des pergamentes und grössenverhältnisse stimmen beide hss. überein. im Laur. finden sich ebenfalls zahlreiche marginalscholien von erster hand, und ich habe grund zu der vermuthung, dasz ihr verfasser mit dem der scholien im Urbinas identisch, dh. Arethas ist."

¹² See A. M. BANDINI, *Catalogus codicum manuscriptorum Bibliothecae Mediceae Laurentianae*, 2 vols, Firenze, 1764-1770, II, p. 648. More recently, the codex has been assigned to the latter half of the 10th century; see CRISCI, *Ricerche* [see n. 2], p. 5; D. BIANCONI, *La controversia palamitica. Figure, libri, testi e mani*, in *Segno e testo*, 6 (2008), p. 340. BOTER, *Towards a New Critical Edition* [see n. 2], p. 24, assigned the codex a rough date of ca. 1000, following R. STEFEC, who places it just before the year 1000. *Urbinas gr.* 124 was initially assigned to the 14th century by C. G. COBET (see A. EMPERIUS, *Dionis Chrysostomi opera*

similarities Sonny voiced his suspicion that Arethas also authored the scholia found in *Laurentianus Pluteus* 69.33.

Scholars have long considered *Urbinas gr.* 124 to be an apograph of a codex once owned and annotated by Arethas.¹³ Attribution in this case is made significantly easier since the first of the three prolegomena bears the ascription Ἀρέθα ἀρχιεπισκόπου.¹⁴ Hans von Arnim was somewhat

graece, Brunsvigae, 1844, p. 792; MAASS, *Observationes* [see n. 8], p. 758), but according to SONNY, *Zur handschriftlichen Überlieferung*, p. 95, the codex could be no later than the 12th, and more probably belonged to the 11th century; cf. H. VON ARNIM, *Dionis Prusaensis, quem vocant Chrysostomum, quae exstant omnia*, 2 vols, Berlin, 1893-1896, I, p. VIII; C. STORNAJOLO, *Codices urbinates graeci Bibliothecae Vaticanae*, Roma, 1895, p. 211. WILSON, *Scholars of Byzantium* [see n. 8], p. 126, correctly assigned *Urbinas gr.* 124 to the 10th century.

¹³ See the sources on *Urbinas gr.* 124 cited in the preceding note; ZARDINI, *Sulla biblioteca dell'arcivescovo Areta* [see n. 9], p. 675; WESTERINK, *Arethae archiepiscopi Caesariensis scripta minora*, II [see n. 9], p. XIII; LEMERLE, *Byzantine Humanism* [see n. 9], pp. 258-259.

¹⁴ Scholars remain cautious as to the authenticity and accuracy of such ascriptions when they are written in the hands of later copyists, but Arethas signed his own scholia on several occasions, and even in cases where it is clear that a scribe rather than Arethas himself has added the ascription Ἀρέθα or Ἀρέθα ἀρχιεπισκόπου, these ascriptions almost never appear to be arbitrarily assigned. For example, Arethas himself signed nine scholia in *Mosquensis Synodalis gr.* 231, see fol. 26^r, 27^v, 29^v, 46^r, 47^v (bis), 48^v (bis), 66^r. Towards the end of the codex the scribe Stylianos took over the task of writing the scholia, two of which (fol. 153^r and 153^v) he signed with Arethas' name; see L. G. WESTERINK, *Marginalia by Arethas in Moscow Greek MS 231*, in *Byz*, 42 (1972), pp. 196-244. *Parisinus gr.* 451 and its apographs, *Laurentianus Pluteus* 5.24 and *Mutinensis a.S.5.9 (gr. 126)*, furnish some interesting scenarios. Most of the scholia are devoted to the works of Clement and are written in the hand of Baanes; according to O. STÄHLIN, *Untersuchungen über die Scholien zu Clemens Alexandrinus*, Nürnberg, 1897, pp. 45-48, they derive from commentaries written perhaps as early as the 5th century. Arethas wrote a lengthy scholion on *Paedagogus* I.5.15 in an uncharacteristically large majuscule at the end of the codex on fol. 402^r-403^r. This scholion appears with the ascription Ἀρέθα ἀρχιεπισκόπου in both of its apographs, and O. VON GEBHARDT, *Zur handschriftlichen Ueberlieferung der griechischen Apologeten. I. Der Arethascodex*, Paris. Gr. 451 (TU 1, 3), Leipzig, 1883, pp. 169-170, is probably correct in his assertion that this was a draft, which was later copied (and then supplemented with Arethas' name) in the margins of *Parisinus gr.* 451 adjacent to the text of *Paedagogus* I.5.15, but this portion of the codex is unfortunately now missing. The draft at the end of the codex bears no signature as the two editions of the scholia seem to suggest; see O. STÄHLIN (ed.), *Clemens Alexandrinus, Band I. Protrepticus und Paedagogus (GCS, 12)*, Leipzig, 1905, pp. 321.32-323.23; M. MARCOVICH (ed.), *Clementis Alexandrini Paedagogus (Supplements to VigChr, 61)* Leiden – Boston, 2002, pp. 210.11-212.6; cf. KOUGEAS, *Ὁ Καισαρείας Ἀρέθας* [see n. 9], πῖναξ VII. Other examples are scholia ad *Paedagogus* II.10.110 (p. 333.8-16 STÄHLIN; pp. 221.27-222.4 MARCOVICH), signed by Arethas himself and in both apographs; ad *Paedagogus* II.4.41 (p. 328.26-28 STÄHLIN; p. 217.11-13 MARCOVICH), signed by Arethas himself and in *Mutinensis a.S.5.9*, but not in *Laurentianus Pluteus* 5.24; ad *Paed.* II.10.99 (p. 332.1-6 STÄHLIN; p. 220.23-28 MARCOVICH), which, interestingly enough, was not originally signed by Arethas but appears in an expanded form with his name in *Mutinensis a.S.5.9* (which Marcovich neglected to indicate in his apparatus criticus; cf. STÄHLIN, p. 332, line 1 [apparatus]). The latter instance appears to be quite rare and does not warrant the overly positivistic stance many scholars have taken regarding the scholia on Lucian signed with Arethas' name; see, e.g., LEMERLE, *Byzantine Humanism* [see n. 9], p. 265, n. 102; M. J. EDWARDS, *Lucian of Samosata in the Christian Memory*, in *Byz*, 80 (2010), p. 147. Given Arethas' habit of signing scholia, it is likely that,

hesitant to attribute the second (titled Δίωνος τοῦ Προυσαέως βίος) and third (titled περὶ Δίωνος καὶ τῶν κατ' αὐτὸν καὶ τῆς τοῦ λόγου αὐτοῦ ἰδέας) to Arethas,¹⁵ but Sonny later noted several parallels between the prolegomena and scholia, and further parallels between the scholia in *Urbinas gr.* 124 and scholia of Arethas in other manuscripts, and argued convincingly that Arethas authored all three prolegomena and the scholia as well.¹⁶ For example, two scholia reference Marcus Aurelius' *De rebus suis*, which Arethas also cited in two scholia in his codex of Lucian, *Harley* 5694.¹⁷ N. G. Wilson, however, has wisely urged caution in attributing all of the scholia in *Urbinas gr.* 124 to Arethas,¹⁸ since he often commissioned scribes to copy preexisting scholia into the margins of his deluxe manuscripts, which he then supplemented with his own notes.¹⁹

more often than not, the scholia that bear his name in later manuscripts are copies of original signatures, rather than arbitrary (or even informed) additions by later copyists. For example, the lengthy scholion on *Juppiter tragoedus* 38 (pp. 71.25-75.4 RABE), which appears in *Vaticanus gr.* 1322 (RABE's Δ) with the signature Ἀρέθα, is found independently of the Lucianic text (together with a lengthy scholion on *Juppiter tragoedus* 47) among the collection of Arethas' writings in *Mosquensis Synodalis gr.* 315; see H. RABE, *Die Lukianstudien des Arethas*, in *Nachrichten von der Königlichen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen. Philologisch-historische Klasse* (1904), pp. 650-653; WESTERINK, *Arethae archiepiscopi Caesariensis scripta minora*, I [see n. 9], no. 55, pp. 337-339.

¹⁵ Only the first and third prolegomena appear in VON ARNIM's edition [see n.12], II, pp. 325.29-328.21. The second prolegomenon is largely, but not entirely, an adaptation of Photius, *Bibliotheca*, codex 209, ed. R. HENRY, *Photius, Bibliothèque. Tome III ("Codices" 186-222)*, Paris, 1962, pp. 106.39-107.39.

¹⁶ A. SONNY, *Ad Dionem Chrysostomum analecta*, Kiev, 1896, pp. 86-87, cf. pp. 89-91.

¹⁷ See scholia ad *Oratio* XX.8 (p. 113 SONNY), citing *De rebus suis* IV.3, and *Oratio* XXXII.15 (p. 116 SONNY), citing *De rebus suis* II.3. In a letter now preserved only in *Mosquensis Synodalis gr.* 315 Arethas wrote to the metropolitan of Herakleia and presented him with the gift of a fresh copy of *De rebus suis* (WESTERINK, *Arethae archiepiscopi Caesariensis scripta minora*, I [see n. 9], no. 44, p. 305); see A. SONNY, *Zur Ueberlieferungsgeschichte von M. Aurelius EΙΣ EAYTON*, in *Philologus*, 54 (1895), pp. 181-183; ZARDINI, *Sulla biblioteca dell'arcivescovo Areta* [see n. 9], p. 675; LEMERLE, *Byzantine Humanism* [see n. 9], pp. 266-267; WILSON, *Scholars of Byzantium* [see n. 8], p. 130; W. LAMEERE, *L'empereur Marc Aurèle*, in *Revue de l'Université de Bruxelles*, 4 (1975), pp. 373-376, n. 13. The notion that Arethas' exemplar was deficient or "in tatters" has been rightly disputed by F. RONCONI, *La traslitterazione dei testi greci. Una ricerca tra paleografia e filologia (Quaderni della Rivista di bizantinistica, 7)*, Spoleto, 2003, pp. 20-24, and most recently by M. CEPORINA, *La lettera e il testo. Areta Ep. 44 Westerink e Marco Aurelio*, in *Medioevo Greco*, 11 (2011), pp. 35-48.

¹⁸ WILSON, *Scholars of Byzantium* [see n. 8], p. 126.

¹⁹ Several of the eight surviving codices of Arethas exhibit this habit, e.g., the two codices of Arethas now in the Bodleian Library. *D'Orville* 301, Arethas' copy of Euclid's *Elementa*, contains scholia culled from numerous sources written by both the scribe Stephan and Arethas himself; cf. A. ALETTA, *Su Stephano, copista di Areta*, in *RSBN*, 41 (2004), pp. 73-93. There are approximately fifty scholia that do not appear in any other manuscript and may be Arethas' own additions (WILSON, *Scholars of Byzantium* [see n. 8], p. 121). This approximate figure appears to be based on J. L. HEIBERG's *siglum B*, described as "scholia codicis B manu ipsi codici aequali, sine dubio plerumque Arethae" in the preface to his *Euclidis Elementa*,

Laurentianus Pluteus 69.33, however, was written by two scribes; the first scribe copied fol. 1^r-22^v and the second scribe copied fol. 23^r-174^v (the final folio was added later). It is the hand of the scribe who copied fol. 1^r-22^v that resembles the hand in *Urbinas gr.* 124, but it is doubtful that it is indeed the same scribe.²⁰ Moreover, although *Laurentianus Pluteus* 69.33 and *Urbinas gr.* 124 are occasionally referenced together as examples of manuscripts written in 32 lines, *Urbinas gr.* 124 in fact has 34 lines per folio.²¹ Sonny later introduced as supplementary evidence for Arethas' involvement the symmetrical layout of a few scholia in *Urbinas gr.* 124. Arethas typically wrote his scholia in symmetrical blocks and shapes, most commonly in the shape of inverted isosceles triangles terminating in small ivy ornaments or tendril flourishes.²² Sonny suggested that the symmetrical scholia in *Urbinas*

V. Elementorum qui feruntur libri XIV-XV et scholia in Elementa cum prolegomenis criticis et appendicibus (BSGRT), Leipzig, 1888, p. X; cf. T. L. HEATH, *The Thirteen Books of Euclid's Elements*, vol. 1, *Introduction and Books I, II*, Cambridge, 1908, pp. 64-74. The majority of the scholia on Plato in *Bodleianus*, E. D. Clarke 39, Arethas' copy of tetralogies I-VI, are also not of his own composition, but were compiled from other ancient texts and commentaries; see H. ALLINE, *Histoire du texte de Platon*, Paris, 1915, pp. 246-258; D. CUFALO (ed.), *Scholia graeca in Platonem. I. Scholia ad dialogos tetralogiarum I-VII continens (Pleiadi, 5.1)*, Roma, 2007, p. xxx and pp. lxxx-cvi. Even those scholia on *Gorgias*, for example, which are written in Arethas' own hand and are unique to *Bodleianus*, E. D. Clarke 39, were derived from lost commentaries and lexica (see W. C. GREENE, *The Platonic Scholia*, in *Transactions and Proceedings of the American Philological Association*, 68 [1937], 192-193; E. R. DODDS, *Plato. Gorgias*, Oxford, 1959, pp. 60-61), one of which, it was once thought, was the lost commentary of Proclus, as first suggested by T. METTAUER, *De Platonis scholiorum fontibus*, Turici, 1880, p. 23 and followed by W. C. GREENE in his apparatus of source-attributions in *Scholia platonica (Philological Monographs, 8)*, Haverford (PA), 1938, pp. 459-479.

²⁰ O. STÄHLIN suggested that the scribe of *Urbinas gr.* 124 was identical with the scribe of *Laurentianus Pluteus* 5.3, containing Clement's *Stromata*, and that this scribe also wrote parts of *Mutinensis* α.S.5.9, an apograph of *Parisinus gr.* 451 (*Clemens Alexandrinus*, I, p. xl and n. 1). The marginal scripts in *Urbinas gr.* 124 and *Mutinensis* α.S.5.9 (there are no scholia in *Laurentianus Pluteus* 5.3) are noticeably different from the marginal scripts in *Laurentianus Pluteus* 69.33. One may compare the plates in BIANCONI, *La controversia palamitica*, tav. 1 (*Laurentianus Pluteus* 69.33, fol. 1^r); M. MENCHELLI, *Studi sulla storia della tradizione manoscritta dei Discorsi I-IV di Dione di Prusa (Pubblicazioni della classe di lettere e filosofia, Scuola Normale Superiore di Pisa 35)*, Pisa, 2008, p. 352 (*Urbinas gr.* 124, fol. 5^r); A. MESCHINI, *Il codice Vallicelliano di Areta (Università di Padova, Istituto di studi bizantini e neogreci, Quaderni, 4)*, Padova, 1972, tav. 2a (*Mutinensis* α.S.5.9, fol. 269^v).

²¹ See, e.g., J. IRIGOIN, *Les manuscrits d'historiens grecs et byzantins à 32 lignes*, in K. TREU (ed.), *Studia codicologica (TU, 124)*, Berlin, 1977, p. 245; M. MANFREDINI, *La recensio constantiniana di Plutarco*, in G. PRATO (ed.), *I manoscritti greci tra riflessione e dibattito. Atti del V Colloquio Internazionale di Paleografia Greca (Cremona, 4-10 ottobre 1998) (Papyrologica Florentina, 31)*, Firenze, 2000, pp. 658-659, n. 16. But cf. MENCHELLI, *Studi* [see n. 20], p. 52 and esp. p. 352 (showing a plate of fol. 5^r).

²² Arethas was certainly not the first to write out scholia in such a manner. However, PERRIA, *Arethaea II* [see n. 8], p. 75, has commented on the rigorous symmetry of the scholia written out in Arethas' own hand, which I. HUTTER, *Marginalia decorata*, in A. BRAVO GARCÍA – I. PÉREZ MARTÍN (eds), *The Legacy of Bernard de Montfaucon. Three Hundred Years of*

gr. 124 were most likely copied in the same forms in which they appeared in the exemplar.²³ Similar shapes may also be observed in *Laurentianus Pluteus* 69.33, but only on fol. 1^r-22^v, i.e., only in scholia penned by the first scribe.²⁴ The second scribe showed little concern for the aesthetic layout of the scholia he copied, and his placement of scholia is often imprecise; occasionally scholia are removed from their true lemmata by several lines, and once a scholion is copied on the wrong folio. However, even if both codices were products of the same scriptorium, this by itself would not be evidence enough to conclude that *Laurentianus Pluteus* 69.33 also derives from a codex of Arethas.

Independently of Sonny, Rudolf Mueller similarly argued for Arethas as the author of scholia on VA in a doctoral dissertation completed under the supervision of Ernst Maass in 1890. Mueller noticed that Arethas had reworked material from Lesbonax's *De figuris grammaticis*, closely following the text of recension A, in a scholion on *Theaetetus* 173d in *Bodleianus*, *E. D. Clarke* 39.²⁵ He identified a second example of a scholion derived from the text of Lesbonax among the scholia published by Kayser.

ad VA VII.2.1 (p. 130.9 / p. 254.21 Kayser) ἑαυτοῦ ξυνωμότας (sic) τῷ πληθυντικῷ ἐνικὸν ἐπήνεγκε ῥῆμα. τοῦτο δὲ Θηβαϊκὸν φασι καὶ Πινδαρικόν, ὅτι συνεχῶς αὐτῷ χρῆται Πίνδαρος πληθυντικοῖς (πληθυντικῷ Kayser) ἐπιφέρων ἐνικὰ (ἐνικὰ ἐπιφέρων Kayser) ῥήματα, οἷον «Λακεδαιμόνιοι πολεμεῖ Ἀθηναίοις» ἀντὶ τοῦ πολεμοῦσι. καὶ Ὅμηρος: «διοίγετο δὲ σάρκες» ἀντὶ τοῦ διοίγοντο. ~ F (fol. 128^v)

In Kayser's edition the scholiast's comment appears at first glance to be directed at Philostratus' use of the plural ξυνωμότας in his description of Nearchus the Mysian's refusal to give up the names of his co-conspirators. But this is completely nonsensical since the passage from Philostratus, as Kayser himself admitted and Mueller later concurred, cannot be construed

Studies in Greek Handwriting. Proceedings of the Seventh International Colloquium of Greek Palaeography (Madrid-Salamanca, 15-20 September 2008), 2 vols (*Bibliologia*, 31A-B), Turnhout, 2010, I, p. 98, has described as the "hallmark" of Arethas' *mise en page*.

²³ SONNY, *Ad Dionem Chrysostomum analecta* [see n. 16], p. 91.

²⁴ It is probable that the symmetrical scholia in *Laurentianus Pluteus* 69.33 are not of the scribe's own design, i.e., that he retained the symmetrical forms present in the exemplar (this may also be the case with the vertical scholion, penned by the second scribe, on fol. 108^v); see, esp. the symmetrical scholion on fol. 4^r, which is strikingly similar in shape to a scholion penned by Arethas in his codex of Aristides, *Laurentianus Pluteus* 60.3, fol. 187^r. Another scholion in *Laurentianus Pluteus* 69.33, on fol. 8^r, is written in the shape of a cross.

²⁵ MUELLER, *De Lesbonacte grammatico* [see n. 7], pp. 106-108 (cf. p. 60 CUFALO). MUELLER hypothesized that all of the surviving copies of recension A of Lesbonax's treatise derive from Arethas' copy. While this suggestion is somewhat overbold, most modern scholars have accepted his assertion that Arethas owned a copy of the treatise, see, e.g., LEMERLE, *Byzantine Humanism* [see n. 9], p. 263; WILSON, *Scholars of Byzantium* [see n. 8], p. 133.

as a *schema Pindaricum* by any stretch of the imagination.²⁶ The scholion in fact does not belong on fol. 128^v, which begins at VA VI.43.2 (καὶ ἔπιε) and ends at VII.2.1 (ἑαυτοῦ ξυνωμότας); Kayser merely printed the final words from the main text of fol. 128^v for lack of a better option.²⁷ But there is another problem, namely the attribution of the Pindaric fragment διοίγετο δὲ σάρκες to Homer.

De figuris 14 (Rec. A)

†Θηβαϊκόν. ἔστι δὲ καὶ ἄλλο σχῆμα ἀπὸ Βοιωτίας†, ὃ δὴ καὶ Πινδαρικὸν λέγεται, ὅτι πολλάκις αὐτῷ κέχραται. γίνεται δὲ οὕτως: <***> «Λακεδαιμόνιοι πολεμεῖ Ἀθηναίους». «μελιρρόθων δ' ἔπειτα πλόκαμοι» ἀντὶ τοῦ ἔπονται καὶ «διήγετο δὲ σάρκες» ἀντὶ τοῦ διήγοντο. Ὅμηρος «καὶ δὴ δοῦρα σέσηπε νεῶν καὶ σπάρτα λέλυνται» ἀντὶ τοῦ σεσήπασιν.

De figuris 22 (Rec. B)

τὸ δὲ Θηβαϊκόν ἐναντίον ἔστι τούτω τῷ σχήματι· τοῖς γὰρ πληθυντικοῖς ἀρσενικοῖς καὶ θηλυκοῖς ὀνόμασιν ἐπιφέρουσι ῥήματα ἐνικά· φασὶ γὰρ «Λακεδαιμόνιοι πολεμεῖ Ἀθηναίους». καὶ Πίνδαρος «ἔπειτα πλόκαμοι» ἀντὶ τοῦ ἔπονται, καὶ «διήγετο σάρκες» ἀντὶ τοῦ διήγοντο, ὡς καὶ τὸ «τῆς δ' ἦν τρεῖς κεφαλαί». τούτου δὲ τοῦ σχήματός ἐστι κτλ.

According to Mueller, the error could only have arisen from a misreading of recension A, “where Homer’s name is placed in such a manner that a careless person could attribute it back to the foregoing example.”²⁸ Mueller and Maass set a lacuna after Θηβαϊκόν in recension A, positing an omission of an initial Boeotian schema, and suggested that recension B’s reading of the Θηβαϊκόν σχῆμα could only have arisen from the corrupted text prior to Λακεδαιμόνιοι in recension A.²⁹ According to David L. Blank, this scenario cannot explain the phrase ὃ δὴ καὶ Πινδαρικὸν λέγεται, which clearly equates the Θηβαϊκόν with the Πινδαρικόν, suggesting that they were different names for the same grammatical schema.³⁰ Whatever the relationship between recensions A and B, it is probable that the scholiast, who also equated these two schemata, knew the text of Lesbonax in the corrupt form of recension A. The attribution of the exemplum to Homer may have

²⁶ Following the scholion KAYSER, *Flavii Philostrati quae supersunt* [see n. 1], p. 193, noted, “Mentio Pindarici schematis ab h. l. aliena”; so MUELLER, *De Lesbonacte grammatico* [see n. 7], p. 4, n. 1.

²⁷ G. BOTER informs me that this scholion also appears in Q in the bottom margin of fol. 36^r, which contains VA VI.43.2 (Μοῖραι)-VA VII.2.2 (Φύτωνος). As in the text on fol. 128^v in F, on fol. 36^r in Q there is nothing that resembles a *schema Pindaricum*.

²⁸ MUELLER, *De Lesbonacte grammatico* [see n. 7], p. 108.

²⁹ *Ibidem*, p. 3.

³⁰ D. L. BLANK, *Lesbonax, ΠΕΡΙ ΣΧΗΜΑΤΩΝ*, in F. MONTANARI (ed.), *I frammenti dei grammatici Agathokles, Hellanikos, Ptolemaios Epithetes. In appendice i grammatici Theophilos, Anaxagoras, Xenon*, (*Sammlung griechischer und lateinischer Grammatiker*, 7), Berlin – New York, 1988, pp. 161-162.

been an innocent parablepsis, but the same exemplum is used a second time in a scholion on VA VIII.7.9, and again Pindar's fragment is attributed to Homer. The description of the rhetorical figure is the same, but here it is labeled Δόριον σχῆμα.³¹ The repetition of this error suggests that it is the same scholiast, who appropriately characterizes the rhetorical figure in VA VIII.7.9 (ἔστι τι . . . ψευδόσοφοί τε καὶ ἀγείροντες). As it stands, however, the scholion derived from Lesbonax's *De figuris* can hardly be taken as evidence for an exemplar of Arethas.

ARETHAS AS READER OF *VITA APOLLONII*

Sokrates Kougeas attempted to supplement the early conjectures of Sonny and Mueller by drawing attention to a scholion by Arethas on Pausanias V.8.8 which he thought showed evidence for Arethas as a reader of Philostratus' work *De gymnastica*.³² While it is reasonable to suggest that Arethas had some role in the manuscript tradition of Pausanias, it is by no means certain that he was responsible for all or most of the scholia, or, for that matter, the scholion on Pausanias V.8.8.³³ N. G. Wilson pointed out that this scholion occurs solely in a codex (*Parisinus gr.* 1399) written and signed by Peter Hypsilas of Aegina in 1497 and suggested that he would be just as likely a candidate for its authorship as Arethas.³⁴ However, neither scholiast may have ever read Philostratus' *De gymnastica*. The scholion cannot be construed as an original comment since it was clearly copied from the *scholia vetera* on Plato. It appears that Pausanias' mention of the victory of the pancratiast Lygdamis of Syracuse incited the scholiast to copy out the

³¹ ad VA VIII.7.9 (p. 155.5 / p. 306.1 KAYSER) ἔστι τι . . . ψευδόσοφοι] Δόριον τὸ σχῆμα ἐνικῶ ῥήματι συντάττειν πληθυντικὸν ὄνομα, καθ' ὃ καὶ παρ' Ὀμήρω «διοίγετο δὲ σάρκες». ~ F (fol. 155^v) L.

³² ΚΟΥΓΕΑΣ, *Ὁ Καισαρείας Ἀρέθας* [see n. 9], p. 104.

³³ Arethas was at the very least responsible for the scholion on Pausanias VII.21.10, where Arethas noted in the margin of his manuscript next to Pausanias' description of Patras that this was his place of birth. The marginal note appears on fol. 194^r of *Parisinus gr.* 1410 (whether or not this manuscript is a direct descendant of Arethas' codex of Pausanias is unclear): περί Πατρῶν τοῦ τῆς ἐμῆς γενέσεως Ἀρέθα ἀρχιεπισκόπου Καισαρείας (*sic*) τόπου χωρογραφία. See A. DILLER, *Pausanias in the Middle Ages*, in *Transactions and Proceedings of the American Philological Association*, 87 (1956), p. 86; LEMERLE, *Byzantine Humanism* [see n. 9], p. 268; cf. M. CASEVITZ, *Sur les scholies à Pausanias et les fragments de Pausanias*, in D. KNOEPFLER – M. PIÉRAT (eds), *Éditer, traduire, commenter Pausanias en l'an 2000. Actes du colloque de Neuchâtel et de Fribourg (18-22 septembre 1998) autour des deux éditions en cours de la Périégèse (Coll. Des Universités de France – Fondazione Lorenzo Valla) (Recueil de travaux, 49)*, Neuchâtel, 2001, pp. 34-38.

³⁴ WILSON, *Scholars of Byzantium* [see n. 8], p. 127.

note on *Leges* 795b concerning the pancratium, which concludes with the words ταῦτα ἐκ τοῦ Φιλοστράτου Περὶ γυμναστικῆς.³⁵

Even if Arethas had been familiar with Philostratus' *De gymnastica*, it is no small leap to infer from this that he either composed or compiled scholia on *VA*. Paul Lemerle's warning bears repeating: "Far too easily scholars have leapt the barrier which separates Arethas' showing, by a quotation or an allusion, that he knew, directly or otherwise, a particular author or work, from the quite different situation where he would have been the 'editor' of the text or the scholiast, or both."³⁶ Arethas' only uncontested reference to Philostratus occurs in a scholion explaining Lucian's mention of the rhetorician Lesbonax of Mitylene: "He means that Lesbonax of whom several wonderful declamations survive, rivaling those of Nicostratus and Philostratus who were conspicuous among the more recent sophists, and especially his love letters, which drip with great verbal charm."³⁷ The scholion suggests first-hand knowledge not only of the writings of Lesbonax, but of Nicostratus and Philostratus as well. As the owner of *Parisinus gr.* 451, a collection of early Christian apologetic literature copied by the scribe Baanes and dated to the year 913/914, Arethas would certainly have been familiar with *VA* from reading Eusebius' *Contra Hieroclem* (hereafter *CH*), but the best external evidence for Arethas as a reader of *VA* is in fact the prolegomena to Dio's orations.

Arethas introduced three historical data in the prolegomena that are irreconcilable with the information provided by Photius in his summary of Dio's orations (*Bibliotheca*, codex 209): 1. the origin of Dio's nickname "Chrysostom"; 2. the assertion that the orations on kingship were composed for

³⁵ The scholion in *Parisinus gr.* 1399 reads τῶν instead of τοῦ, according to F. SPIRO, *Ein Leser des Pausanias*, in W. VON HARTSEL (ed.), *Festschrift Johannes Vahlen, zum siebenzigsten Geburtstag, gewidmet von seinen Schülern*, Berlin, 1900, p. 137; otherwise it is virtually a word for word copy of the scholion on *Leges* 795b παγκράτιον (p. 327 GREENE), to which two additional passages from the *scholia vetera* are appended: the first is the scholion on *Leges* 796a Ἐπειὸς ἢ Ἄμυκος (p. 328 GREENE), the second on *Leges* 796a Κερκύων (GREENE p. 328). The *scholia vetera* contain an additional reference to Philostratus' *De gymnastica* in another scholion on the pancratium, evidently incited by Socrates' mention of the pancratiast Polydamas in *Respublica* 338c, which concludes with the similar phrase ταῦτα Φιλόστρατος φησὶν ἐν τῷ Περὶ γυμναστικῆς (pp. 194-195 GREENE).

³⁶ LEMERLE, *Byzantine Humanism* [see n. 9], p. 255.

³⁷ ad *De Saltatione* 69 (p. 189.11-15 RABE) Λεσβῶναξ] τοῦτον λέγει Λεσβῶνακτα, οὗ καὶ ἄλλα μελέται ῥητορικαὶ φέρονται θαυμάσιαι καὶ ἐνάμιλλοι Νικοστράτου καὶ Φιλοστράτου τῶν ἐν τοῖς νεωτέροις σοφισταῖς διαπρεπόντων, μάλιστα δὲ αἱ ἐρωτικαὶ ἐπιστολαὶ πολλὴν τὴν ἐκ τῶν λόγων ἀποστάζουσαι ἡδονήν. The translation is by C. P. JONES, *The Survival of the Sophists*, in T. C. BRENNAN – H. I. FLOWER (eds), *East & West. Papers in Ancient History Presented to Glen W. Bowersock (Loeb Classical Monographs, 14)*, Cambridge (MA), 2008, p. 116; cf. G. RUSSO, *Contestazione e conservazione. Luciano nell'esegesi di Areta (Beiträge zur Altertumskunde, 297)*, Berlin, 2011, pp. 79-80.

Vespasian; and 3. the assertion that Dio was sent into exile by Nero. Photius noted that Dio had gained a reputation for being clever in his speeches and that he had earned the sobriquet Chrysostom or “Golden-mouthed” in his own day on account of the beauty of his orations. Arethas preserved an onomastic etiology that is considerably different: “Dio was called Golden-mouthed, not so much to accord with his eloquence, as on account of a certain physical peculiarity the name of which was altered in the direction of greater respectability. For he was not at all fortunate in the effluvia that issued from his mouth.”³⁸ Arethas went on to cite a humorous iambic trimeter attributed to Gregory of Nazianzus. The poem relates Dio’s dismay over the fact that his wife had never told him about his bad breath and his wife’s assumption that halitosis was merely a symptom all men had in common. Arethas concluded that “instead of Foul-mouthed (Ὀζόστομος), through euphemism (εὐφήμως) he was called Golden-mouthed (Χρυσόστομος).” Arethas made the very same statement in a scholion on Lucian, *Hermotimus* 34, where Lycinus describes the unfortunate bad breath of the Silician tyrant Gelo: “This is said about Dio of Prusa, whom for the same reason the Hellenes through euphemism (κατ’ εὐφημισμὸν) named Golden-mouthed.”³⁹

The second peculiar datum in the prolegomena is Arethas’ false assertion that Dio composed the orations on kingship for Emperor Vespasian. Concerning the kingship orations Arethas claimed that Vespasian “had grasped the practical wisdom which characterizes them” and that Dio had met with Vespasian in Alexandria on the Nile; after instructing Vespasian in the matters pertaining to a king, Arethas maintained, Dio “finally worked out for him the present discourses on kingship”. But it is commonly held that these orations were composed for Emperor Trajan.⁴⁰ Photius simply noted that Dio flourished during the time of Trajan and made no mention of Vespasian. Philostratus himself stated in *Vitae Sophistarum* I.7 that Dio lived at the time when Apollonius and Euphrates were teaching philosophy, but in this work he refers to Dio as *amicus* to Trajan and makes no mention of Vespasian. The sole piece of evidence linking Dio and Vespasian is VA V.27-38, where Vespasian meets with Apollonius in Alexandria, together with Dio and Euphrates, who advise the would-be emperor on the ideal form of constitution.

³⁸ VON ARNIM, II [see n. 12], p. 328.1-5; trans. H. LAMAR CROSBY, *Dio Chrysostom, V. Discourses 61-80* (Loeb Classical Library, 385), Cambridge (MA), 1951, p. 415.

³⁹ ad *Hermotimus* 34 (p. 242.15-17 RABE) μή πεπειρᾶσθαι ἄλλου ἀνδρός] τοῦτο περὶ Δίωνος ἱστοροῦσι τοῦ Προυσαέως, ὃν καὶ διὰ τοῦτο κατ’ εὐφημισμὸν Χρυσόστομον Ἑλληνας ὠνόμασαν. See further C. U. CRIMI, *Dione di Prusa, Χρυσόστομος οὐζόστομος?*, in *Studi classici in onore di Quintino Cataudella*, 3 vols, Catania, 1972, II, pp. 389-393; RUSSO, *Contestazione* [see n. 37], p. 192.

⁴⁰ See esp. J. MOLES, *The Date and Purpose of the Fourth Kingship Oration of Dio Chrysostom*, in *Classical Antiquity*, 2 (1983), pp. 251-278.

Most scholars construe Dio's encounter with Vespasian as a piece of pure Philostratean fiction.⁴¹ But all historicity aside, this is the best external evidence for Arethas as a reader of *VA*, since he could not have derived this information from any other source now known.⁴²

Finally, Arethas falsely asserted that Dio had been exiled by Nero. It was Domitian who had exiled Dio, and Dio ventured to return only after Domitian's death. According to Arethas, however, Dio indulged in the force of his language and "after expressing himself freely in the presence of Nero on behalf of his own friends, he was sentenced to lifelong exile (καὶ πρὸς Νέρωνα ὑπὲρ τῶν ἑαυτοῦ παρρησιασάμενος φίλων ἀειφυγία κατεδικάσθη), and he remained under this sentence until the Roman state obtained Vespasian as emperor." This same information is repeated using the same language in a scholion on *Oratio* III.13: τὴν πρὸς Νέρωνα παρρησίαν λέγει, ἥπερ χρησάμενος ἀειφυγία κατεδικάσθη. More significantly, the same information is repeated using similar language in a scholion in *Laurentianus Pluteus* 69.33:

ad *VA* V.27.1 (p. 95.35 / p. 185.13 Kayser) Δίωνες μὲν καὶ Εὐφράται] τὸν Προυσαέα λέγει Δίωνα τὸν Χρυσόστομον καὶ τὸν Εὐφράτην ἄνδρας φιλοσόφους μὲν, ἀειφυγία δὲ ὑπὸ Νέρωνος καταδικασθέντας ὅτι αὐτὸν ἤλεγξαν δημοσίᾳ οὐκ αἰσίως βασιλεύοντα, ὥσπερ καὶ ὁ κύων Δημήτριος ἐν τῷ ὑπὸ Νέρωνος τοῦτου λουτρεῶνι ἐκτισμένῳ. ~ F (fol. 93v) LS

The scholion accompanies Philostratus' initial introduction of Dio and Euphrates in Egypt with Apollonius and Vespasian. The scholiast explains, "He means the philosophers Dio Chrysostom of Prusa and Euphrates, who were sentenced to lifelong exile (ἀειφυγία . . . καταδικασθέντας) by Nero because they disgraced him in public as one who ruled inauspiciously, just as Demetrius the Cynic had done in the bathhouse built by Nero." Philostratus described the bathhouse *parrhesia* of Demetrius and his expulsion by Nero earlier in *VA* IV.42.1-2. The misattribution of Nero as the cause of Dio's exile appears to be a misreading of *VA*.⁴³

⁴¹ See, e.g., E. L. BOWIE, *Apollonius of Tyana. Tradition and Reality*, in *Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt* II.16.2 (1978), pp. 1660-1662; J. L. MOLES, *The Career and Conversion of Dio Chrysostom*, in *JHS*, 98 (1978), pp. 84-85; G. ANDERSON, *Philostratus. Biography and Belles Lettres in the Third Century A.D.*, London, 1986, pp. 178-179; H. SIDEBOTTOM, *Dio of Prusa and the Flavian Dynasty*, in *Classical Quarterly*, 46 (1996), pp. 447-448.

⁴² See A. BRANCACCI, *Rhetorike philosophousa. Dione Crisostomo nella cultura antica e bizantina (Elenchos, 11)*, Roma, 1985, pp. 236-237; but cf. J. SCHAMP, *Rhetor, Philosoph und "Stunkmund". Dions Bild in der eigenen und in späterer Zeit bis zum Ende von Byzanz*, in H.-G. NESSELRATH – E. AMATO (eds), *Dion von Prusa. Der Philosoph und sein Bild (Scripta antiquitatis posterioris ad ethicam religionemque pertinentia, 13)*, Tübingen, 2009, pp. 276-279.

⁴³ SONNY, *Ad Dionem Chrysostomum analecta* [see n. 16], pp. 86-87; SCHAMP, *Rhetor* [see n. 42], pp. 279-280.

There are additional parallels between the scholia on the orations of Dio in *Urbinas gr.* 124 and the scholia on VA in *Laurentianus Pluteus* 69.33. In addition to similar constructions and citations in grammatical scholia, e.g., the use of *προστυπακουστέον* and the citation of the same Homeric exemplum (*Odyssea* XII.73),⁴⁴ each corpus contains a scholion describing the design and purpose of the *κηρύκειον* (spelled *κηρύκιον* in both sources). The scholion in *Laurentianus Pluteus* 69.33 states, “The *kerykeion* was a wand of moderate length arranged at the end on top in serpents positioned turning towards each other in the shape of the letter *phi*. Heralds would travel carrying them for protection.” The scholion in *Urbinas gr.* 124 contains the same information, with the addition of an etymology explaining that the term is derived from the word *κῆρυξ*.

ad *Or.* VII.9

ῥάβδοι τινὲς τὰ κηρύκια
ἄνωθεν ἔχουσαι
γνώρισμα εἶδωλα ὄφρων
ἐναλλάξ ἀν-
εμβαλλομένων ἀλλήλοις,
ὡς οἱ κήρυκες πρὸς
πρεσβείαν
ἀποστελλόμενοι ἔφερον
ἀσφαλείας χάριν τοῦ μή
τινα κακὸν τι αὐτοῖς
δρᾶσαι τῶν
συναντώντων· ἀφ’ ὧν
κηρύκων καὶ τὴν
ἐπωνυμίαν ἔχει.

ad VA V.15.1

κηρύκιον ῥάβδος ἦν
μετρίου μήκους, ἄνω
πρὸς τῆ ἀρχῆ ὄφεις
ἐσχηματισμένη
ἀντεμβαλλομένους
ἀλλήλοις εἰς τύπον τοῦ
φ στοιχείου. ταῦτα οἱ
κήρυκες φέροντες
ὠδεύον τοῦ ἀσφαλοῦς
χάριν.
~ F (fol. 89^r) LS

ἐσχηματισμένοι legit
Kayser (falso) unde conj.
ἐσχηματισμένον.

EM s.v. κηρύκιον

. . . τὸ κηρύκιον ῥάβδος
ἦν μετρίου μήκους, ἄνω
πρὸς τῆ ἀρχῆ ὄφεις
ἐσχηματισμένους
ἀντεμβαλλομένους
ἀλλήλοις εἰς τύπον τοῦ
φ στοιχείου. ταύτην οἱ
κήρυκες φέροντες
ὠδεύον τοῦ ἀσφαλοῦς
χάριν.

ἔχουσα post ὄφεις suppl.
Gaisford.

The presence of a nearly identical passage in the article *κηρύκιον* in the 12th-century *Etymologium Magnum* suggests the existence of a common source. The scholion on VA V.15.1 appears to have been copied directly from that source (and *Laurentianus Pluteus* 69.33 may preserve the original reading *ἐσχηματισμένη*), whereas in the scholion on *Oratio* VII.9 this source appears to have been rewritten, in part to accommodate the plural *κηρύκεια* in Dio’s oration. Arethas often composed scholia by rewriting his

⁴⁴ For *προστυπακουστέον*, see, e.g., ad VA III.25.2 (p. 54.3 KAYSER) and ad *Oratio* III.80.3, 107.5, cf. 115.3 (p. 99 SONNY); ad *Oratio* XXX.44 (p. 114 SONNY). For the use of the exemplum of *Odyssea* XII.73, see scholia ad VA II.24 (p. 35.20 KAYSER) and ad *Oratio* I.44 (p. 96 SONNY).

sources, e.g., his use of the grammarian Lesbonax's *De figuris* in his scholion on *Theaetetus* 173d, but he equally often copied his sources verbatim and without citation.⁴⁵ There is a clear relationship between the scholia in *Urbinas gr.* 124 and *Laurentianus Pluteus* 69.33, but given the possible proximity of these two codices and the easy adaptability of scholia from one text to another – e.g., the scholion on Pausanias V.8.8, which is in fact a pastiche of *scholia vetera* on Plato – it is perhaps best to rely exclusively upon internal evidence to demonstrate Arethas' role in the scholia on *VA*.

APOLLONIUS MAGUS IN THE MARGINS OF *LAURENTIANUS PLUTEUS* 69.33

The works of prose authors such as Lucian, Philostratus, and Julian continued to be read and transmitted, despite the fact that they never achieved the status of required reading in schools, because they were recognized as masterpieces of Attic prose.⁴⁶ Photius reported on *VA* twice in his *Bibliotheca*. The first review is a brief summary (codex 44), but in the second he excerpted no less than 120 stylistic examples from the text of *VA* (codex 241).⁴⁷ While some learned Byzantine readers may have thought, as did Photius himself, that in terms of content *VA* was a rather silly work, this did not weaken their appreciation of Philostratus' prose style.

Apollonius was widely regarded as a sorcerer in Byzantium, but this reputation was not the direct result of careful reading or even casual perusal of Philostratus' biography, but rather in the main the result of popular traditions that had their origins in late antiquity.⁴⁸ The widespread traditions

⁴⁵ See, e.g., WILSON, *Scholars of Byzantium* [see n. 8], p. 121. Moreover, a number of Arethas' scholia have been shown to overlap to varying degrees with articles in the *Etymologium Magnum*; see SONNY, *Ad Dionem Chrysostomum analecta* [see n. 16], p. 93; P. BECKER, *De Photio et Aretha lexicorum scriptoribus*, Bonn, 1909, pp. 80-81; M. MANFREDINI, *Gli scoli di Plutarco di Areta di Cesarea*, in *Sicilorum Gymnasium*, 28 (1975), p. 348.

⁴⁶ WILSON, *Scholars of Byzantium* [see n. 8], pp. 25-26.

⁴⁷ T. HÄGG, *Photius at Work. Evidence from the Text of the Bibliotheca*, in *GRBS*, 14 (1973), pp. 213-222, suggested that the size of some of the excerpts from *VA* speaks against the notion that Photius was quoting his texts from memory, *contra* N. G. WILSON, *The Composition of Photius' Bibliotheca*, in *GRBS*, 9 (1968), pp. 451-455; IDEM, *Photius' Bibliotheca. A Supplementary Note*, in *GRBS*, 12 (1971), pp. 559-560; IDEM, *Scholars of Byzantium* [see n. 8], p. 96. See further T. HÄGG, *Photios als Vermittler antiker Literatur. Untersuchungen zur Technik des Referierens und Exzerpierenens in der Bibliothek*, Stockholm, 1975, pp. 15-124.

⁴⁸ The origins of the tradition of Apollonius' talismans (τελέσματα in most texts) are obscure; the talismans are usually described as statues of animals that possess apotropaic and protective powers. Eusebius appears to be the first author to refer to them, if this is how one understands his reference to the "magic devices (μηχανάς) set up in his name" (*CH* 44.2). See esp. J. MILLER, *Zur Frage nach der Persönlichkeit des Apollonius von Tyana*, in *Philologus*, 51 (1892), pp. 581-584; W. SPEYER, *Zum Bild des Apollonios von Tyana bei Heiden und*

concerning Apollonius' magical talismans were, as Isidore of Pelusium insisted and Photius later confirmed, completely divorced from the text of Philostratus.⁴⁹ Moreover, in the Byzantine period the Jesus vs. Apollonius debate of late antiquity had ceased to exist; it was no longer necessary to defend the divinity of Jesus by denigrating Apollonius and downgrading his status from divine man (θεῖος ἀνὴρ) to conjure man (γόης). This is attested not only by the loss of a number of pagan works that had invoked the exemplum of Apollonius in their arguments against the Christians, e.g., Celsus' *Alethes logos* and Porphyry's *Contra Christianos*, but also by the dearth of manuscript evidence for the works of the early Christian apologists who countered these very same arguments, e.g., Eusebius' refutation of Porphyry's anti-Christian polemic and Macarius Magnes' *Apocriticus*. It is particularly noteworthy that a catenist could comment on the Attic features of Luke 1:9 with the statement πολλὸν τούτῳ καὶ Φιλόστρατος ἐν τῷ εἰς Ἀπολλώνιον καταχρῆται τὸν Τυανέα, without any additional remarks

Christen, in *Jahrbuch für Antike und Christentum*, 17 (1974), pp. 47-63; W. L. DULIÈRE, *Protection permanente contre des animaux nuisibles assurée par Apollonius de Tyane*, in *BZ*, 63 (1970), pp. 247-277; M. DZIELSKA, *Apollonius of Tyana in Legend and History (Problemi e ricerche di storia antica)*, 10), trans. P. PIEŃKOWSKI, Roma, 1986, pp. 85-127; C. P. JONES, *Apollonius of Tyana in Late Antiquity*, in S. F. JOHNSON (ed.), *Greek Literature in Late Antiquity. Dynamism, Didacticism, Classicism*, Aldershot – Burlington (VT), 2006, pp. 49-64; M. DALL'ASTA, *Philosoph, Magier, Scharlatan und Antichrist. Zur Rezeption von Philostrats Vita Apollonii in der Renaissance (Kalliope)*, 8), Heidelberg, 2008, pp. 21-65.

⁴⁹ ISIDORE OF PELUSIUM, *Epistula* 148 (PG 78, col. 406); on Isidore's statement, see JONES, *Apollonius of Tyana in Late Antiquity* [see n. 48], p. 53. Photius also referenced the tradition of Apollonius' talismans and drew the same distinction as Isidore centuries before; this is a point that scholars who have studied the reception history of Apollonius of Tyana have missed. Prior to his first summary of the contents of VA (*Bibliotheca*, codex 44), Photius assured his readers that nowhere does Philostratus assert that Apollonius worked any of the wonders (τελεσθῆναι) that legend ascribed to him. For this sense of τελεῖν, see E. A. SOPHOCLES, *Greek Lexicon of the Roman and Byzantine Periods (from B. C. 146 to A. D. 1100)*, New York, 1900, p. 1073, s.v. τελέω; Isidore of Pelusium used the term with this same meaning in the passage cited above (JONES, *Apollonius of Tyana in Late Antiquity* [see n. 48], p. 53 and n. 11). At the end of the summary he makes the same statement, only more explicitly: "Such are the fictions of Philostratus concerning Apollonius. He does not say, however, that he was a maker of talismans, whether he constructed any of the talismans that are commonly attributed to him by some" (ταῦτα μὲν περὶ αὐτοῦ ἀναπλάττει, οὐ μέντοι γε ὡς εἶη τελεστής, εἴ τινα διετελέσατο τῶν ἐνίοις διαθρυλλουμένων ὑπ' αὐτοῦ πεποιῆσθαι τελεσμάτων, ed. R. HENRY, *Photius, Bibliothèque. Tome I ("Codices" 1-84)*, Paris, 1959, p. 29.18-21). Freese and Wilson in their English translations and Henry in his French translation render the operative terms in a very general sense; see J. H. FREESE, *The Library of Photius*, vol. I (*Translations of Christian Literature, Series I, Greek Texts*), London, 1920, p. 38; N. G. WILSON, *Photius, The Bibliotheca. A Selection, Translated with Notes*, London, 1994, p. 35; HENRY, *Photius*, I, p. 29. Freese translated τελεστής as "wonder-worker", Wilson as "miracle-worker", and Henry as "faiseur de miracles", but cf. SOPHOCLES, *Lexicon* p. 1073, s.v. τελεστής ("maker of talismans"). Similarly Freese translated τελεσμάτων as "wonders", Wilson as "feats", and Henry as "merveilles", but cf. SOPHOCLES, *Lexicon*, p. 1073, s.v. τέλεσμα ("talisman").

about the character of Philostratus' work or Apollonius.⁵⁰ But the Byzantine scholiast whose notes appear in *Laurentianus Pluteus* 69.33, although he may on occasion voice his appreciation for a well-composed dialogue (e.g., ad VA IV.3.2*), takes every opportunity to expose the Cappadocian miracle-worker as a fraudulent magician, pointing out along the way Philostratus' dishonesty in trying to distance Apollonius from his sorcerer-charlatan persona. At no point does the scholiast mention either the *τελέσματα* or *ἀποτελέσματα* of Apollonius or any of the other traditions that had origins independent of Philostratus' biography. Moreover, the familiar late-antique comparisons between Jesus and Apollonius suddenly reemerge in the margins of this 10th-century manuscript, and many of the scholiast's polemical arguments are strikingly similar to those marshalled by Eusebius of Caesarea centuries before in *CH*, which was not so much *contra* Hierocles as it was *contra* Philostratus' depiction of Apollonius in *VA*.⁵¹

In a group of approximately twenty polemical scholia, the commentator employs the term *γόης* and its derivatives, always in a derogatory sense and occasionally in conjunction with *μαγανεία*, trickery or deceit through magical arts.⁵² When Apollonius defended himself soon after his arrest, he asked Aelianus, "If I am a sorcerer, how is it that I am brought to trial?" To this

⁵⁰ The manuscript, *Laudianus gr.* 33 (NT minuscule 50), has been dated to the 11th century, but the note itself may well be more ancient. See J. A. CRAMER (ed.), *Supplementum et varietas lectionis ad cat. in Evang. S. Lucae e codd. Bodl. B et L, in Catenae Graecorum patrum in Novum Testamentum. Tomus II. Catenae in Evangelia S. Lucae et S. Joannis*, Oxford, 1841, p. 418.14-15; cf. N. G. WILSON, *The Church and Classical Studies*, in *Antike und Abendland*, 16 (1970), pp. 68-77.

⁵¹ Scholars have proposed a number of arguments against the attribution of *CH* to Eusebius of Caesarea, chief among them are those concerning the style of *CH* and its anomalous position in the corpus of Eusebius' writings; see esp. T. HÄGG, *Hierocles the Lover of Truth and Eusebius the Sophist*, in *Symbolae Osloenses*, 67 (1992), pp. 138-150; so T. D. BARNES, *Scholarship or Propaganda? Porphyry Against the Christians and Its Historical Setting*, in *Bulletin of the Institute of Classical Studies*, 34 (1994), p. 60. However, two independent stylistic comparisons between the text of *CH* and the writings of Eusebius show conclusively that the pupil of Pamphilus indeed authored *CH*; see S. BORZI, *Sull'autenticità del Contra Hieroclem di Eusebio di Cesarea*, in *Augustinianum*, 43 (2003), pp. 397-416 and JONES, *Apollonius of Tyana in Late Antiquity* [see n. 48], pp. 49-52. It is likely, moreover, that Eusebius' lost refutation of Porphyry's *Contra Christianos* was written in a similar style.

⁵² Many of these terms appear in the previously unedited scholia discussed here; the reader may consult the appendix to this article for the scholia followed by an asterisk. *γόης* ("sorcerer" or "magician"): ad VA IV.1.1b*, III.50.1*, III.58*, IV.10.2*, V.35.3 (p. 100.12 KAYSER), V.42.2 (p. 104.10 KAYSER), VI.11.2 (p. 111.6 KAYSER), VI.11.17 (p. 114.28 KAYSER), VII.17.1 (p. 138.29 KAYSER), VIII.7.7 (p. 154.24 KAYSER), VIII.7.33 (p. 160.23 KAYSER); *γοητεία* ("sorcery" or "magic"): ad VA IV.44.2*, VI.43.2 (p. 129.24 KAYSER), VII.35 (p. 147.1 KAYSER), VII.38.2 (p. 148.16 KAYSER), VII.39.1 (p. 148.19 KAYSER), VIII.7.9 (p. 154.35 KAYSER), VIII.7.25*, VIII.7.26 (p. 158.35 KAYSER), VIII.7.33 (p. 160.23 KAYSER); *γοητικός* ("skilled in magic"): ad VA V.34.3 (p. 99.35 KAYSER); *μαγανεία* ("trickery", esp. of magical arts): ad VA III.58.1*; and *μαγανεύειν* ("to use magical arts"): ad VA IV.44.2*, IV.46.2*.

the scholiast responds, “But if you were not a sorcerer, then after being brought to trial by Domitian you would not have escaped by disappearing”,⁵³ a disappearing act most likely occasioned by γοητεία, as Eusebius also claimed (*CH* 39.3).⁵⁴ The scholiast misses few opportunities to associate Apollonius with magic and sorcery, but even as a sorcerer Apollonius falls victim to the additional pejorative ἀλαζών (“charlatan”);⁵⁵ a speech of “the wizard Apollonius” is “bursting with every kind of buffoonery (βωμολοχίας) and fraud”,⁵⁶ and his counsel is “possessed of bewitchment and sycophancy”.⁵⁷ When Apollonius accomplishes some deed or other the scholiast consistently attributes it to sorcery, at the same time characterizing the acts of Apollonius as τερατεῖαι and τερατολογίαι, always in the derogatory sense of “fabulous, portentous nonsense”.⁵⁸ The scholiast’s rhetorical strategy mirrors that of Eusebius, which Christopher P. Jones has aptly summarized: “If what Philostratus said about Apollonius was true, then the man was a sorcerer in league with evil powers; if it was untrue, then Hierocles and other admirers of Apollonius were more credulous than the Christians.”⁵⁹

⁵³ ad *VA* VII.17.1 (p. 138.29 / p. 272.10 KAYSER) εἰ μὲν γόησι ἀλλ’ εἰ μὴ γόησι, οὐκ ἂν δι’ ἀφανείας (διαφανείας [sic]) Δομιτιανὸν κρινόμενος διέδραξ. ~ **F** (fol. 138^r).

⁵⁴ ad *VA* VII.35 (p. 147.1 / p. 289.16 KAYSER) νικῶν πῶς νικῶν, ὅς, εἰ μὴ γοητεία ὡς καπνὸς ἠφανίσθη, εὖρεν ἂν ἀξίαν τῆς ἑαυτοῦ ἀλαζονείας τὴν δίκην; ~ **F** (fol. 147). The scholiast similarly refutes the reappearance of Apollonius among his followers, see the comment ad *VA* VIII.13 (p. 166.21 KAYSER), which also occurs only in **F** (fol. 168^r).

⁵⁵ ἀλαζών (“charlatan”): ad *VA* IV.1.1a*, VII.40 (p. 149.6 KAYSER); ἀλαζονεία (“imposture”): ad VII.35 (p. 147.1 KAYSER), VII.36.4 (p. 147.29 KAYSER).

⁵⁶ ad *VA* VI.11.2 (p. 111.6 / p. 216.16 KAYSER) οὕτως ἐλεξεν ἰσχυρὸς Ἀπολλωνίου γόητος μεστὸς ἀπάσης βωμολοχίας καὶ κλοπῆς. ~ **F** (fol. 109^r) **LS**.

⁵⁷ ad *VA* V.34.3 (p. 99.35 / p. 193.22 KAYSER) δοκεῖτε μοι κτλ.] συμβουλή Ἀπολλωνίου οὐ τοῦ δικαίου ἐχομένη ἢ νόμιμος; ἀλλὰ τοῦ γοητικοῦ τε καὶ κολακευτικοῦ. ~ **F** (fol. 97^v) **S**.

⁵⁸ τερατεία (“fairy tale”): ad *VA* IV.10.2*, IV.46.2*, VI.43.2 (p. 129.24 KAYSER), VII.40 (p. 149.6 KAYSER); τερατολογία (“absurd, fantastic story”): ad *VA* II.27.1*, IV.3.2*; τερατεύεσθαι (“to devise fabulous stories”): ad *VA* IV.11.1*; cf. LAMPE, *Lexicon*, p. 1388, col. a; H. REMUS, *Does Terminology Distinguish Early Christian from Pagan Miracles?*, in *Journal of Biblical Literature*, 101 (1982), pp. 531-551.

⁵⁹ C. P. JONES, *Philostratus III. Apollonius of Tyana. Letters of Apollonius, Ancient Testimonia, Eusebius’s Reply to Hierocles* (Loeb Classical Library, 458), Cambridge (MA), 2006, p. 150 (citations of *CH* follow the chapter and section divisions in this volume). On the rhetorical strategies of Eusebius, see further J. G. COOK, *Some Hellenistic Responses to the Gospels and Gospel Traditions*, in *Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft und die Kunde der älteren Kirche*, 84 (1993), pp. 245-246; É. DES PLACES, *La seconde sophistique au service de l’apologétique chrétienne. Le Contre Hiéroclès d’Eusèbe de Césarée*, in *Comptes-rendus des séances de l’Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres*, 129 (1985), pp. 423-427; M. KERTSCH, *Traditionelle Rhetorik und Philosophie in Eusebios’ ‘Antirrhethikos gegen Hierokles’*, in *VigChr*, 34 (1980), pp. 145-171; É. JUNOD, *Polémique chrétienne contre Apollonius de Tyane*, in *Revue de théologie et de philosophie*, 120 (1988), pp. 475-482; K. DEMOEN, *Hiéroclès et Eusèbe de Césarée lecteurs d’Apollonius de Tyane, ou l’échec d’un pacte fictionnel*, in A. VIDEAU – R. WEBB (eds), *Théories et pratiques de la fiction à l’époque impériale*, Paris, 2013, pp. 277-290.

At the end of book III Apollonius decided to sail to Cyprus and bypass Antioch due to the “customary insolence” of the Antiocheans and their lack of interest in Greek culture. Here the scholiast envisions a scenario similar to the interpretation once championed by some 19th- and 20th-century scholars. “Since the Christians already inhabited Antioch”, the scholiast maintains, “it was left untrodden by the sorcerer in order that his magic tricks not be exposed; for he feared that he himself would suffer a fate similar to Simon” (ad *VA* III.58.1*).⁶⁰ The Simon in question is of course Simon Magus, the notorious Samaritan magician of Acts 8:9-24. However, the idea that Philostratus’ description of the people of Antioch is indicative of the Christians who lived there is no longer taken seriously in modern scholarship.⁶¹

In book IV Apollonius journeyed to Ephesus to bring an end to a plague soon after he received word of its outbreak. He led the Ephesians to a statue of Heracles where an old beggar sat in tattered clothing, shifting his eyes in some crafty manner. Apollonius urged the Ephesians to stone the old beggar, which they did, despite their initial reluctance to kill a man. After the first stones started to fly the old man showed his eyes full of fire and the Ephesians realized that it was a demon. The scholiast remarks, “Apollonius still does not have lame faith (σκάζουσαν ἔχει τὴν πίστιν) in this deed, as though he were not a sorcerer actually working some forgery against the eyes” (ad *VA* IV.10.2*). The motif of lame or limping faith is common in patristic literature. Clement of Alexandria wrote that perfect faith lacks nothing, but is complete in itself; if faith is lame (σκάζουσα) in any respect it is not wholly perfect (*Paedagogus* I.6.29). The scholiast understands Apollonius’ absolute confidence as evidence of his charlatanism. This story was the third θαῦμα of Apollonius that Eusebius set out to dismantle. Eusebius had much the same to say about the story, which he considered “an outright fabrication and deception, full of sorcery”; anyone who could not see it as such needed only look closely at the manner in which it was narrated (*CH* 27.2).

Eusebius further suggested that the story was an obvious fabrication for the reason that plagues, according to medical lore, are caused by the pollution and corruption of the air; the fact that only Ephesus suffered from the plague, Eusebius asserted, attested to the story’s concoction (*CH* 27.3). The scholiast similarly expresses his disbelief, “For why had a plague become

⁶⁰ KAYSER did not include this scholion in his edition, but he included another scholion on the same passage: ad *VA* III.58.1 (p. 65.10 / p. 124.22 KAYSER) συνήθως ὑβριζούσης] καλῶς ποιούσης. ~ LS. KAYSER listed the group FLS, but this scholion in fact does not appear in F.

⁶¹ See, e.g., J. P. HERSHBELL, *Philostratus’s Heroikos and Early Christianity. Heroes, Saints, and Martyrs*, in J. K. BERENSON MACLEAN – E. B. AITKEN (eds), *Philostratus’s Heroikos. Religion and Cultural Identity in the Third Century C.E. (Writings from the Greco-Roman World, 6)*, Atlanta, 2004, pp. 169-170.

embodied, as your fairy tale (τερατεία) professes? But as it seems to have appeared among men who are stupid and slimy and in need of a wet-nurse (τιτθῆς δεομένοις), it confounded them with these follies” (ad VA IV.10.2*). The scholiast’s final remark that the stone-throwing Ephesians were stupid, slimy, and childish is very similar to a remark Arethas made about Lucian’s Damis in his lengthy scholion on *Jupiter tragoedus* 47. Arethas berated the atheist Damis, who considered the injustice of fate as evidence for the nonexistence of providence, “You have such need of helibore and you are so full of snot and in need of a wet-nurse (προσδεόμενος τίτθης) to wipe your nose . . . so that human life and its happiness may be restored in the satisfaction of the baby’s bottle and pleasures of the body.”⁶²

When Apollonius ordered the Ephesians to remove the stones, they discovered that the old man had disappeared and in his place lay a beast resembling a Molossian dog the size of a lion, crushed to death and spewing foam. The Ephesians had stoned an apparition. The scholiast again discredits the story’s plausibility: “Just like the old man who was stoned to death, it [sc. the dog] was not real, but an apparition, thus the present dog was not something that was actually seen, but rather it was more unreal than the former [sc. the old man]. Why does he [sc. Apollonius] not bring an end to the plague by means of speech (λόγῳ) like Elijah brought an end to the drought, but by forming it into an apparition?” (ad VA IV.10.3*). The scholiast references 3 Kingdoms 17:1 where Elijah announces to Ahab, “As the Lord God of hosts, the God of Israel, lives, before whom I stand, there shall not be dew or rain for these years except by the word of my mouth (διὰ στόματος λόγου μου).” This reference shows a commanding knowledge of scripture on the part of the scholiast. Arethas had in fact delivered an oration for the festival of Elijah (July 20) in the year 902 and was well acquainted with the biblical narrative. In the exordium Arethas outlined Elijah’s miracles and focused on 3 Kingdoms 17:2-6 and the drought or “lack of heavenly moisture” (ἄνικμον οὐρανόν). He noted how the ravens, although considered unclean according to the law (cf. Lev 11:15), were considered clean by the word (λόγος) that guided and commanded them to bring food to Elijah.⁶³

After Apollonius rid the plague from Ephesus, he resumed his travels and eventually arrived in Ilium. He visited the tombs of the Achaeans with his

⁶² ad *Jupiter tragoedus* 47 (p. 80.1-6 RABE)] . . . σὺ δὲ τοσοῦτον ἔλλεβόρου προσδέη καὶ οὕτω κορυζῆς περίπλεως εἶ καὶ προσδεόμενος τίτθης, ἢ σε ἀπομύξει, καλῶς ἐκείνη γε νήπια ποιοῦσα, ὥστε τὴν ἀνθρωπίνην ζωὴν καὶ τὸ ταύτης εὐδαιμον ἐν τῇ τοῦ λαίμου τίθεσθαι ἀπολαύσει καὶ τῶν κατὰ σῶμα ἡδέων. Cf. Russo, *Contestazione* [see n. 37], p. 28.

⁶³ WESTERINK, *Arethae archiepiscopi Caesariensis scripta minora*, II [see n. 9], no. 65, p. 44.20-22.

travel companions and made funeral speeches and sacrifices. When he decided to visit the mound of Achilles, however, he ordered his companions to return to the ship. Here the scholiast references an alternate tradition about the burial of Achilles: "It is also stated that the bones of Achilles were buried on the island Leuke. How, then, do you marvelously maintain that the hero is present at the empty tomb?" (ad VA IV.11.1*).⁶⁴ The placement of this scholion on fol. 65^r adjacent to the relevant text in VA IV.11.1 is somewhat odd since Philostratus has not yet described the appearance of Achilles. The note more properly refers to Apollonius' statement in VA IV.16.2, where he tells his companions about the earthquake and subsequent appearance of Achilles, five cubits in height, beside the tomb. It seems that the scholiast was already familiar with the story; either he backtracked after reading VA IV.16.2, or this was a repeat reading of VA, or he already knew the story from some polemical source.

The story of the ghost of Achilles was the fourth θαῦμα in Eusebius' catalogue of mistaken miracles (*CH* 28.1-29.1). Eusebius did not reference any alternate traditions about the burial of Achilles; the bones of contention for Eusebius lay around the nature of the questions Apollonius put to Achilles and the necromantic overtones of the nocturnal conversation. As if in anticipation of accusations of necromancy Apollonius claimed that Achilles appeared to him because he offered a prayer in the manner of the Indians' prayers to heroes and that he neither dug Odysseus' ditch nor raised the spirit of the dead with sheep's blood (*Odyssea* XI.25-36). But if this was not necromancy, Eusebius asked, why was the deed performed alone and in the dead of night (*CH* 29.1)? The scholiast makes precisely this argument when in VA VIII.7.7 Apollonius claimed in his written defense against the charge of sorcery that he had spoken with Vespasian publicly in a sanctuary, whereas a sorcerer would have avoided such a setting and cloaked his art

⁶⁴ The scholiast's reference to the tradition of Achilles' posthumous translation to the island Leuke has its origins in the *Aethiopsis*, which is known primarily from the prolegomena to *Ilias* in the famous Venetus A (*Marcianus gr.* 454). The prolegomena are thought to derive from Proclus' *Chrestomathia*, or more precisely from what is thought to be an edited summary of Proclus' text, which was also summarized by Photius (*Biblioteca*, codex 239). Based on the codicological features of *Marcianus gr.* 454, A. SEVERYNS, *Aréthas et le Venetus d'Homère*, in *Bulletin de la classe des lettres et des sciences morales et politiques*, 37 (1951), pp. 279-320, hypothesized that it was none other than Arethas who conceived of and commissioned the work. SEVERYNS' hypothesis, which relied on a dating of the manuscript to the first half of the 10th century and was initially accepted by some scholars, fell by the wayside after J. IRIGOIN published his critique *Les manuscrits grecs (1931-60)*, in *Lustrum*, 7 (1962), pp. 64-65; the codex was eventually dated more precisely to the middle of the 10th century (that is, after Arethas' death) by FONKIČ, *Scriptoria bizantini* [see n. 8], pp. 106-107; cf. LEMERLE, *Byzantine Humanism* [see n. 9], pp. 261-262; WILSON, *Scholars of Byzantium* [see n. 8], pp. 139-140.

under the cover of night. Here the scholiast refers back to Apollonius' encounter with the ghost of Achilles: "And how can you be acquitted of being a sorcerer by night when even you yourself arrived at the mound of Achilles and permitted none of your accomplices to approach? Do you not see how you are caught in your own snare by both word and deed?"⁶⁵

The ghost of Achilles granted Apollonius five questions about Troy. His first question concerned the burial of Achilles, whether he received burial as the poets described, the second whether Polyxena had been slaughtered at Achilles' tomb. The scholiast considers Apollonius' line of questioning as an example of sheer stupidity, "for if he [sc. Achilles] is reporting to you on the gods", the scholiast again addresses Apollonius, "why would you not inquire about certain divine and ineffable secrets and all those things about which it is fitting for a wise man to ask, but these things?" (ad VA IV.16.4*). The scholiast's question is again remarkably similar to Eusebius' accusations. On this matter Eusebius appealed to what was perhaps his favorite ax to grind, Apollonius' alleged omniscience. "Isn't it a complete scandal", Eusebius remarked, "that the man who converses with 'gods whether seen or not seen' is ignorant about so much, and asks questions of this kind" (CH 28.2).⁶⁶

The scholia share several of the abusive terms hurled at Lucian and the characters of his satires in the significantly larger corpus of scholia on Lucian, e.g., from Hugo Rabe's list of 39 *convicia*: 2. ἀλαζών; 4. βωμολόχος; 8. γόης; 18. κατάρατος; 21. μάταιος; 35. τερατολόγος.⁶⁷ In the scholia on VA most of these terms are used as adjectives and not as diatribe vocatives directed at the author or one of the author's characters. The one exception is γόης, which the scholiast directs at Apollonius twice, once in a sarcastic remark that Apollonius would receive just reward for the counsel he offered Vespasian (i.e., not from Vespasian, but from Domitian)⁶⁸ and once in a short note instigated by Apollonius' remark about the old women who practiced

⁶⁵ ad VA VIII.7.7 (p. 154.24 / p. 305.3 KAYSER) νύκτα δέ] και πῶς τὸ γόης ἐκφεύξη νυκτὸς και αὐτὸς τὸ Ἀχιλλέως σῆμα καταλαβὼν και μηδὲνα τοῦ ἔργου τούτου προσηκόμενος κοινωνόν; ὄρῃς ὅπως {ὄπως} σεαυτῷ περιπίπτεις και λόγω και ἔργω; ~ F (fol. 155^v). On the importance of secrecy in late-antique magic, see esp. H. D. BETZ, *Secrecy in the Greek Magical Papyri*, in H. G. KIPPENBERG – G. G. STROUMSA (eds), *Secrecy and Concealment. Studies in the History of Mediterranean and Near Eastern Religions (Studies in the History of Religions, 65)*, Leiden, 1995, pp. 153-176.

⁶⁶ Trans. JONES, *Philostratus III* [see n. 59], p. 209; cf. T. SCHIRREN, *Irony Versus Eulogy. The Vita Apollonii as Metabiographical Fiction*, in *Theios Sophistes*, pp. 183-184.

⁶⁷ H. RABE, *Scholia in Lucianum (BSGRT)*, Stuttgart, 1971, p. 336 ("Index II"). B. BALDWIN provides a thorough tally of each term in *The Scholiast's Lucian*, in *Helikon*, 20-21 (1980-1981), pp. 219-234, repr. in IDEM, *Studies on Greek and Roman History and Literature (London Studies in Classical Philology, 15)*, Amsterdam, 1985, pp. 394-409.

⁶⁸ ad VA V.35.3 (p. 100.12 / p. 194.16 KAYSER) οὔτε γὰρ ἐκεῖνο κτλ.] εὐρήσεις, γόης, παρὰ Δομετιανοῦ τὸν μισθὸν τῆς νῦν σοι ἀρίστης βουλῆς. ~ F (fol. 98r).

coscinomancy.⁶⁹ The scholiast responds to Philostratus' claim, that it is the more simple-minded folk who equate Apollonius' miraculous deeds with those of a magician, with the diatribe vocative *καταγέλαστε*, a vociferation employed by Plato (*Theaetetus* 149a), Dio Chrysostom (*Oratio* X.2), and others: "It is the more intelligent folk, you absurd man, who say that these things are magic, not the less intelligent, as you have so foolishly stated."⁷⁰

To readers of Kayser's edition, however, it would appear that the scholiast had at best only a superficial knowledge of the works of Lucian, which one would not expect from Arethas, who copiously annotated Lucian's works. Four scholia in *Laurentianus Pluteus* 69.33 mention Lucian by name, but Kayser included only three of these in his edition. These three scholia are abrupt and mostly uninformative (or misinformative), each written with the same formulaic expression noting that Lucian also makes mention of certain characters, e.g., Damis (ad VA I.3.1), Demetrius (ad VA IV.25.1), and Menippus (ad VA IV.25.2). The reference to Demetrius the Cynic is unproblematic, at least in this instance.⁷¹ However, the references to Damis and Menippus require some further explanation. The scholiast confused Menippus of Lycia with the homonymous cynic of Gadara, the protagonist of Lucian's satire.⁷² This mistake occurs even in the scholia on Lucian, but the error is made in the reverse direction and the Menippus (of Gadara) in Lucian's *Icaromenippus* is confused with the Menippus (of Lycia) in VA.⁷³ As for the equiparation

⁶⁹ ad VA VI.11.17 (p. 114.28 / p. 223.3 KAYSER) οὐδὲν εἰρήσεται| εἴρηκας ἤδη, γόης, γρασι κοσκινιζομέναις αὐτοὺς παραβάλλων. ~ F (fol. 112v).

⁷⁰ ad VA VII.39.1 (p. 148.19 / p. 292.24 KAYSER) ἀναφέρουσι ταῦτα| οἱ συνετώτεροι τῶν ἀνθρώπων, ὃ καταγέλαστε, γοητείας εἶναι ταῦτα λέγουσιν, οὐχ οἱ εὐθηέστεροι, ὡς αὐτὸς ληρῶν ἔφη. ~ F (fol. 148v).

⁷¹ ad VA IV.25.1 (p. 75.7 / p. 143.31 KAYSER) Δημήτριος| περὶ Δημητρίου τοῦ κυνός, οὗ (καὶ add. S) Λουκιανὸς μέμνηται. ~ F (fol. 72') LS; cf. LUCIAN, *Toxaris* 27; *De Saltatione* 63.

⁷² ad VA IV.25.2 (p. 75.11 / p. 144.7 KAYSER) Μένιππος| οὗ Λουκιανὸς μέμνηται ~ F (fol. 72') LS.

⁷³ The error occurs in a prolegomenon to *Icaromenippus*: Ἰκαρομένιππος ὁ προκειμένος ἐπιγέγραπται λόγος διὰ μὲν τὸ πτηνὸν εἰσάγεσθαι τὸν τῷ δράματι ὑποκείμενον εἰς Ἴκαρον τὸν Δαιδάλου ὑποφερόμενος, διὰ δὲ τὸ μεγαλόπραγμα καὶ περίεργον καὶ φασματώδες εἰς Μένιππον τὸν Κυνικὸν φιλόσοφον ἀρμοζόμενος, ὃς Πατάρων ὑπάρχων τῆς Λυκίας καὶ τὴν Ἀντισθένης δόξαν ὑποποιούμενος γενναῖος ἦν καὶ συγκεκριημένος τὸ σῶμα καὶ οὐκ ἀδόκιμος οὐδὲ τὴν ὄψιν ὅσα πρὸς ὄραν εὐπρόσωπον ὑποφέρεται καὶ οὕτως ὥστε, εἰ πίστις ὑπεστί Φιλοστράτῳ τῷ Τυρίῳ τὸν Ἀπολλωνίου τοῦ Τυανέως ἀναγράφοντι βίον . . . ~ VφΔΩ (p. 98.8-17 RABE). The prolegomenon does not appear in manuscripts of RABE's Class II, and therefore it is difficult to attribute its authorship to Arethas. It is to be noted, however, that Arethas' lengthy scholion on *Jupiter tragoedus* (pp. 71,25-75,4 RABE), which is found independently of the text of Lucian in *Mosquensis Synodalis gr.* 315, is also found in RABE's manuscript Δ (= *Vaticanus gr.* 1322, Class V) with the signature Ἀρέθα. Of particular interest is the reference in the prolegomenon to "Philostratus the Tyrian", a collocation known otherwise only from Photius' *Bibliotheca* (codex 44) – recourse to Photius, however, is a common occurrence among the scholia in

of Damis with the unflinching atheist of *Jupiter tragoedus*, Kayser is quite right when he says, “Schol. ridiculo errore respicit Luc. Jup. Trag. §. 16. et alios locos”,⁷⁴ but neither is this confusion wholly absent in antiquity.⁷⁵ Arethas, however, had a great deal to say about Damis in his polemical scholion on *Jupiter tragoedus* 47, without once referring directly or indirectly to Apollonius’ faithful disciple. Gerard Boter has recently noted that the scholion on VA I.3.1 is also found in E (*Escorial, Real Biblioteca* Φ.III.8),⁷⁶ which belongs to a separate branch in the manuscript tradition. This would suggest that at least the scholion on Damis was probably not Arethas’ own contribution. Like *Urbinas gr.* 124, it is probable that Arethas was not responsible for all of the scholia in *Laurentianus Pluteus* 69.33.

On the other hand, the formulaic expression with a relative pronoun plus μέμνηται and the proper name of an author occurs in several scholia of Arethas, and equally false attributions occasionally accompany these formulae. The scholia on Lucian furnish a number of examples, but since attribution of many of these scholia to Arethas remains uncertain, it is perhaps best to confine parallel examples to Arethas’ one surviving codex of Lucian’s writings, *Harley* 5694 (Rabe’s E). The aforementioned scholia of Arethas citing Marcus Aurelius’ *De rebus suis* provide excellent examples for comparison. Arethas referenced *De rebus suis* in a scholion describing the context of Lucian’s *Pro Imaginibus*: “This discourse is a written reply in defense of the panegyric, which he also titled *Imagines*, on Panthea of Smyrna, mistress of the worthy Emperor Verus, whom Emperor Marcus also mentions in his *De rebus suis*.”⁷⁷ The construction of the final clause ἦς καὶ Μάρκος ὁ καῖσαρ ἐν τοῖς εἰς ἑαυτὸν Ἡθικοῖς αὐτοῦ μέμνηται is identical to the

Class V manuscripts; see RABE, *Scholia in Lucianum*, p. vi; cf. IDEM, *Die Ueberlieferung der Lukianscholia*, in *Nachrichten von der Königlichen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen, Philologisch-historische Klasse* (1902), pp. 718-736.

⁷⁴ ad VA I.3.1 (p. 2.26 / p. 3.27 KAYSER) Δάμις] τούτου τοῦ Δάμιδος ὡς ἀθέου (καὶ add. S) Λουκιανὸς μέμνηται. ~ F (fol. 1^v) S; for the comment, see KAYSER, *Flavii Philostrati quae supersunt* [see n. 1], p. 177.

⁷⁵ See G. ANDERSON, *Damis, The Dubious Disciple Discovered?* in *Philostratus. Biography and Belles Lettres in the Third Century A.D.*, London, 1986, 155-174. ANDERSON is unaware of the scholion on VA I.3.1, which essentially proves his initial, hypothetical scenario and makes his “more compelling explanation” (p. 168) seem unnecessary.

⁷⁶ BOTER, *Studies in the Textual Tradition* [see n. 2], p. 7.

⁷⁷ ad *Pro Imaginibus* tit. (p. 207.4-7 RABE)] ὁ λόγος οὗτος ἀντιγραφὴ τοῦ εἰς Πάνθειαν τὴν Σμυρναίαν, γυναικὰ δὲ Οὐήρου τοῦ χρηστοῦ καῖσαρος, ἐπαῖνον ἐστίν, ὃν καὶ Εἰκόνες ἐπέγραψεν, ἦς καὶ Μάρκος ὁ καῖσαρ ἐν τοῖς εἰς ἑαυτὸν Ἡθικοῖς αὐτοῦ μέμνηται. ~ ERVΦU. RABE noted in his apparatus that the phrase ἦς . . . μέμνηται is missing from V, but RUSSO, *Contestazione* [see n. 37], p. 89, has noted its absence in U as well, which he suggested might indicate that it was added later, although he does not exclude intentional omission due to syntactical awkwardness. The phrase may well be Arethas’ addition to a preexisting scholion.

examples from the scholia on *VA*. Scholars have never been confused over the identity of the woman Lucian identified merely as a beauty from Smyrna (*Imagines* 2) and a homonym of the wife of Abradatas (*Imagines* 10), but this scholion remains the only ancient testimonium that expressly identifies Panthea – whom Marcus Aurelius indeed mentions in *De rebus suis* VIII.37 – as the dedicatee of Lucian's panegyric.

Arethas' scholion on *De Saltatione* 63 occurs only in *Harley* 5694 and is therefore likely to be his own addition. The scholion is intended to explain Lucian's mention of Demetrius the Cynic: "This Demetrius flourished during the time of Augustus, whom Marcus mentions in his *De rebus suis*."⁷⁸ The scholion would make little sense as a whole if the relative pronoun referred back to its immediate antecedent, Augustus, despite the fact that Marcus never mentions Demetrius the Cynic in *De rebus suis*.⁷⁹ The Demetrius to whom Marcus Aurelius refers is Demetrius the Platonist (VIII.25). Even though such an error may not paint the most flattering picture of Arethas as a scholar, this scholion shows that Arethas was not always careful when it came to cross-referencing personages in the texts he read and studied. This formulaic cross-reference is found in another scholion on *VA* identifying Python of Byzantium:

ad *VA* VII.37 (p. 147.36 Kayser): οὗ καὶ Δημοσθένης ἐν τῷ Φιλιππικῷ μέμνηται.
ad *Salt.* 63 (p. 189.5 Rabe): οὗ Μᾶρκος ἐν τοῖς Ἡθικοῖς αὐτοῦ μέμνηται.

Of course, Demosthenes does mention Python of Byzantium, but not in the *Philippics*.

The fourth reference to Lucian, which occurs in a scholion found only in *Laurentianus Pluteus* 69.33, paints a less embarrassing picture. As Apollonius prepared for his departure from India, the Brahmins embraced him and told him that he would be esteemed as a god, not merely after death, but during his lifetime. Here the scholiast writes, "Even Lucian of Samosata was competent enough to furnish the truth of the matter, who in the *Pseudo-Alexander* says that Apollonius, to whom he also compared the pseudo-Alexander, was a notorious magician" (ad *VA* III.50.1*). The scholion is a learned comment referencing a specific passage from the *Alexander* in which Lucian described the teacher of Alexander of Abonoteichus: "This teacher and admirer of his was a man of Tyana by birth, one of those who had been followers of the notorious Apollonius, and who knew his whole bag of tricks. You see what sort of school the man that I am describing comes from!"⁸⁰ While the other

⁷⁸ ad *De Saltatione* 63 (p. 189.4-5 RABE) Δημήτριον] Δημήτριος οὗτος ἐπὶ τοῦ Σεβαστοῦ ἤκμαζεν, οὗ Μᾶρκος ἐν τοῖς Ἡθικοῖς αὐτοῦ μέμνηται.

⁷⁹ RUSSO, *Contestazione* [see n. 37], pp. 78-79.

⁸⁰ Trans. A. M. HARMON, *Lucian IV* (*Loeb Classical Library*, 162), Cambridge (MA), p. 183.

scholia referencing Lucian seem to convey only a superficial knowledge of his works, this scholion indicates the complete opposite. The comment is of particular interest for its use of the term *ψευδαλέξανδρος*, which is unattested elsewhere either as the title of Lucian's *Ἀλέξανδρος ἢ ψευδόμαντις* or in reference specifically to Alexander of Abonouteichos. Josephus used the term several times in reference to the pretended son of Herod the Great (*Antiquitates Judaicae* XVII.12.1; *Bellum Judaicum* II.7.1) and Lucian himself employed the term in *Adversus indoctum* 20, together with the terms *ψευδοφίλιππος* and *ψευδονέρων*. Both Josephus and Lucian used the term to describe a “sham Alexander”, i.e., a person who adopted the name Alexander on account of a strong resemblance in looks.

ARETHAS AS AUTHOR OF SCHOLIA ON *VITA APOLLONII*

Further evidence may be adduced for Arethas as author of scholia on *VA*. One of the most distinctive features of Arethas' scholia is his predilection for directly addressing and engaging in apostrophic dialogue both the protagonists of the works he read and the authors themselves. Arethas' shamelessly unfair and satirical eisegesis of *Apologia* 27d is perhaps the best known example. In defense of the charge of atheism, Socrates explained that it would be absurd to assert the existence of the offspring of the gods, the *daimones*, and not of the gods themselves, and equally absurd to assert the existence of mules, and not of horses and asses. This statement prompted Arethas' oft-quoted remark, “You are quite right, Socrates, to compare the gods of the Athenians to horses and asses.”⁸¹ In Kayser's edition there is but a single scholion that mentions Philostratus by name, although in this comment the scholiast does not directly address the author. The remark is a typical polemic blaming Philostratus for the manner in which Apollonius changes the topic of conversation during his discussion with Thespesian.⁸² Kayser edited several of the polemical scholia addressed to Philostratus using only the second person singular, as well as the example with the vocative *καταγέλαστε* mentioned above (ad *VA* VII.39), but he neglected to include in his edition any of the scholia in which the commentator directly addresses the author by name.

⁸¹ ad *Apologia* 27d (p. 20 CUFALO) ὁμοίως γὰρ ἄν) καλῶς γε σὺ ποιῶν, Σώκρατες, ὄνοις καὶ ἵπποις τοὺς θεοὺς Ἀθηναίων παραβάλλεις. Cf. M. SCHANZ, *Arethas Verfasser von scholien zu Platon*, in *Philologus*, 34 (1876), p. 375; ALLINE, *Histoire* [see n. 19], p. 251; WILSON, *Scholars of Byzantium* [see n. 8], pp. 122-123.

⁸² ad *VA* VI.20.7 (p. 120.26 / p. 234.40 KAYSER) ὑπολαβῶν κτλ.] ὄρα τὸν μάταιον τουτονὶ Φιλόστρατον, ὡς ὄρᾳ τὸν κατάρατον Ἀπολλώνιον τὸ ἦτρον ἀποφερόμενον· πῶς ἀπάγει τῆς ὑποθέσεως τὸν λόγον ἐφ' ἑτέραν μετατιθεὶς ζήτησιν. ~ F (fol. 118^v).

The first instance occurs during Apollonius' discussions with the Indian king Phraotes, that is, after the reader first discovers that Apollonius had been conversing with Phraotes through an interpreter. The scholiast takes issue with what he considers an egregious inconsistency on the part of the author: "The one who is able to understand all things converses with the Indian through an interpreter! And how, Philostratus, are the things you babbled about Apollonius earlier (κατόπιν) not rubbish and absurd fiction (τερατολογία)?" (ad VA II.27.1*).⁸³ The scholiast's use of κατόπιν indicates that he has specific passages in mind prior to the introduction of the interpreter that contradict Philostratus' statement. This is in fact the very same argument made by Eusebius in *CH* 14-15, but unlike the scholiast Eusebius provided his readers with several examples. Eusebius singled out the numerous questions Apollonius put to Phraotes as evidence of his sham omniscience. But the real scandal for both Eusebius and the scholiast was the fact that Apollonius needed an interpreter when in VA I.19.1-2 he told Damis that he could understand all human languages, even though he had not learned them.

The scholiast calls out Philostratus again for similar reasons when Apollonius responded to those who criticized him for living in sanctuaries by saying that the gods did not spend all of their time in the heavens, but travelled to Ethiopia, Olympus, and Athos visiting mankind, and that it was thus only proper for humans to visit the gods in their sanctuaries. According to Apollonius it was absurd that even though the gods visited all earthly places and every nation, men still did not visit all the gods. The scholiast appears to criticize what he perceives as Apollonius' view that the gods would only be in one place at any given time: "Someone uninitiated might consider this wisdom, but you yourself, Philostratus, do not want Apollonius to claim such a thing as this. A god who fills all things leaves certain places altogether, but visits others: this is a vulgar and vagabond wisdom" (ad VA IV.40.4*).

At the conjunction of a solar eclipse and a clap of thunder Apollonius looked up to the sky and predicted some future event with the ambiguous words "Something momentous will happen and not happen." The scholiast responds, "Do you [sc. Philostratus] not see that this is the statement of a deceitful man? For by making the statement ambiguous and by approaching contradiction he seems to the ignorant to be quite full of prognostic power,

⁸³ The scholiast uses a similar argument and similar language when in book VII, after the guard announced that Apollonius was to be freed from his chains and moved to the free prison, Apollonius asked, "Who will conduct me from here?": ad VA VII.40 (p. 149.6 / p. 293.29 KAYSER) σημαίνων] ὁ πάντα γινώσκειν ἐπαγγελλόμενος ὄρα πῶς νῦν ἀγνοεῖ τὸν μετασκευάσοντα αὐτόν. εἶτα οὐ τερατεῖαι τὰ τῆς ἀλαζόνης ἐπαγγελίας ἐκ τούτων ἐλέγχονται; ~ F (fol. 149^v). Eusebius, again, makes a similar argument at *CH* 40.

but in fact everyone is ready to bring it to completion, in accordance with either option of the statement, as its fulfillment cannot miss the mark” (ad VA IV.43.1*). Fulfillment of the divination (ἔκβασις) came to pass three days later when a bolt of lightning struck Nero’s dinner table and split apart the cup he held in his hands. Here the scholiast reverts to his characteristic sarcasm and asks, “Why was Nero not struck, how unjust? What did the cup do wrong?” (ad VA IV.43.2a*). Not long after the lightning-bolt struck but did not strike Nero, Tigellinus, the brutal prefect of the Praetorian Guard, began to fear Apollonius and reconsidered bringing charges against him. The scholiast again chimes in, “From these things it appears as a lie that Tigellinus is modestly well-disposed towards Apollonius. For how could one who investigated all the dealings of Apollonius have had such reverence for him?” (ad VA IV.43.2b*).

Nero soon fell ill when catarrh swept through Rome and the sanctuaries began to fill up with people offering prayers on behalf of the emperor. Apollonius advised Menippus, who was enraged by the spectacle, to couch his anger and forgive the gods for enjoying the “capers of buffoons”. Tigellinus had Apollonius brought to court together with an informant who had overheard Apollonius’ remark, but when Tigellinus was handed a document containing the informant’s testimony, he unrolled it and found nothing but a blank sheet of paper. The scholiast sees sorcery written all over Philostratus’ narrative: “Philostratus, you fool! From this event you don’t even take notice of the man’s sorcery! For if the document was genuine, what deed could refute it without a word of truth except to obliterate the writing in this manner? But he didn’t even erase it quickly, unless he forged the sight of the one who saw it, for which reason such things as these are wholly the product of those who deceive by magical arts” (ad VA IV.44.2*). The accusation that Apollonius somehow fooled with Tigellinus’ eyesight (παραποιήσας ὄψιν) is very similar to that in the scholion on VA IV.10.2* (κατὰ ὀφθαλμῶν παραποίησιν); these undoubtedly belong to the same scholiast.⁸⁴

One of the scholiast’s most protracted animadversions accompanies Philostratus’ account of Apollonius’ resuscitation of a young Roman girl. The

⁸⁴ In addition to consistency in terminology and argumentation there is clear indication that the vast majority of the polemical scholia are the work of a single scholiast. In book VIII, when Apollonius pointed out that Thales and Anaxagoras had also been accused of sorcery, the scholiast is reminded of a remark he had made seven books prior: ad VA VIII.7.26 (p. 158.35 / p. 314.1 KAYSER) προειπόντε] οὕτως ἐκ μετεώρου σοφίας, οὐκ ἐκ γοητείας προὔλεγον. ~ F (fol. 160^r). What the scholiast had said previously was in reference to Philostratus’ mention in book I of the impressive predictive skills of Anaxagoras: ad VA I.2.2 (p. 2.14 / p. 3.5 KAYSER) προὔλεγε] ταῦτα ἐκ μετεώρου σοφίας, οὐκ ἀπὸ μαγανείας, ὡς Ἀπολλώνιος, διὸ καὶ ὁ μὲν ἔθανμάζετο ὁ Ἀναξαγόρας, ὁ δὲ ἐβδελύσσετο πρὸς ἅπαντα ὁ Ἀπολλώνιος. ~ F (fol. 1^v) S.

story has a number of parallels to the gospel stories of Jesus' resurrection of Jairus' daughter (Mark 5:21-43//Matthew 9:18-26//Luke 8:40-56) and probably would have caused greater consternation among early Christian apologists had Philostratus not included an alternative explanation for the miracle. His wording of the miraculous resurrection as an awakening from "apparent death" (τοῦ δοκοῦντος θανάτου) provoked the scholiast to interject, "See! Even you yourself reckon her death as opinion, not as truth!" (ad VA IV.45.1*). Philostratus suggested that Apollonius might have been able to see some spark of life in the girl since it was drizzling at the time and steam was rising from her face. Eusebius cited the same text and discussed it briefly, but he chose not to belabor the matter since the story seemed rather incredible even to Philostratus himself (*CH* 30.2).

The scholiast's refutation of the miracle is much more elaborate than Eusebius': "Well done, Philostratus, as you have hardly ever declared the truth! For the girl had been overcome by a deep sleep or by the feebleness of her own body; otherwise, since it was raining and her face was wet from the drops of rain, a vapor was rising up, as is wont to happen when bodies are still alive, since her natural body heat (τῆς ἐνυπούσης θερμότητος φυσικῆς) was fighting off the moisture from the drizzle and evaporating it little by little and then turning it into vapor in the air. It is also possible to see this around bodies that have been warmed by a fire, whenever a body is full of water. For, indeed, the power of the fire as it struggles against the thickness of the water, causing rarefaction, first turns it into vapor, a substance finer than water, and then dissolves the thickness of the vapor slightly into the air, at which point the clever Apollonius recognized what lurked within the girl and abused her symptom to cause wonder."⁸⁵ The scholiast continues his diatribe with a pagan-Christian comparison, one of several in *Laurentianus Pluteus* 69.33,⁸⁶ but this time he contrasts Apollonius with

⁸⁵ The scholion in **F** is missing two lines of text, one from the bottom margin of fol. 82^v and one from the top margin of fol. 83^r, both of which were cut off in the binding process. G. BOTER has supplied me with the missing portion of the scholion as it appears in **Q** (see ad VA IV.45.2 in the appendix).

⁸⁶ E.g., ad VA III.58.1*, discussed above. The scholiast compares Apollonius' healing of the Syrian youth who suffered from dropsy, who was sent to Apollonius by the god Asclepius, with healing miracles of Jesus (citing Mark 1:41; 2:9; 7:34); unlike Apollonius, the scholiast asserts, "Christ did not show regard for matters of health by prescribing a particular manner of diet" (ad VA I.9.2, p. 5.27 KAYSER). The scholiast chimes in again at the beginning of book IV when the god Asclepius advised many of those seeking health to visit Apollonius: "The demons, having been weakened by the visitation (ἐπιδημία) of Christ, would henceforth attack them [sc. those seeking health] through similar sorcerers by means of illusory restorations to health" (ad VA IV.1.1b*). This scholion, parts of which were cut off in the binding process, appears in the right-hand margin of fol. 62^r (a tentative reconstruction may be found in the appendix); cf. the scholion by Arethas on Aristides, *Oratio* XLVII.54-56, concerning

Jesus' disciples: "Why then did he not perform this feat on another dead body like the Lord's disciples, who had truly worked miracles to resurrect the dead, either because they had been begged by those who had come to them or because they had decided to do so voluntarily?" (ad VA IV.45.2*).

The introductory exclamation contains the same patronizing praise that is so common in scholia of Arethas, e.g., in Arethas' scholion on *Apologia* 27d (καλῶς γε σὺ ποιῶν, Σώκρατες...). The initial phrase, however, resembles even more strongly Arethas' vitriolic response to Lucian when Theomnestus' declared his preference for boy-lovers in *Amores* 54:

ad VA IV.45.2* εὖγε, Φιλόστρατε, μόγις ποτέ τὸ ἀληθὲς ἐξεϊπῶν.
 ad Am. 54 (p. 206.22-23 Rabe) μόγις ποτέ, μιὰρὲ καὶ ἐπάρατε, τὸ σαυτοῦ
 ἐξεῖπας (fort. ἐξείπας).

More significant than these parallels is the scholiast's use of the rare compound verb ἐνυπεῖναι, which is attested solely in the writings of Arethas.⁸⁷ The phrase here seems to mean "the natural heat that *lies within* (the body)",⁸⁸ essentially a more scientific way of expressing Philostratus' "spark of life" (σπινυθῆρα τῆς ψυχῆς).

The commentator discusses the weather-magic of Empedocles in another unedited scholion containing *hapax legomena*. In his defense speech Apollonius likened his purgation of the plague from Ephesus to the deeds of Democritus of Abdera, Sophocles the Athenian, and Empedocles, in particular the latter's ability to control the weather by stopping a storm cloud that threatened Acragas.⁸⁹ The scholiast responds, "I cannot say how Empedocles held back the storm cloud, since time conceals the truth (τοῦ χρόνου

the healing powers of Asclepius, recently edited by L. QUATTROCELLI, *Aelius Aristides' Reception at Byzantium. The Case of Arethas*, in W. V. HARRIS – B. HOLMES (eds), *Aelius Aristides between Greece, Rome, and the Gods (Columbia Studies in the Classical Tradition, 33)*, Leiden – Boston, 2008, pp. 287-288. The scholiast suggests that Apollonius was active in India (from which he has just departed at VA IV.1.1) during the time of Jesus' ministry: ad VA VIII.7.33 (p. 160.23 / p. 317.21 KAYSER) Ἴνδοῖς φοιτῶντι ὥς ἔοικεν τοῦ κυρίου καὶ θεοῦ ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ τοῖς ἐπὶ γῆς ἐμπολιτευομένου οὗτος ὁ γόης Ἴνδοῖς καὶ τῇ τούτων ἐπεχωρίαζεν γοητεία τοῦ πάντων ἐχθροῦ διαβόλου οἰομένου τούτῳ ἐπισκοπήσειν τὸ κατὰ Χριστὸν θεῖον, τυχόντος δὲ οὐ τοῦ σκοποῦ. ~ F (fol. 161^v).

⁸⁷ WESTERINK, *Arethae Archiepiscopi Caesariensis scripta minora*, I [see n. 9], no. 6, p. 67.3; no. 56, pp. 348.2 and 356.23.

⁸⁸ See *LBG s.v.* ἐνυπεῖμι, where the verb is defined as "darin sein, innewohnen".

⁸⁹ Empedocles was renowned for his skill in weather magic; in addition to the storm cloud mentioned in VA VIII.7.25, Empedocles was credited with blocking a wind that made women barren and caused miscarriages (PLUTARCH, *De Curiositate* 515c; CLEMENT OF ALEXANDRIA, *Stromateis*, VI.3.30). Like Democritus, who is credited with freeing Abdera from a plague, and Apollonius, who freed Ephesus from a plague, Empedocles is also said to have rid Selinus of a plague, see A. CHITWOOD, *Death by Philosophy. The Biographical Tradition in the Life and Death of the Archaic Philosophers Empedocles, Heraclitus, and Democritus*, Ann Arbor (MI), 2004, p. 46.

τὴν ἀλήθειαν ὑπολυγάζοντος). But even if the deed applauds truth, its success would be of no use so long as there are also hail-drivers (χαλαζάριοι), so to say, who devote themselves to magical arts. So if you marvel at Empedocles' averting the storm cloud, may the half-burnt sandal bring shame upon you" (ad VA VIII.7.25*). The final remark is directed at Apollonius. Diogenes Laertius recorded a legend that Empedocles cast himself into the volcano on Mount Etna in order to convince people that he had vanished and become a god (VIII.69). The "half-burnt sandal" refers to the infamous bronze sandal of Empedocles that Etna belched forth after his failed attempt at self-divinization.

Two terms require further comment. The compound χαλαζάριος is unattested elsewhere, but many compounds of this kind are attested, e.g., διφθεράριος ("parchment-maker"), ἰσικιάριος ("sausage-maker"), καμηλάριος ("camel-driver"), ὑποδηματάριος ("sandal-maker"). The Greek suffix -άριος derived from the Latin suffix *-arius*, which in the masculine termination formed nouns denoting an agent of use, e.g., *rete* ("net") → *retiarius* ("net-fighter"); examples of this borrowing are attested as early as the third century CE, e.g., ὑποσχεσάριος ("tax-farmer").⁹⁰ Here the *hapax legomenon* must mean something like "hail-maker" or "hail-driver", in reference to ancient weather magicians like the Telchines, who by means of their sorcery could produce clouds, rain, and hail at will, and hence, so the scholiast argues, cancel out the "white" weather-magic of Empedocles.⁹¹

The second peculiar term, the verb ὑπολυγάζεσθαι, is of especial interest since it, too, is attested only in the writings of Arethas. The verb appears to be little more than a variant spelling of ὑπολυγίζεσθαι, "to be concealed." Arethas used the verb with this same meaning in an oration, delivered on

⁹⁰ L. R. PALMER, *A Grammar of the Post-Ptolemaic Papyri*, vol. 1, *Accidence and Word-Formation*, part 1, *The Suffixes*, London, 1946, pp. 48-49; J. N. ADAMS, *Bilingualism and the Latin Language*, New York, 2003, p. 495.

⁹¹ A few rare compounds favor such an interpretation, e.g., χαλαζοκοπεῖν in THEOPHRASTUS, *Historia plantarum* IV.14.1 and *De causis plantarum* V.8.3. D. JORDAN, *Cloud-drivers and Damage from Hail*, in *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik*, 133 (2000), pp. 147-148, put forth a corrected reading of a magical amulet from Noto in southeast Sicily for the protection of a vineyard from hail. The operative lines read as follows: "I adjure the cloud-drivers (νεφ[ε]λ[η]λάτας) in the name of God: do not damage the vineyard with hail (μὴ χαλαζοκουπήσητε)"; here the first editors, G. BEVILACQUA – S. GIANNIBILE, "*Magia rurale siciliana. Iscrizioni di Noto e Modica*", in *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik*, 133 (2000), pp. 135-146, read the name of a demon, Μιχαλαζοκου. Pseudo-Justin mentioned certain "cloud-drivers" or νεφοδιώκται, who could reputedly "drive clouds wherever they wish by certain invocations to cast hail and immoderate rainfall". Despite the proscription against the νεφοδιώκται in the canons of the Quinisext Council, held at Constantinople in 692, "cloud-drivers" and various weather-magicians still crop up repeatedly in Byzantine literature; see F. R. TROMBLEY, *Paganism in the Greek World at the End of Antiquity. The Case of Rural Anatolia and Greece*, in *Harvard Theological Review*, 78 (1985), p. 343.

4 May 902, in celebration of Emperor Leo VI's translation of the relics of St Lazarus from Cyprus to the Hagia Sophia. Arethas described a brilliant light that issued from the hanging torch lamps and blinded the procession as it entered the Great Church: "a brilliant light fell upon the holy precinct of the temple, which was at once concealed (ὕπολυγαζομένῳ) by its rays from the eyes of those who entered."⁹² The scholion attests the same form but with an active meaning.

CONCLUSION

Mueller singled out a scholion on VA VI.20.6 which he thought showed characteristics of Arethas' scholia to support his contention that Arethas authored the scholion derived from the text of Lesbonax.⁹³ The scholiast, commenting on a remark made by Thespesion regarding the Eleusinian mysteries, addresses Thespesion with the interjection, "You rightly satirize the mysteries and marvels practiced by the Greeks, man!"⁹⁴ For this scholion Kayser listed the group FLS, but the comment is in fact nowhere to be found in the margins of F.⁹⁵ It is an excellent example of a scholion that has features similar to those that scholars consider to be characteristic of Arethas' scholia: it is polemical (in that it agrees with the arguments of Thespesion against those of Apollonius); it engages a literary character in apostrophic dialogue; it directly addresses the character with a diatribe vocative. Mueller thought it was Arethas, but this is a codicological impossibility.

This scholion serves as a stern warning that caution is required when attributing scholia to Arethas solely on the basis of those features perceived as characteristic of Arethas' scholia. In reaction to the number of books which have been attributed to the personal library of Arethas "for no good reason or indeed no reason at all", N. G. Wilson rightly reminded scholars that "Arethas was not the only scholarly reader of his generation".⁹⁶

⁹² φῶς γὰρ ἄκρατον ὑπολυγαζομένῳ τῷ ἱερῷ τεμενίσματι ταῖς τῶν ὀμμάτων ἀθρόως προσπίπτον τῶν εἰσόντων βολαῖς καὶ οἶονεὶ ἀμύσσον τὰς κόρας τῶ δραστηρίῳ τοῦ φέγγους ἀπήμβλυνέ τε ὄφεις καὶ συνετάρατε, καὶ πρὸς ἀνάληψιν τοῦ οἰκείου τῷ ἔθισμῳ τοῦ ὀρωμένου σχολάζειν ἐπέτρεπεν (WESTERINK, *Arethae archiepiscopi Caesariensis scripta minora*, II [see n. 9], no. 59, p. 14.22-28). The word seems to have puzzled WESTERINK, who offered the conjecture "fort. ὑπὸ λυγαζομένῳ" in his apparatus. For a summary of the oration and some historical notes, see R. J. H. JENKINS – B. LAOURDAS – C. A. MANGO, *Nine Orations of Arethas from Cod. Marc. gr. 524*, in *BZ*, 47 (1954), pp. 5-11.

⁹³ MUELLER, *De Lesbonacte grammatico* [see n. 7], p. 110.

⁹⁴ ad VA VI.20.6 (p. 120.22 / p. 234.22 KAYSER) ἐπιλαβοίμεθα] οὐκ ἀγεννῶς τὰ τῶν Ἑλλήνων νομιζόμενα μυστήρια καὶ θαυ<μα>στὰ διακωμῳδεῖς, ἄνθρωπε. ~ LS.

⁹⁵ KAYSER, *Flavii Philostrati quae supersunt* [see n. 1], p. 192; cf. note 60 above.

⁹⁶ WILSON, *Scholars of Byzantium* [see n. 8], p. 136.

However, I have shown that there are good reasons for attributing scholia in *Laurentianus Pluteus* 69.33 to Arethas and for confidently positing a copy of *VA* among the books of Arethas' personal library. In addition to the language and style of the polemical scholia, and particularly the use of rare words attested only in the writings of Arethas, the degree to which the scholia in *Laurentianus Pluteus* 69.33 overlap in argumentation with the polemical remarks of Eusebius also points to Arethas.

It appears that Eusebius' *CH* was not an especially popular text, as attestation for the work in late antiquity is completely lacking. The earliest reference to the treatise is Photius' brief recommendation (*Bibliotheca*, codex 39), and the earliest manuscript evidence is none other than *Parisinus gr.* 451, the famous *codex apologetarum* copied by the *notarios* Baanes for Arethas in 913/914. Chronologically Arethas' reading of *VA* would have followed his reading of *CH* since Eusebius' polemical treatise appears to have served as fodder for several scholia in *Laurentianus Pluteus* 69.33. The year 913/914, then, would represent the *terminus post quem* for Arethas' composition of these scholia. If Sonny is correct that the exemplar of *Urbinas gr.* 124 can be dated ca. 917 on the basis of the scholion that mentions the Bulgarian occupation of the Kadmeia of Thebes,⁹⁷ then this date would represent the *terminus ante quem* since it appears that Arethas' prolegomena and scholia were influenced by his reading of *VA*. Arethas' scholia on *VA* in the exemplar of *Laurentianus Pluteus* 69.33 may then be dated sometime between 913/914 and 917; this would place them roughly around the same time as Arethas' study of Lucian, which the scholion alluding to a specific passage from the *Alexander* seems to corroborate.⁹⁸ But this cannot be proven, of course, and must remain a tentative suggestion.

⁹⁷ SONNY, *Ad Dionem Chrysostomum analecta* [see n. 16], p. 87; ad *Oratio* VII.121 (p. 105 SONNY) ταύτην τὴν νίκην κτλ.] ὅτι Θηβαῖα Βοιωτίδι καὶ Νέρωνος καὶ Οὐεσπασιανοῦ φαύλως ἄκοῦντο μόνης τῆς Καδμείας συνισταμένης, ὥσπερ καὶ νῦν εἰ μὴ καὶ ταύτην Βούλγαροι κατεστρέψαντο. Note KOUGEAS' alternate transcription (*Ἐρευναι* [see n. 6], p. 266): ὅτι Θῆβαι αἱ Βοιωτικαὶ ἐπὶ Νέρωνος κτλ.

⁹⁸ The scribe of *Harley* 5694 (which lacks a colophon) is unanimously identified as Baanes, the scribe who copied *Parisinus gr.* 451. A rough date of 912/913 is generally assigned to *Harley* 5694 on the basis of LEMERLE's suggestion that a scholion on *Charon* 17 mentions the death of Emperor Leo VI (*Byzantine Humanism* [see n. 9], p. 265), but as WILSON, *Scholars of Byzantium* [see n. 8], p. 124, has noted, the text of Lucian could have been transcribed at an earlier date. However, this note does not appear in the margins of *Harley* 5694 (because Lucian's *Charon* does not appear in this codex) but rather in the margins of *Vindobonensis philologicus gr.* 123 and *Vaticanus gr.* 1322 (see p. 122.12-21 RABE). Despite its absence from *Harley* 5694, however, there still remains some possibility that the note belongs to Arethas, but the note can have no bearing on the dating of *Harley* 5694. The codex may well have been copied by Baanes after he copied *Parisinus gr.* 451.

Philostratus' *Vita Apollonii* can no longer be ignored in discussions of Arethas' private library and deserves mention in all future analyses of Arethas as a book collector and scholiast. While the majority of the polemical scholia in *Laurentianus Pluteus* 69.33 may seem trite and unimportant in terms of classical scholarship, which may well have been the source of Kayser's neglect, Arethas' marginal outbursts are rarely considered in their proper context. L. G. Westerink's insightful remarks on the purpose of such scholia are worth repeating at length:

The fierce invective against such writers, besides relieving the critic's ambivalent emotions, had the twofold practical advantage of protecting both the owner and the book. The owner, if accused of too much interest in pernicious literature, would find it useful to have a written record of his better judgment. Arethas, as a result of his occupation with classical authors, was at least twice indicted for impiety, so that precautions were by no means superfluous. But the protection extended also to the book, which, provided with due warning, could be kept on the shelf.⁹⁹

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RÉSUMÉ

Dans les annexes de son édition de 1844, C. L. Kayser a édité et publié plus de 300 scholies sur la *Vita Apollonii* de Philostrate. À la fin du 19^e siècle, A. Sonny et R. Mueller ont tous deux émis l'hypothèse que les scholies que l'on retrouve dans le manuscrit *Laurentianus Pluteus* 69.33 (sigle F de Kayser) provenaient d'une copie annotée par Aréthas de Césarée. Cet article réévalue leurs propositions et apporte des preuves supplémentaires basées sur une trentaine de scholies provenant des marges du *Laurentianus Pluteus* 69.33, non publiées par Kayser et inédites à ce jour.

⁹⁹ WESTERINK, *Marginalia by Arethas* [see n. 14], pp. 201-202. On the indictments of impiety, see WESTERINK, *Arethae archiepiscopi Caesariensis scripta minora*, II [see n. 9], no. 66, pp. 31-34 and no. 72, pp. 108-111.

SCHOLIA INEDITA IN FLAVII PHILOSTRATI *VITAM APOLLONII* EX CODICE
LAURENTIANO PLUTEI 69.33

- I.35** (p. 19.25 / p. 36.12 Kayser) ἐν οἷς ἔστιν κτλ.] ὀπόσοι φιλόσοφοι φιλοχρηματία ἐάλωσαν. (fol. 16^r)
- I.39.2** (p. 22.12 / p. 41.19 Kayser) σοὶ ταῦτα, ἔφη, ὃ βασιλεῦ, χρήματα, ἐμοὶ δὲ ἄχουρα] μέγα τοῦτο, ὃ Ἀπολλώνιε, εἴ γε μὴ κατ' ἐπίδειξιν ἦν· ἀλλ' οἱ νῦν τὴν ἀρετὴν ὑποκρινόμενοι καὶ τὰ ἄχουρα χρυσὸν βλέπουσι καὶ διδόμενα προθύμως λαμβάνουσι· καὶ χρῶνται μὲν οὐδαμῶς, χρυσοῦ δὲ ταῦτα διδῶσι. (fol. 18^v)
- II.27.1** (p. 36.15 / p. 68.29 Kayser) κελεύσας ἀπελθεῖν τὸν ἐρμηνέα] ὁ πάντα ἔχων συνιέναι ὑφ' (ὕπερ) **F** ἐρμηνεῖ τῷ Ἰνδῷ ἐντυγχάνει· καὶ πῶς οὐ λῆρος καὶ τερατολογία τὰ κατόπιν σοὶ περὶ Ἀπολλωνίου τεθρυλημένα, Φιλόστρατε; (fol. 31^v)
- III.17.2** (p. 50.26 / p. 96.24 Kayser) ἡ δὲ κυρτωθεῖσα κτλ.] τούτων τίς ἂν νοῦν ἔχων πιστεύσειεν; (fol. 46^r)
- III.50.1** (p. 63.12 / p. 121.13 Kayser) θεὸν τοῖς πολλοῖς εἶναι δόξειν οὐ τεθνεῶτα μόνον] ἰκανὸς τῷ λόγῳ παρασχεῖν τὸ πιστὸν καὶ Λουκιανὸς ὁ ἐκ <Σα>μοσάτων, ὅς ἐν τῷ Ψευδαλεξάνδρῳ γόητα περιφανῶς εἶναι φησὶν (φα(σὶν) **F**) Ἀπολλώνιον, πρὸς ὃν καὶ τὸν ψευδαλέξανδρον ἀπεικάζει. (fol. 60^r)
- III.52** (p. 63.27 / p. 122.8 Kayser) τὸ στόμα τοῦ Ὑφάσιδος κτλ.] τοῖς παρὰ τὸ χεῖλος τοῦ ποταμοῦ· εἰκὸς γὰρ ταῖς πέτραις τὸ ὕδωρ καταρρηγνύμενον, εἶτα πρὸς αὐτῶν ἀντρωθούμενον τῇ παραποταμῇ λήξει, καὶ πάλιν ἀπὸ ταύτης ταλαντευόμενον διὰ στενότητα πρὸς τὰς κατεπειξάσας αὐτῷ πέτρας, καὶ τοῦτο πολλάκις συμβᾶν δίνην τε πολλὴν ἀπεργάζεσθαι καὶ δύσπλοα τὰ παρὰ κρηπίδα πάντα καὶ ἄπλοα. (fol. 60^v)
- III.58.1** (p. 65.10; p. 124.21 Kayser) τῆς Ἀντιοχείας συνήθως ὑβριζούσης] Χριστιανῶν ἤδη τὴν Ἀντιόχειαν ἐνοικούντων, ἄβατος τῷ γόητι γίνεται τοῦ μὴ τὰς μαγανείας αὐτοῦ ἐλεγχθῆναι· ἐδεδίει γὰρ μὴ τὸ ὅμοιον τῷ Σίμωνι (σήμωνι **F**) πάθοι καὶ αὐτός. (fol. 61^v)
- IV.1.1a** (p. 65.15 / p. 125.1 Kayser) ἐπεὶ δὲ εἶδον κτλ.] [. . .] ἐκπληττομένων τῇ θεᾷ, ἥ καὶ ἐωρακῶτων μὲν, ψυχαγωγεῖσθαι δὲ βουλομένων οἷς ὁ ἄρκουσκός ἐναθῦρει τῷ θηρίῳ. οὐ μέγα οὖν ὁ Ἀπολλώνιος ὀχλαγωγεῖν τῷ αὐχμηρῷ καὶ ἀπροσφύλω τῆς ὄψεως πολλοὺς ἐπισυρομένῳ, τῶν μὲν χυδαίων ἐκπληττομένων, τῶν δὲ σπουδαίων διαγελόντων ἐπιδεικτικὸν ἄνθρωπον καὶ ἀλαζόνα. (fol. 62^r)
- IV.1.1b** (p. 65.19 / p. 125.9 Kayser) πολλοὺς γὰρ τῶν ὑγιείας δεομένων κτλ.] ἐκνευρισ[μένοι] οἱ δαίμονες τῇ τοῦ Χ[ριστοῦ] ἐπιδημίᾳ τὸ (ὁ **F**) λοιπὸν αὐτοῖς διὰ τῶν ὁμοίων γοήτων ταῖς ἀπ[α]τηλαῖς ἐπεχειρ[οῦν] ὑγιάσειν. (fol. 62^r)
- IV.3.2** (p. 66.16 / p. 126.25 Kayser) ὀρᾶτε κτλ.] καλὴ ἡ κοινολογία, εἶπερ ἀληθῆς ἡ τερατολογία. (fol. 62^v)
- IV.6** (p. 66.33 / p. 127.25 Kayser) ὃ θεοὶ κτλ.] καὶ τί μὴ ἠκούετο, εἰ θεοφιλῆς οὕτως ἦν; (fol. 63^v)

- IV.10.2** (p. 68.13 / p. 130.16 Kayser) περιστήσας κτλ.] τοῦτο οὐκ ἔτι σκάζουσιν ἔχει τὴν πίστιν ὡς οὐ γόης καὶ κατὰ ὀφθαλμῶν παραποίησιν ἐνεργῶν ὁ Ἀπολλώνιος. τί γὰρ νόσος σεσωμάτωται, ὡς ἢ παρὰ σοῦ βούλεται τερατεία; ἀλλ' ὡς ἔοικεν μωροῖς καὶ βλεννώδεσι καὶ τιτθῆς δεομένοις ἀνθρώποις παρατυχεῖν, ἐξίστησι ταῖς ματαιότησι ταύταις. (fol. 64^v)
- IV.10.3** (p. 68.19 / p. 130.28 Kayser) διαλιπὼν κτλ.] ὥσπερ ὁ καταλιθωθείς γέρων, οὐκ ἀλήθεια, φάσμα δέ· οὕτως οὐδὲ ὁ νῦν κύων τοῦτο ὅπερ ὀρᾶται, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῦτο τοῦ προτέρου ἀνυπαρκτότερον. τί γὰρ μὴ λόγῳ ἔλυσεν ὡς ὁ Ἥλιος τὸν αὐχμὸν ἀλλὰ φάσμασι διατυπώσας τὸ πάθος; (fol. 65^v)
- IV.11.1** (p. 68.29 / p. 131.15 Kayser) ἐπὶ τοῦ κολωνοῦ τοῦ Ἀχιλλέως] καὶ μὴ ἱστοροῦσι τὰ τοῦ Ἀχιλλέως ὅσα ἀποτεθῆναι εἰς τὴν Λευκὴν νῆσον· πῶς οὖν ἐπὶ τῷ κενοταφίῳ ὁ ἦρωσ παρεῖναι τερατεύεται σοι; (fol. 65^v)
- IV.16.4** (p. 71.12 / p. 136.16 Kayser) μετὰ ταῦτα δὲ ἠρόμη] τῆς ἐμπληξίας· εἰς γὰρ εἰς θεοὺς ἀναφέρεται σοι, τί μὴ ἀπόρητά τινα καὶ θεῖα καὶ οἷα εἰκὸς ἄνδρα σοφὸν πυθάνη ἀλλὰ ταῦτα; (fol. 68^r)
- IV.40.4** (p. 83.10 / p. 160.2 Kayser) πορεύονται μὲν ἐς Αἰθιοπίαν κτλ.] τοῦτο καὶ βέβηλος ἂν ἐνόμισε σοφίας {ἄν}, ἀλλ' οὐχ οἷον αὐτὸς βούλει, Φιλόστρατε, Ἀπολλώνιον ἀποφαίνειν. θεὸς γὰρ πάντα πληρῶν, πάντων μὲν ἀποφοιτᾷ τόπων, τοῖς δὲ ἐπιφοιτᾷ βαναύσου τοιγαροῦν ταῦτα καὶ ἀγυρτικῆς σοφίας. (fol. 80^v)
- IV.43.1** (p. 83.37 / p. 161.20 Kayser) ἔσται τι, ἔφη, μέγα καὶ οὐκ ἔσται] οὐχ ὄρᾳς δολεροῦ ἀνδρὸς λόγον; ἐπαμφοτερίζων γὰρ τὸν λόγον καὶ πρὸς ἀντίφασιν ὑπεκφέρων δοκεῖ τοῖς ἀνοήτοις προγνωστικῆς δυνάμεως ἐμπλεως εἶναι, τὸ δὲ καὶ πᾶς ἔτοιμος ἀπεργάσασθαι καθ' ὁπότερον τοῦ λόγου τῆς ἐκβάσεως μὴ ἀστοχούσης. (fol. 81^r)
- IV.43.2a** (p. 84.2 / p. 161.24 Kayser) σιτουμένου γὰρ τοῦ Νέρωνος κτλ.] καὶ τί μὴ ἐβλήθη ἐκεῖνος, ὡς ἄδικον· τί γὰρ ἢ κύλιξ ἠδίκησεν; (fol. 81^v)
- IV.43.2b** (p. 84.4 / p. 161.28 Kayser) ἀκούσας δὲ Τιγελλίνος κτλ.] ἐκ τούτων ψεῦδος ἀποφαίνεται τὸ Τιγελλίνον αἰδημόνως διακεῖσθαι πρὸς Ἀπολλώνιον. πᾶς γὰρ ὁ περιεργαζόμενος πάντα Ἀπολλωνίου σεβασμίως πρὸς αὐτὸν εἶχεν; (fol. 81^v)
- IV.44.2** (p. 84.18 / p. 162.23 Kayser) ἀνελίττων Τιγελλίνος τὸ γραμματεῖον κτλ.] ἐμβρόντητε, Φιλόστρατε, οὐδὲ ἀπὸ τούτου τῆς τοῦ ἀνδρὸς συνίης γοητείας. εἰ γὰρ οὐ δίκαιον τὸ γραμματεῖον, τί πρᾶγμα μὴ ἀπελέγξαι λόγῳ ἀληθείας αὐτὸ ἀλλ' ἢ οὕτως ἀφανίσει; τάχα δὲ οὐδὲ ἠφάνισεν, εἰ μὴ τὴν τοῦ βλέποντος παραποιήσας ὄψιν· ὅπερ πολὺ παρὰ τοῖς μαγγανεύουσι τὰ τοιαῦτα. (fol. 82^r)
- IV.45.1** (p. 85.7 / p. 164.5 Kayser) τοῦ δοκοῦντος θανάτου] ἰδοὺ καὶ αὐτὸς εἰς δόκησιν καταλογίζει τὸν θάνατον, οὐκ εἰς ἀλήθειαν. (fol. 82^v)
- IV.45.2** (p. 85.10 / p. 164.12 Kayser) ὡς ψεκάζοι κτλ.] εὐγε, Φιλόστρατε, μόγις ποτὲ τὸ ἀληθὲς ἐξειπῶν. κάρῳ γὰρ ἢ κόρη ἦτο ἐκλύσει κατείληπτο τοῦ ἑαυτῆς σώματος· οὐ γὰρ ἂν ὕοντος καὶ τοῦ προσώπου ταῖς ψεκάσι νοτιζόμενου, ἀτμίς ἀπεπέμπετο, εἰωθὸς τοῦτο ἐπὶ ζώντων μόνον σωματῶν συμπίπτειν, τῆς ἐνυπούσης θερμότητος φυσικῆς ἀπομαχομένης τῷ ἀπὸ

τῆς ψεκάδος ὑγρῶ καὶ λεπτυνούσης κατὰ μικρόν, εἶτα εἰς ἀέρα ἐκθυμώσης· οἶόν τι καὶ περὶ τὰ ἐκ πυρὸς προθαλφθέντα σώματα ἔστιν ἰδεῖν, ἐπειδ' ἂν ὕδατι κατακλύζεται. ἢ γάρ τοι τοῦ πυρὸς δύναμις τῆ τοῦ ὕδατος πυκνότητι εἰς ἐξαραίωσιν ἀνταγωνιζομένη [ἀτμίδα τὸ πρῶτον μεθίστησι λεπτοτέραν ὑπόστασιν ὕδατος, εἶτα καὶ εἰς ἀέρα διέλυσε τὴν τῆς ἀτμίδος ἠρέμα πυκνότητα, ὅταν καὶ Ἀπολλώνιος δεινὸς συνιδεῖν τὸ ἐπὶ τῇ (Q: *duae lineae desunt in F*)] κόρη ὑπόν, εἰς θαῦμα τῶ συμπτώματι ἀπεχρήσατο. ἐπεὶ τί μὴ καὶ ἐπ' ἄλλον νεκροῦ τοῦτο ἐποίησεν, ὡς οἱ ἐπ' ἀληθείας νεκροὺς ἀναβιδῶναι τοῦ κυρίου μαθηταὶ ἐνηργηκότες ἦτοι ὑπὸ τῶν προσηκόντων παρακεκλημένοι ἢ καὶ αὐθαίρετοι ἐπὶ τοῦτο ἀφωρμηκότες; (fol. 82^v-83^r)

- IV.46.2** (p. 85.18 / p. 164.27 Kayser) Ἀπολλώνιος Μουσωνίῳ κτλ.] οὐχ ὀρᾶς σωφρονέστερος Ἀπολλωνίου Μουσώνιος; ὁ μὲν γὰρ ἐπὶ μαγγανείας καὶ τερατείας αὐτὸν παρακαλεῖ, ὁ δὲ Μουσώνιος τὰς τοιαύτας ἀποπέμπεται χάριτας τεθαρρηκότως φάσκων τῇ ἀπολογία τὰ αἰτιάματα ἀπολούσασθαι, ἀλλ' οὐκ ἐπὶ ματαιότητος καὶ μανίας ψευδεῖς ἀποκλίνας. καὶ γὰρ ἠπίστατο λόγῳ χρησάμενος τὰ δοκοῦντα ἐγκλήματα διαδράν[αι· τοῦτο δὲ] Ἀπολλωνίῳ μὴ προσόν, τοῖς φάσμασι διεκρούετο τὰς ἀληθεῖς καὶ ἀπαραλογίστους αἰτίας. (fol. 83^r)
- V.33.2** (p. 98.23 / p. 191.2 Kayser) ὡς νεότης] κίβδηλος ὁ λόγος καὶ πρὸς νεωτερικὴν ὑπαγόμενος ἀρέσκειαν. (fol. 96^v)
- VI.29.1** (p. 124.24 / p. 243.5 Kayser) Τίτος ἠρήκει τὰ Σόλυμα] ὅτι τριακοντούτης Τίτος τὰ Ἱεροσόλυμα εἶλεν. (fol. 123^r)
- VIII.7.16** (p. 156.21 / p. 309.1 Kayser) χρυσοῦ δὲ οὐδεὶς ἐπ' αὐτῷ λόγος] τὸ χρυσοῦν δέρος λέγει. (fol. 157^r)
- VIII.7.25** (p. 158.28 / p. 313.22 Kayser) Ἐμπεδοκλέους, ὃς νεφέλης ἀνέσχε] ὡς μὲν ἀνέσχεν νεφέλην Ἐμπεδοκλῆς οὐκ ἔχω λέγειν, τοῦ χρόνου τὴν ἀλήθειαν ὑπολυγάζοντος· εἰ δὲ καὶ ἀλήθειαν τὸ πρᾶγμα συγκροτεῖ, οὐδὲν χρηστὸν ἔστ' ἂν καὶ χαλαζάριοι, οὕτω λέγειν, γοητείας ἐσχολακότες, τοῦτο κατορθούμενον (Q: *κατορθούμενος*) F· εἰ δ' ἐκπλήττη τὴν Ἐμπεδοκλέους νεφέλην ἀποπομπήν, αἰσχύνῃ τὸ ἡμίφλεκτον σάμβαλον ποιεῖτω σοι. (fol. 159^v)
- VIII.7.43** (p. 163.1 / p. 322.29 Kayser) Μεγιστίας κτλ.] τίνες καὶ πόσοι οἱ δι' ἐντόμων μάντιες καὶ τίσι; (fol. 164^v)
- VIII.19.1** (p. 168.32 / p. 335.5 Kayser) διαλέξομαι κτλ.] περισπούδαστα πράγματα καὶ πολλὴν αὐτῷ τὴν ματαιοπονίαν προσμαρτυροῦντα. (fol. 170^v)

LA VISION DES QUATRE BÊTES, LA *THÉOTOKOS*,
LES DOUZE TRÔNES ET D'AUTRES THÈMES :
LA LETTRE Θ DU *FLORILÈGE COISLIN**

Le *Florilège Coislin* (dorénavant : *FC*), dont le nom provient d'un des témoins majeurs, le *Parisinus, Coislinianus* 294, est une anthologie monumentale, compilée probablement entre la fin du IX^e et le début du X^e siècle. On ne connaît pas encore avec certitude l'origine du florilège, ni sa fonction précise. Cette anthologie contient des centaines d'extraits tirés des Pères et d'auteurs byzantins ; les thèmes dont il est question et qui sont indiqués dans les titres des chapitres, sont classés selon l'ordre alphabétique.

Une édition intégrale du *FC* n'existe pas encore, mais depuis 2008 des éditions partielles ont été publiées.¹ Ainsi, on dispose maintenant d'un texte

* Nous remercions vivement Laurent Poschet d'avoir relu et corrigé notre article.

¹ Les éditions les plus récentes permettent de prendre connaissance de toute la littérature antérieure : voir R. CEULEMANS – E. DE RIDDER – K. LEVRIE – P. VAN DEUN, *Sur le mensonge, l'âme de l'homme et les faux prophètes : la Lettre Ψ du Florilège Coislin*, dans *Byz*, 83 (2013), pp. 49-82 ; R. CEULEMANS – P. VAN DEUN – F. A. WILDENBOER, *Questions sur les deux arbres du Paradis : la Lettre Ξ du Florilège Coislin*, dans *Byz*, 84 (2014), pp. 49-79. On y ajoutera les articles suivants : T. FERNÁNDEZ, *The Florilegium Coislinianum and Byzantine Encyclopaedism*, dans S. NEOCLEOUS (éd.), *Papers from the First and Second Postgraduate Forums in Byzantine Studies : 'Sailing to Byzantium'*, Newcastle-upon-Tyne, 2009, pp. 127-144 ; IDEM, *Byzantine Tears. A Pseudo-Chrysostomic Fragment on Weeping in the Florilegium Coislinianum*, dans C. MACÉ – P. VAN DEUN (éds.), *Encyclopedic Trends in Byzantium? Proceedings of the International Conference held in Leuven, 6–8 May 2009* (OLA, 212), Leuven, 2011, pp. 125-142 ; IDEM, *Remarks on Editing a Byzantine Anthology*, dans *GRBS*, 51 (2011), pp. 167-179 ; IDEM, *La tendencia compilatoria en época de controversia teológica. Antologías bizantinas y derecho: siglos IV a VIII*, dans *Maia*, 66 (2014), pp. 157-171 ; IDEM, *El florilegio de los mss. FH en la letra Alfa del Florilegium Coislinianum*, dans CH. DENDRINOS – B. ROOSEN – P. VAN DEUN (éds.), volume à paraître dans la série *Studies in Byzantine History and Civilization*, Turnhout ; C. MACÉ – Th. WAUTERS – T. FERNÁNDEZ – L. CUPPI, *Un petit florilège sur l'âme et le corps (De corpore et anima) dans le Liber de definitionibus (CPG 2254) attribué à Athanase d'Alexandrie*, dans J. SIGNES CODOÑER – I. PÉREZ MARTÍN (éds.), *Textual Transmission in Byzantium: between Textual Criticism and Quellenforschung* (LECTIO Studies in the Transmission of Texts & Ideas, 2), Turnhout, 2014, pp. 231-261 ; P. VAN DEUN, *Lire en extraits à Byzance : le Florilegium Coislinianum et ses sections païennes*, dans S. MORLET (éd.), *Lire en extraits. Histoire de lecture et de production des textes, de l'Antiquité au Moyen Âge (Cultures et civilisations médiévales)*, Paris, 2015, pp. 415-423 ; IDEM, *Un extrait pseudo-chrysostomien sur l'intempérance et la lèpre (CPG 4878)*, dans C. MACÉ – F. P. BARONE – P. UBIERNA (éds.), volume à paraître dans la série *Instrumenta Patristica et Mediaevalia*, Turnhout (article centré sur un morceau cité dans la Lettre Λ). Une étude de la fin du *FC* (aucun manuscrit ne contient la Lettre Ω) paraîtra dans le prochain volume de *TM*, sous le titre *Réflexions sur la littérature anthologique de Constantin V à Constantin VII* (article de R. Ceulemans et P. Van Deun).

fiable pour les Lettres Α-Γ, Η, Ξ et Ψ, et l'édition d'autres *stoicheia* est en préparation.² C'est la Lettre Θ sur laquelle sera centré le présent article.

PRÉSENTATION DES TÉMOINS MANUSCRITS

La Lettre Θ est conservée dans les trois recensions du florilège, ainsi que dans quelques témoins fragmentaires.³

La première recension n'est conservée que dans le seul manuscrit **A**, le *Parisinus, Coislinianus* 294 (du XI^e-XII^e siècle), déjà mentionné ci-dessus. Il contient le texte complet du *stoicheion* Θ, qui, suite à une transposition de folios,⁴ se trouve aux ff. 146^v-148^v (l'extrait 1 et la première moitié de l'extrait 2) et 126-131.

Aucun des trois témoins de la deuxième recension ne contient la Lettre Θ dans son intégralité. En **B** (l'*Atheniensis, Bibliotheca Nationalis* 464, témoin du X^e siècle), la plus grande partie du texte a disparu à cause d'une perte de folios, ce qui explique qu'on n'y lit que la première partie du premier extrait.⁵ Cette perte s'est produite en **B** avant que **S** (le *Bruxellensis* IV, 881, de l'année 1542), une copie directe de **B**, ne fut achevé ; il n'y a donc rien d'étonnant au fait que **S** renferme la même bribe de Θ que son modèle **B**.⁶ Dans le témoin principal de la recension II, le *Parisinus gr.* 924, également du X^e siècle (**C**), un folio est tombé entre les ff. 164^v et 165 actuels, entraînant une perte considérable à l'intérieur de l'extrait 2 (ll. 63-87).

La recension III est représentée par les témoins qu'on connaît des Lettres déjà éditées : un manuscrit du X^e siècle (le *Mediolanensis, Ambrosianus*

² L'édition critique des Lettres Δ-Z est mise en chantier par J. Maksimczuk (KU Leuven), dans le cadre d'une thèse de doctorat dirigée par P. Van Deun et R. Ceulemans. Dans un futur prochain, le texte critique de la Lettre P paraîtra par les soins de R. Ceulemans, Ch. Gazzini, J. Maksimczuk et P. Van Deun.

³ Sur ces trois recensions et tous ses témoins, voir nos articles antérieurs, où on trouvera les références à la littérature secondaire (cf. ci-dessus, n. 1). Ici on mentionne seulement les témoins dans lesquels la Lettre Θ est conservée.

⁴ À ce propos, consulter R. DEVRESSE, *Bibliothèque Nationale, Département des manuscrits. Catalogue des manuscrits grecs, II, Le fonds Coislin*, Paris, 1945, pp. 275-276.

⁵ Le dernier mot conservé en **B**, ἔτερον (1.30), se trouve à la fin de la p. 208. La p. 209 de **B** commence au milieu du premier extrait de la Lettre I (édité par V. DÉROCHE, *La polémique anti-judaïque au VI^e et au VII^e siècle. Un memento inédit, les Képhalaia*, dans *TM*, 11 [1991], pp. 299-304 [repr. dans G. DAGRON – V. DÉROCHE, *Juifs et chrétiens en Orient byzantin (Bilans de recherche, 5)*, Paris, 2010, pp. 275-311]).

⁶ Le scribe de **S**, Jean Katelos de Nauplie, s'est bien rendu compte de cette lacune ; après le mot ἔτερον (1.30), qui se trouve au milieu du f. 95 de **S**, Jean a laissé vides le reste du f. 95 et le f. 95^v. Le f. 96 s'ouvre au milieu du premier extrait de la Lettre I (voir la note précédente).

Q 74 sup. = **D**),⁷ deux témoins des années 1280 copiés probablement par Syméon Kalliandrès (l'*Argentoratensis*, *Bibliotheca Nationalis et Universitatis* gr. 12 = **E**, et l'*Athous*, *Iviron* 38 = **G**), et les codex *Atheniensis*, *Bibliotheca Nationalis* 329 (**F**, du XIII^e-XIV^e siècle) et *Vaticanus* gr. 491 (**H**, du XIII^e siècle).

Finalement, on signale six témoins fragmentaires qui n'ont transmis qu'un petit choix de la Lettre Θ et dont cinq ont déjà été utilisés dans les éditions d'autres Lettres du florilège : l'*Oxoniensis*, *Bodleianus*, *Baroccianus* 91, du XVI^e siècle (**U**), et le *Monacensis* gr. 551, du XV^e siècle (**Z**), contiennent le premier extrait, tandis que l'*Athous*, *Koutloumousiou* 9 (**K**, XIV^e siècle), le *Londinensis*, *British Library*, *Add.* 17472 (**L**, également XIV^e siècle) et l'*Athous*, *Lavra* B 43, témoin du XII^e siècle (**R**) renferment le quatrième extrait.⁸ Ce même fragment se trouve également (au complet) dans un manuscrit qui, jusqu'à présent, n'a pas encore été identifié comme témoin fragmentaire du *FC* ; il s'agit de l'*Atheniensis*, *Bibliotheca Nationalis* 2429, qui daterait de la première moitié du XIV^e siècle et qui a appartenu autrefois à la bibliothèque de la Μονή Προδρομού de Serrès (dorénavant désigné par le sigle **Ath**).⁹ Les ff. 8-16 de ce codex contiennent un bon nombre d'extraits dont la plupart sont tirés du *FC*, plus particulièrement des Lettres B, Γ, Δ, E, Z, H (l'extrait 13), Θ et O.

CLASSEMENT DES TÉMOINS

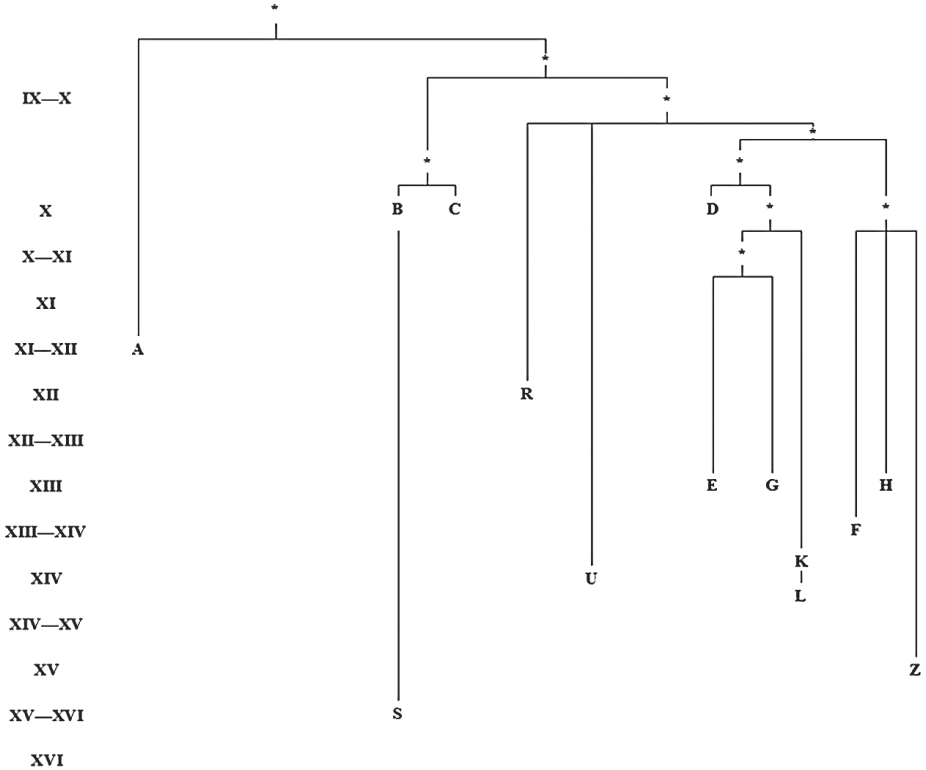
La collation des manuscrits qui contiennent le texte intégral ou une partie de la Lettre Θ, n'engendre aucune contradiction avec le *stemma codicum* auquel nous avons abouti dans nos éditions antérieures ; voici cet arbre

⁷ Comme c'est aussi le cas pour les autres Lettres du florilège, **D** ajoute ici et là dans les marges des notes, qui aujourd'hui sont presque illisibles et qui ne sont pas retenues dans notre édition.

⁸ Le manuscrit (**R**) ne contient que la première part du quatrième extrait, jusqu'au mot προβλεπομένη (4.3) : cette sélection n'est attestée par aucun autre témoin du *FC*. De plus, le fragment n'est accompagné ni de titre, ni d'une numérotation. On est toutefois d'avis que les lignes remontent au *FC*, car elles partagent toutes les leçons qui distinguent la rédaction du florilège de la tradition directe de cet extrait de Basile de Césarée. Remarquons aussi qu'en **R**, le fragment est précédé d'un extrait tiré de la Lettre O du *FC*. Nous remercions Tomás Fernández, qui nous a aidé à formuler ce jugement.

⁹ Le manuscrit a été collationné sur place par Ilse De Vos (12/03/2014) ; qu'elle trouve ici l'expression de notre gratitude. On trouvera une description détaillée dans le catalogue de L. POLITIS (avec l'assistance de M. L. POLITI), *Κατάλογος χειρογράφων της Έθνικης Βιβλιοθήκης της Ελλάδος (Πραγματεῖαι τῆς Ἀκαδημίας Ἀθηνῶν, 54)*, Athènes, 1991, pp. 427-433.

généalogique qui se limite évidemment aux témoins qui ont conservé le *stoicheion* Θ :



Les éléments fournis par la Lettre Θ qui corroborent ce *stemma* sont les suivants :

Le seul témoin de la recension I, codex **A**, se caractérise par plusieurs fautes qui l'isolent du reste de la tradition.¹⁰ À titre d'exemples, on peut mentionner deux cas d'un saut du même au même (στρεβλῶν...δαίμων [11.15-17] et Οὐ...θρόνοι² [13.11]), l'omission de τὴν (2.52), l'addition de ἦ (14.4), la transposition de καί που (2.13), et les variantes αὐτόν (3.9), ἑαυτὸν (3.12), Λοιμὸν (4.3) et ἁμαρτάνοντα (14.8).

Seules la numérotation du premier chapitre de Θ (κεφάλαιον ριβ') et la manque d'attribution du premier extrait caractérisent les trois témoins de la recension II (**C B S**). Cette constatation ne peut pas étonner, car **B S** ne contiennent qu'une toute petite partie du texte, ce qui est déjà un indice bien

¹⁰ On notera également un grand nombre d'erreurs d'orthographe, qui déparent le texte de ce manuscrit et que nous n'avons pas signalées dans l'apparat critique.

clair de la parenté entre **B** et **S**.¹¹ De plus, ces deux témoins partagent, contre le reste de la tradition, trois fautes et variantes : l'addition de τοῦ (1.20) et les omissions de ὁ (1.21) et de δέκα (1.28).¹² Parmi ces deux manuscrits, **S** est le seul à avoir des fautes additionnelles : αὐτῆς au lieu de αὐτῇ (1.6) et ἀνθρώπων au lieu de ἀνθρώπου (1.9). Le codex **S** est clairement un apographe de **B**.

Dans la section également conservée en **B S**, il n'y a aucun cas où **C** donne une leçon fautive tandis que **B S** donnent le texte correct. Est-ce que **B C** sont des frères ou est-ce que **C** est le modèle direct de **B**¹³ ? Le matériel dont on dispose actuellement ne permet pas de trancher définitivement, nous semble-t-il, et c'est pour cette raison-ci que nous sommes restés prudents, en suivant notre hypothèse que **C** et **B** sont des frères qui descendent indépendamment l'un de l'autre d'un même modèle.¹⁴

Comme si souvent, la version du florilège transmise dans la recension III est plus courte ; en effet, les manuscrits **D E G F H** contiennent seulement les extraits 1-4 et 12-14 de la Lettre Θ. De plus, ils se caractérisent par quelques variantes, telles κηρύττει au lieu de διακηρύττει (2.81), αὐτὸς au lieu de αὐτὸν (2.86), συμβουλή au lieu de συμβουλία (3.5) et ἀπλούσθωσαν au lieu de ἀπλουσθήσονται (14.10).

À l'intérieur de cette recension, **D**, malgré son âge vénérable, se singularise par un bon nombre de fautes et variantes moins probantes.¹⁵ On citera, par exemple, l'omission de Κατευθυνθήτω...ἐσπερινή (14.1-2), l'addition de μὲν (1.2) et de δὲ (1.19), la transposition πολυπραγμοιοῦτο ὁ τοῦ θανάτου (2.71), et les variantes καρδίαν au lieu de καρδία (1.9) et ἀγίων au lieu de ἀχράντων (3.16).

¹¹ Voir les nn. 5 et 6.

¹² À ces trois cas, on ajoutera encore l'omission, par saut du même au même, de ἐξεδιώχθη...αὐτοῦ (1.8-9) en **B S** et **G^{a.c.}**.

¹³ Cette seconde hypothèse est défendue par T. FERNÁNDEZ, *Book Alpha of the Florilegium Coislinianum: A Critical Edition with a Philological Introduction*, diss. doct., KU Leuven, 2010, pp. CVI-CXI. Dans son article sous presse *Un extrait pseudo-chrysostomien*, Van Deun lui-aussi relève quelques points qui pourraient indiquer que **B** serait une copie (et non : un frère) de **C**, en se basant sur le matériel qu'il a étudié pour un texte cité dans la Lettre Λ (pas de variantes qui caractérisent **C** seul, tandis que **B** se singularise par une omission et une variante importante).

¹⁴ Voir nos publications antérieures, plus particulièrement CEULEMANS – VAN DEUN – WILDENBOER, *Questions sur les deux arbres*, p. 53, ainsi que la littérature mentionnée à la n. 16 de cet article-là. Une telle hypothèse pourrait trouver confirmation dans le fait qu'en **C**, le titre du premier chapitre de Θ, ainsi que plusieurs autres titres, sont écrits par une main postérieure, tandis que **B** renferme bien ces titres. Un article sur les titres en **C** et **B** est en préparation par J. Maksimczuk.

¹⁵ Parmi ces variantes, on signalera un grand nombre de fautes d'orthographe, absentes, pour la plus grande partie, de notre apparatus critique.

On ne s'étonne pas que les témoins **E G** se caractérisent également par un grand nombre de fautes et variantes qui les isolent du reste de la tradition, car de toute probabilité ils ont été transcrits par le même scribe. Citons, à titre d'exemples, les cas suivants : l'omission de καὶ (2.12), de τοῦ (2.29) et de ὡς (2.75) ; l'addition de οὖν (2.58) et de Ἡ (14.7) ; la transposition de εἶναι μὴ (3.24) et de δεξαμένους νόμον (13.8-9) ; les variantes διανοησόμεθα au lieu de διακεισόμεθα (2.65), οὗτοι au lieu de οἱ θρόνοι (13.11), et τὰ τοῦ πένητος au lieu de πένητα (14.11). Bien que les cas soient peu nombreux (surtout en ce qui concerne le manuscrit **E**), chacun des manuscrits **E** et **G** a des fautes individuelles, comme le montrent les endroits suivants : les variantes πολυπραγμονεῖτο (**E**) et πολυπραγμονεῖ (**G**) au lieu de πολυπραγμονοῖτο (2.71) ; la faute ζωοποιησόμεθα en **G** (2.89) ; l'omission de καὶ en **G** (3.14). Cette évidence est maigre mais ne contredit pas l'hypothèse selon laquelle ces manuscrits sont des frères.¹⁶

Une autre sous-famille qui s'impose nettement, est celle qui réunit les manuscrits **F** et **H**.¹⁷ Voici une sélection des fautes et variantes qui isolent ces deux témoins du reste de la tradition : la transposition de ὁ Μωϋσῆς (14.2-3) ; l'addition de καὶ (1.23) et de γὰρ (2.57) ; l'omission de τῷ τυπικῷ (2.5), de Θεοῦ καὶ (2.19) et de ὡς ἔφην (2.45) ; les leçons ἀποθώμεθα (3.10, au lieu de ἀποθησώμεθα) et τοῖς οὐρανοῖς (3.11, au lieu de τῷ οὐρανῷ). Ces deux manuscrits ont chacun plusieurs variantes et fautes individuelles : on signale par exemple deux omissions, à cause d'un saut du même au même, qu'on retrouve en **H** seul (1.3-6 et 3.19-20), ainsi que quelques omissions plus limitées en **F** (2.13, 2.29, 4.4 et 13.11). Tout cela nous permet de conclure que **F** et **H** descendent, indépendamment l'un de l'autre, d'un modèle perdu aujourd'hui.

En ce qui concerne les témoins partiels, on note d'abord que **Z**, qui ne renferme que le premier extrait, partage une omission avec **F** et **H** (1.26), ainsi qu'une omission et une variante avec **F** seul (1.33 et 1.18-19). De plus, **Z** a plusieurs leçons individuelles, très probantes (1.11, 1.12, 1.15 et 1.16). Cette constatation pourrait donner l'impression que ce témoin est une copie de **F**, mais une telle hypothèse est réfutée par l'observation que certaines fautes qui caractérisent **F**, ne sont pas partagées par **Z** (voir 1.7 et 1.25). Il semble donc que **Z** appartienne à la même sous-famille que **F** et **H**, et que

¹⁶ Rappelons que FERNÁNDEZ, *Book Alpha*, pp. CXX-CXXI, pense que **G** est une copie de **E**. Pour ce problème, voir CEULEMANS – DE RIDDER – LEVRIE – VAN DEUN, *Sur le mensonge*, p. 50.

¹⁷ On notera que, pour ce qui est de la Lettre Θ, cette sous-famille ne contient pas d'extraits supplémentaires ; comparer avec ce qu'on lit chez FERNÁNDEZ, *Book Alpha*, pp. CIII-CIV et CEULEMANS – VAN DEUN – WILDENBOER, *Questions sur les deux arbres*, pp. 62-67.

ces trois manuscrits soient tous des frères dépendant d'un seul et même modèle.¹⁸

Les témoins **K** et **L** ne renferment que le quatrième extrait, indice très probant de leur parenté. **K** n'a aucune faute qui ne se trouve pas en **L**, tandis que ce dernier se singularise par une transposition (l. 7 : ὁ ἀγαθὸς au lieu de ἀγαθὸς ὁ). Malgré la brièveté du quatrième fragment, il n'y a rien qui puisse contredire la conclusion tirée d'autres Lettres du florilège : **L** est une copie de **K**.¹⁹

Aussi le témoin **R** offre seulement le quatrième extrait, mais il est seul à ne renfermer que les premières lignes de ce fragment, jusqu'au mot προβλεπομένη (4.3). On ne peut constater aucun lien avec **K L** ; en effet, sur base des *stiocheia* A et H, on pense de pouvoir situer **R** au dessus du modèle commun de la troisième recension.²⁰ La Lettre Θ ne contient malheureusement aucun élément permettant de confirmer cette thèse. Notons seulement une transposition qui isole **R** de tout le reste de la tradition (4.2).

Passons enfin aux deux témoins fragmentaires qui posent beaucoup plus de problèmes. L'analyse du témoignage du codex **U** pour les Lettres A, Γ, H et Ψ a montré que ce manuscrit est difficile à situer dans le *stemma* : il y a dans ce manuscrit des éléments permettant de le rapprocher de la troisième recension, mais à d'autres endroits, il renferme des extraits et se caractérise par des leçons qui ne se trouvent que dans les recensions I et II.²¹ Est-ce que le codex **U** remonte plus haut dans le *stemma codicum* que le modèle commun de la recension III ? C'est une hypothèse qui ne manque pas de crédibilité, mais malheureusement la Lettre Θ ne nous a pas permis de résoudre définitivement ce problème, car le premier extrait de cette Lettre (le seul à être transmis en **U**) ne contient pas de leçons où les recensions I et II d'une part, et la recension III d'autre part, s'opposent clairement. Ce qui est toutefois sûr, c'est que ce témoin contient un grand nombre de fautes

¹⁸ L'hypothèse selon laquelle **F** et **Z** dépendraient, sans **H**, d'un modèle intermédiaire, est contredit par la présence des fautes partagées par **F** et **H** contre **Z** (1.13 et 1.23). Comparer avec K.-H. UTHEMANN (*Anastasioi Sinaitae Sermones duo in constitutionem hominis secundum imaginem dei necnon opuscula adversus monotheletas* [CCSG, 12], Turnhout – Leuven, 1985, p. CXXX), qui considère **H** et **Z** comme des frères, et avec CEULEMANS – DE RIDDER – LEVRIE – VAN DEUN (*Sur le mensonge*, pp. 58-59), qui disent que **F** et **Z** sont des frères.

¹⁹ Ajoutons une remarque à propos de la numérotation du quatrième extrait, cité dans ces deux témoins. Le copiste de **L** a repris le numéro μζ' de **K**, mais a aussi ajouté une numérotation alternative, à savoir κε[φάλαιον] μη'. Comparer notre appareil et J. H. DECLERCK, *Un manuscrit peu connu : le Londinensis*, Brit. Libr. Add. 17472, dans *Byz*, 51 (1981), p. 488.

²⁰ Voir FERNÁNDEZ, *Book Alpha*, pp. CXL-CXLI et R. CEULEMANS – I. DE VOS – E. GIELEN – P. VAN DEUN, *La continuation de l'exploration du Florilegium Coislinianum : la Lettre Éta*, dans *Byz*, 81 (2011), pp. 82-83.

²¹ À ce propos, on consultera CEULEMANS – DE RIDDER – LEVRIE – VAN DEUN, *Sur le mensonge*, pp. 56-57.

et variantes caractéristiques qui l'isolent de tout le reste de la transmission. En voici quelques exemples : Il. 1 (transposition de *δοκεῖ εἶναι*), 4 (*εἰπῶν* au lieu de *προσειπῶν*), 8 (*ἐδιώχθη* au lieu de *ἐξεδιώχθη*), 14 (transposition de *ἔθνη* *ἔδειξεν*), 24 (*οὐκ ἄλλοι* au lieu de *ἀλλ'*) et 26 (*ἀργυραῖ* au lieu de *σιδηραῖ*). La situation devient encore plus compliquée, lorsqu'on constate que le manuscrit **U** partage beaucoup de leçons avec **E G**,²² sous-famille à l'intérieur de la recension III, comme le montrent les cas suivants, relevés pour le premier extrait de **Θ** : l'attribution (*ἱερομάρτυρος* au lieu de *μάρτυρος*), les Il. 2 (addition de *ὕμῃν*), 25-26 (transposition de *αὐτῆς φησίν*), 30 (*ἀναφύσεται* au lieu de *ἀναβήσεται*) et 5, 7 et 15 (addition de *καὶ*). Mais il y a aussi des cas où **U** ne dépend pas d'un de ces deux manuscrits (ou de leur modèle) ; on note ici les Il. 7, 16 et 18 du premier extrait où **U** a conservé le texte original, tandis que **E G** y ont une faute. Il est clair qu'on aura besoin de données supplémentaires pour déterminer définitivement la place de **U**.

Il est encore plus difficile de situer le manuscrit **Ath**, qui ne renferme que le quatrième extrait, malheureusement très court, ce qui pourrait suggérer une parenté avec **K L**, qui également contiennent seulement cette partie de la Lettre **Θ**. Par contre, à la différence de ces deux témoins, **Ath** donne la leçon originale *καὶ* (l. 5). En effet, il n'est même pas clair si ce témoin se rapproche de la troisième recension. Comme plusieurs témoins de cette recension, il se caractérise par l'omission de *γὰρ* (l. 6), mais dans les autres Lettres que le manuscrit **Ath** renferme, il offre non seulement des additions et omissions qui l'isolent de tout le reste de la tradition mais aussi des leçons qui sont absentes de la recension III.²³ Notons deux exemples :

- dans l'attribution de l'extrait 21 de la Lettre **B**, **Ath** renferme les mots *μοναχοῦ πρεσβυτέρου*, qui sont caractéristiques des recensions I et II²⁴ ;
- dans le premier extrait du chapitre 10 de la Lettre **Δ** (encore inédite), qui est tiré de la LXXX^c *Quaestio ad Antiochum ducem* d'un pseudo-Athanase (CPG 2257),²⁵ **Ath** lit *οἷόν τι καὶ ἐπὶ πασῶν σχεδὸν τῶν γυναικῶν*

²² La combinaison de **U** et **E G** a déjà été signalée pour les Lettres **A**, **Γ**, **H** et **Ψ** : voir CEULEMANS – DE RIDDER – LEVRIE – VAN DEUN, *Sur le mensonge*, pp. 56-57, ainsi que l'article, sous presse, de VAN DEUN, *Un extrait pseudo-chrysostomien* (quatre cas probants qui témoignent de la parenté de **E G U**).

²³ Notre seule voie d'accès au contenu du témoin **Ath** est offerte par les notes qui sont faites par I. De Vos sur base de sa rapide consultation du manuscrit (voir notre n. 9), et qui se limitent en général à la transcription de l'*incipit* et du *desinit* de plusieurs extraits. En confrontant ces données avec la tradition textuelle du **FC**, nous avons bénéficié de l'aide généreuse de J. Maksimczuk.

²⁴ Voir l'apparat critique dans I. DE VOS – E. GIELEN – C. MACÉ – P. VAN DEUN, *La Lettre B du Florilège Coislin : editio princeps*, dans *Byz*, 80 (2010), p. 107.

²⁵ Comparer ce qui suit avec **PG** 28, col. 648.25-26.

avec les recensions I et II, tandis que la troisième recension transpose le *σχεδόν*.

Quelques autres cas semblent même préciser que le témoin **Ath** est proche de la première recension (ou même du *Florilegium Hierosolymitanum*, comme le pense José Maksimczuk²⁶) :

- en **Ath**, comme dans le manuscrit **A**, le cinquième chapitre du *stoicheion* Z (inédit jusqu’au présent) s’intitule *Περὶ τοῦ ἐν μέσῳ δύο ζώων γνωσθήσεται*, tandis que dans les recensions II et III le dernier mot est *γνωσθήσῃ* ;
- le seul extrait du chapitre 5 de la Lettre Δ, qui est tiré de la 193^e épître d’Isidore de Péluse (*CPG* 5557)²⁷ s’ouvre en **Ath** ainsi que dans la première recension comme *Τὸν κύριον ἡμῶν καὶ σωτῆρα ἠνίξατο* ; les recensions II et III omettent le pronom personnel.

Il est clair qu’on aura besoin de données supplémentaires pour déterminer définitivement la place de **Ath** dans le *stemma*.

CONTENU

La Lettre Θ renferme 14 extraits, regroupés en sept chapitres.²⁸ Une bonne partie de ces chapitres sont centrés sur un thème biblique,²⁹ comme le montrent clairement leurs titres : les quatre bêtes (*θηρία*) que Daniel a vues dans sa vision ; l’interdiction d’amasser des trésors terrestres (*θησαυρίζειν*), formulée par Jésus dans son Sermon sur la Montagne ; les douze trônes (*θρόνοι*) sur lesquels, d’après le Christ, les disciples siègeront ; et l’offrande du soir (*θυσία*) que le psalmiste présente au Seigneur en forme de ses mains levées.³⁰ Les titres des chapitres sur la mort imprévue (*θάνατος*) et sur l’irascibilité (*θυμώδης*) n’ont rien à faire avec la Bible ; mais cela n’a pas empêché le compilateur de citer, pour la plupart des extraits de ce dernier chapitre, des passages de l’Ancien et du Nouveau Testament. Finalement, le deuxième chapitre, centré sur la *Θεοτόκος*, est le seul à traiter d’un thème dogmatique.

²⁶ E-mail du 22/02/2016.

²⁷ Comparer ce qui suit avec *PG* 78, col. 305.39-40.

²⁸ À l’exception des cinquième et sixième chapitres, chaque *caput* se compose d’un seul extrait.

²⁹ Comparer avec CEULEMANS – VAN DEUN – WILDENBOER, *Questions sur les deux arbres*, p. 56 (et la n. 28 à la même page).

³⁰ On notera que ce verset des Psaumes est expliqué à l’aide non d’un texte exégétique sur les Psaumes, mais d’un extrait tiré d’une homélie sur l’Hexaéméron de Sévérien de Gabala.

À notre connaissance, le premier extrait est le seul fragment d'Hippolyte de Rome à être cité dans le *FC*. Il s'agit d'un extrait du *De Antichristo*, légèrement modifié,³¹ dans lequel l'auteur énumère et interprète les quatre bêtes de la première vision de Daniel.³²

Le deuxième extrait, qui est très élaboré, constitue presque un tiers de tout le *stoicheion* Θ ; il est tiré d'une lettre de Cyrille d'Alexandrie aux moines égyptiens, transmise dans les Actes du premier concile d'Éphèse.³³ Le compilateur du *FC* a combiné quelques fragments de cette épître, en restant assez proche du texte original.³⁴

Le troisième extrait est très intéressant, car il s'agit là d'un fragment exégétique sur l'Évangile de Matthieu, attribué à Athanase d'Alexandrie. On sait déjà que le *FC* contient plusieurs fragments similaires, dont il est le seul témoin.³⁵ L'extrait cité dans Θ a déjà été édité par Bernard de Montfaucon, sur base de notre manuscrit C.³⁶ D'après ce codex, le fragment serait tiré du *λόγος θ'* d'Athanase sur Matthieu, une indication que Montfaucon a traduite comme « *Sermo IX* ». Mais la situation est assez compliquée, car on ne sait

³¹ *L'Oratio de consummatione mundi* (CPG 1910 = BHG 812z), attribuée à Hippolyte à tort, contient (§§ 14-16) une version légèrement remaniée du même extrait du *De Antichristo* qu'on lit dans le *FC* ; à ce propos, voir H. ACHELIS, *Hippolytus Werke*, I, *Exegetische und homiletische Schriften*, 2, *Kleinere exegetische und homiletische Schriften* (GCS), Leipzig, 1897, pp. 294-295. Une comparaison montre clairement qu'il n'y a aucun argument pour supposer que le compilateur du *FC* aurait tiré le fragment en question de ce sermon au lieu du *De Antichristo* directement ; en effet, l'extrait cité dans le *FC* est plus proche du texte original du *De Antichristo* que de sa reprise dans le *De consummatione mundi*.

³² Dans les marges de plusieurs manuscrits (B S D E G F Z, parfois U), l'extrait est accompagné des numéros *α'-δ'*. Nous n'avons pas repris, dans notre édition, cette numérotation, qui correspond toutefois avec la division en paragraphes de notre texte.

³³ Nous n'avons quand-même pas réussi à identifier la source précise des ll. 1-5.

³⁴ On notera que le compilateur a également inclus des fragments de la lettre qui ne sont pas cités dans le *Florilegium Cyrillianum*, ce qui permet de conclure qu'ici le *FC* ne dépend pas du *Florilegium Cyrillianum*. Pour le texte de ce dernier, voir R. HESPEL, *Le Florilège Cyrillien réfuté par Sévère d'Antioche. Étude et édition critique* (Bibliothèque du Muséon, 37), Louvain, 1955, §§ 66 et 70-71. Mentionnons ici que l'extrait 23 de la Lettre Ψ du *FC*, tiré de la même épître de Cyrille, n'a aucun lien non plus avec le *Florilège Cyrillien*.

³⁵ On a relevé de tels fragments dans les Lettres A, B, H et Ψ déjà éditées ; à ce propos, on consultera surtout CEULEMANS – DE RIDDER – LEVRIE – VAN DEUN, *Sur le mensonge*, pp. 62-64 (où est mentionnée la littérature antérieure), ainsi que MACÉ – WAUTERS – FERNÁNDEZ – CUPPI, *Un petit florilège*, p. 239.

³⁶ *Collectio nova Patrum et Scriptorum Graecorum, Eusebii Caesariensis, Athanasii, et Cosmae Aegyptii*. Haec nunc primum ex manuscriptis codicibus Graecis Italicis Gallicanisque eruit, Latine vertit, notis et praefationibus illustravit B. DE MONTFAUCON, II, Paris, 1706, pp. 23-41 (fragments '*Ex sermonibus sive commentariis in Evangelium Matthaei*'). L'extrait en question se trouve aux pp. 31-32 (« [*e]x codice Reg. 1993* » = C). Cette section centrée sur l'Évangile de Matthieu est reprise dans la *PG* 27, coll. 1361-1390, plus particulièrement pour le fragment de Θ, col. 1373. Sur ce sujet, voir CEULEMANS – DE RIDDER – LEVRIE – VAN DEUN, *Sur le mensonge*, p. 63.

pas s'il s'agit ici effectivement des *sermones* sur cet Évangile, ni si l'attribution à Athanase est vraiment correcte.³⁷

L'extrait 11 qui, tout comme l'intégralité du cinquième chapitre, n'est conservé qu'en A et C, est tiré de la septième homélie sur les béatitudes de Grégoire de Nysse. Une comparaison entre l'édition critique de cette homélie³⁸ et le fragment cité dans le *FC* nous a permis de conclure que notre florilège est très proche du texte des témoins *M* et *V* de Grégoire, qui appartiennent à la branche Φ du stemma dressé par J. F. Callahan. Est-ce que cette découverte nous informe-t-elle sur l'endroit de compilation du *FC* ? Le manuscrit grégorien *M*, le *Messanensis*, *S. Salvatore* 80 (s. XII), provient sans aucun doute de l'Italie méridionale, comme le montrent son écriture, sa réglure et ses décorations.³⁹ Werner Jaeger a situé l'origine du témoin *V*, le *Vaticanus gr.* 2066 (s. IX), à Constantinople,⁴⁰ mais cette thèse est rejetée définitivement, par exemple par Guglielmo Cavallo ; en effet, ce manuscrit est achevé en Italie du sud, peut-être en Calabre.⁴¹ Il est donc séduisant de considérer ces constatations comme indice additionnel permettant de suggérer que le *FC* serait compilé en Italie méridionale.⁴² Mais quelque prudence

³⁷ À propos de ces problèmes épineux, on lira CEULEMANS – DE VOS – GIELEN – VAN DEUN, *La continuation*, p. 86.

³⁸ *Gregorii Nysseni De oratione dominica. De beatitudinibus*. Edidit J. F. CALLAHAN (*GNO*, 7.2), Leiden – New York – Köln, 1992, pp. 155.6 – 156.21 et 156.28 – 157.1.

³⁹ Voir, à titre d'exemples : M. B. FOTI, *Il Monastero del S.mo Salvatore in Lingua Phari. Proposte scrittorie e coscienza culturale*, Messine, 1989, pp. 48-50 ; EADEM, *Lo "scriptorium" del S.mo Salvatore di Messina*, dans G. CAVALLO – G. DE GREGORIO – M. MANIACI (éds.), *Scritture, libri e testi nelle aree provinciali di Bisanzio (Biblioteca del Centro per il collegamento degli studi medievali e umanistici nell'Università di Perugia, 5)*, Spoleto, 1991, pp. 401-402 ; J. LEROY, *Le renforcement à la mine brune dans les manuscrits grecs du XII^e siècle*, dans *RSBN*, 27 (1991), p. 159 ; S. LUCÀ, *Dalle collezioni manoscritte di Spagna: libri originari o provenienti dall'Italia greca medievale*, dans *RSBN*, 44 (2007), p. 66. L'inclusion de ce manuscrit dans l'inventaire des livres grecs de la bibliothèque de l'archimandrite du S. Salvatore à Messine composé en 1563 par Francesco Antonio Napoli, démontre qu'il provient de cette bibliothèque : voir G. MERCATI, *Per la storia dei manoscritti greci di Genova, di varie badie basiliane d'Italia e di Patmo (ST, 68)*, Vatican, 1935, p. 246.

⁴⁰ W. JAEGER, *Greek Uncial Fragments in the Library of Congress in Washington*, dans *Traditio*, 5 (1947), pp. 79-102.

⁴¹ Cf. G. CAVALLO, *La maiuscola tra i secoli VIII-XI*, dans J. GLÉNISSON (éd.), *La paléographie grecque et byzantine. Actes du colloque international sur la paléographie grecque et byzantine organisé à Paris du 21 au 25 octobre 1974 (Colloques internationaux du CNRS, 559)*, Paris, 1977, p. 101 ; IDEM, *Le tipologie della cultura*, dans *Bisanzio, Roma e l'Italia nell'alto Medioevo (Settimane di studio del Centro italiano di studi sull'alto Medioevo, 34)*, II, Spoleto, 1988, pp. 507-508. Une origine calabrienne est suggérée par L. PERRIA, dans P. CANART – S. LUCÀ (éds.), *Codici greci dell'Italia meridionale*, Rome, 2000, p. 43.

⁴² D'autres éléments pour étayer cette thèse ont déjà été relevés dans l'article de CEULEMANS – DE VOS – GIELEN – VAN DEUN, *La continuation*, pp. 92-93. Récemment, S. NEIRYNCK a interprété des parallèles avec la même famille Φ dans les citations du *De oratione dominica* dans le *De oeconomia Dei* de Nil Doxapatres comme indice de l'origine sicilienne de ce dernier texte : voir *La théologie byzantine en Sicile normande. Nil Doxapatres (XII^e siècle)*,

s'impose nettement, car le lien entre le florilège et la famille manuscrite Φ peut en réalité être moins fort qu'il ne le semble à première vue⁴³ ; de plus, l'édition de Callahan n'utilise qu'un nombre de manuscrits très restreint.⁴⁴

L'extrait 13 est tiré de l'homélie 64(65) de Jean Chrysostome sur l'Évangile de Matthieu.⁴⁵ Des extraits de cette homélie sont également conservés dans les chaînes,⁴⁶ ce qui est également le cas d'une partie de l'extrait qui nous concerne ici : une partie de ce morceau se trouve également dans la « *volle Katene* » du type A sur Matthieu (C 110.4).⁴⁷ Bien qu'il y ait un lieu parallèle entre cette chaîne et le *FC* (la construction avec $\alpha\nu\tau\iota\ \tau\omicron\upsilon\delta$ dans la comparaison du mot $\kappa\rho\iota\nu\omicron\nu\tau\epsilon\varsigma$ du texte biblique avec le verbe $\kappa\alpha\tau\alpha\kappa\rho\iota\nu\omicron\nu\tau\epsilon\varsigma$ suggéré par Chrysostome), des accords qui existent entre l'homélie et le *FC* contre la chaîne, et également entre l'homélie et la chaîne contre le *FC*, montrent clairement que notre florilège est indépendant de la tradition des chaînes.

Le quatorzième extrait, le seul dont se compose le septième et dernier chapitre, est tiré de la troisième homélie sur l'Hexaéméron de Sévérien de Gabala. Le compilateur a combiné plusieurs fragments de la même homélie : les ll. 1-14 sont une citation littérale de deux passages, tandis que les ll. 14-15 ($\omicron\upsilon\kappa\ \epsilon\upsilon\pi\alpha\rho\rho\eta\rho\iota\sigma\iota\alpha\sigma\tau\omicron\varsigma\ \dots\ \chi\epsilon\tilde{\iota}\rho\alpha\varsigma$) résument un fragment plus long et sont assez différentes du texte originel. Cette combinaison de passages n'apparaît nulle part dans la tradition indirecte de cette homélie,⁴⁸ ce qui

De *oconomia Dei*, Livre I, 1-163. *Édition critique et introduction*, diss. doct., KU Leuven, 2014, pp. XVI-XVII.

⁴³ Dans le fragment en question, il n'y a aucun parallèle remarquable entre le *FC* et le troisième témoin de Φ , le *Vaticanus gr.* 448, du IX^e-X^e siècle et également d'origine italo-grecque (à ce propos, voir par exemple S. LUCÀ, *Il codice A.1.10 della Biblioteca Durazzo-Giustiniani di Genova*, dans *BBGG*, 35 [1981], pp. 137-139 ; G. PRATO, *Attività scrittoria in Calabria tra IX e X secolo. Qualche riflessione*, dans *JÖB*, 36 [1986], p. 227).

⁴⁴ Nous remercions Matthieu Cassin qui nous a fourni de l'information précieuse sur la tradition manuscrite du *De Beatitudinibus*.

⁴⁵ Cette homélie est aussi transmise comme *oratio* sur les *Sancti omnes* (BHG 1617x).

⁴⁶ Comme on le sait, la plupart des chaînes sur l'Évangile de Matthieu sont malheureusement restées inédites jusqu'à ce jour, ce qui est illustratif de la manque de recherches récentes dans ce domaine. Nous avons consulté les éditions imprimées énumérées dans la *CPG*, sous les numéros C 110.3, 110.4, 111 et 114.

⁴⁷ La terminologie est celle de J. REUSS, *Matthäus-, Markus- und Johannes-Katenen nach den handschriftlichen Quellen untersucht* (*Neutestamentliche Abhandlungen*, 18.4-5), Münster i. W., 1941, pp. 42-46. Le fragment se trouve dans *Catena Graecorum Patrum in Novum Testamentum*, I, *Catena in Evangelia S. Matthaei et S. Marci ad fidem codd. mss.* Edidit J. A. CRAMER, Oxford, 1840 (repr. Hildesheim, 1967), p. 158.11-20.

⁴⁸ S. Van Pee, qui prépare l'édition critique des homélies sur l'Hexaéméron de Sévérien, étudie également leur tradition indirecte grecque. Comme le compilateur a donné cet extrait de Sévérien en guise de commentaire sur un verset des Psaumes, on pourrait suggérer qu'il l'aurait puisé aux chaînes sur le Psautier. À notre connaissance, toutefois, ce corpus complexe ne contient aucun extrait des homélies sur l'Hexaéméron de Sévérien, bien que quelques manuscrits citent son nom : voir à ce propos G. DORIVAL, *Nouveaux fragments grecs de Sévère*

pourrait suggérer que ce choix revient au compilateur du *FC*. Un des témoins directs du texte de Sévérien, le *Vaticanus gr.* 1641 qui date de la fin du X^e ou du début du XI^e siècle, se caractérise par quelques éléments communs avec le florilège. Plus particulièrement, l'addition, dans le *FC*, de ἡ ἔσπερινὴ θυσία οὐ δέχεται τὸν ἁμαρτήσαντα ἐν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ (14.7-8) et la variante οὐκ ἔχει ἐπᾶραι, χειῖρας (14.13) se rapprochent de tout près de ce qu'on lit dans le *Vaticanus* (f. 210^{rb} : ἡ ἔσπερινὴ θυσία, οὐ δέχεται τὸν ἁμαρτήσαντα ἐν ἡμέρᾳ et οὐκ ἔχει ἐπᾶραι). Ces parallèles ne sont pas dépourvus d'intérêt en ce qui concerne la question de l'endroit de compilation du *FC*, dont nous avons déjà parlé ci-dessus ; en effet, il est connu que le *Vaticanus* est d'origine italo-grecque.⁴⁹ Mais quoi qu'il en soit, ce manuscrit vatican lui-même ne peut pas avoir été la source du *FC* : pas toutes les variantes du *FC* n'apparaissent dans le *Vaticanus*, ni vice versa, et le manuscrit, bien que vénérable, est un peu plus jeune que le florilège. Le compilateur a peut-être consulté un manuscrit, perdu aujourd'hui, appartenant à la même branche que le *Vaticanus*.

COMPARAISON AVEC D'AUTRES FLORILÈGES

Le cinquième chapitre, composé de sept extraits, a été considéré par Marcel Richard comme un chapitre « mixte », c'est-à-dire un chapitre qui se compose de matériaux appartenant au noyau primitif du *FC*, d'une part, et d'éléments « damascéniens », d'autre part ; l'apport « damascénien » proviendrait d'une des recensions des *Sacra Parallela* (dorénavant *SP* ; le vrai titre de cette anthologie est *Ἱερά*) et se serait joint à l'état primitif du *FC*.⁵⁰ Ce qui est sûr, c'est qu'un bon nombre des fragments de ce cinquième chapitre, intitulé *Περὶ θυμώδους*, se lisent également dans les *SP*.⁵¹ Comme

d'Antioche, dans [J. NORET (ed.),] *Ἀντιόχεια. Hommage à Maurits Geerard pour célébrer l'achèvement de la Clavis Patrum Graecorum*, I, Wetteren, 1984, pp. 101-121.

⁴⁹ Voir par exemple R. DEVREESE, *Les manuscrits grecs de l'Italie méridionale (histoire, classement, paléographie)* (*ST*, 183), Vatican, 1955 (repr. 1968), p. 19 ; S. VOICU, *Il nome cancellato : la trasmissione delle omelie di Severiano di Gabala*, dans *RHT*, n.s., 1 (2006), p. 326 ; LUCÀ, *Dalle collezioni manoscritte di Spagna*, p. 56.

⁵⁰ M. RICHARD, *Florilèges spirituels grecs*, dans *Dsp*, 5 (1962), col. 486 (repris dans ses *Opera minora*, I, Turnhout – Leuven, 1976, n° 1). Sur les *SP*, voir maintenant J. DECLERCK, *Les Sacra Parallela nettement antérieurs à Jean Damascène : retour à la datation de Michel Le Quien*, dans *Byz.*, 85 (2015), pp. 27-65.

⁵¹ En dehors de ce chapitre, nous avons trouvé deux passages de la Lettre Θ du *FC* qui se lisent aussi dans les *SP*. Mais ces parallèles sont moins forts que les cas dont on trouvera la discussion ci-dessous. D'abord, le morceau du *Quod deus non est auctor malorum* de Basile de Césarée qui constitue le quatrième extrait de la Lettre Θ du *FC* (= chapitre 4) se retrouve au milieu d'un extrait plus large cité dans le chapitre 33 de la Lettre Π des *SP* (titre : *Περὶ*

c'était aussi le cas de plusieurs chapitres « damascéniens » relevés dans d'autres Lettres du *FC*, il s'agit en premier lieu de citations bibliques : les fragments de Job, des Proverbes, du Siracide et de Matthieu, qui constituent les extraits 5-7 et 10 de Θ , se trouvent tous dans les *SP*,⁵² plus particulièrement dans le 15^e chapitre de la Lettre Π (Περὶ προπετοῦς, καὶ ἀναιδουῶς, καὶ ὀργίλου, καὶ θυμώδους, καὶ ὄξυχόλου).⁵³ De plus, l'extrait 8 du *FC*, pris à la première homélie sur le jeûne de Basile de Césarée, a également un parallèle dans le même chapitre des *SP* (où on lit toutefois une version plus longue).

Les *SP* ne sont pas le seul florilège avec lequel le *FC* a des extraits en commun. À l'exception de Prov. 15.1 et 18.6-7 et de Sir. 8.16, tous les extraits du cinquième chapitre que le *FC* partage avec les *SP*, se trouvent également dans les *Loci Communes* du Pseudo-Maxime le Confesseur (= *LC*),⁵⁴ soit dans ce florilège-même,⁵⁵ soit dans un témoin particulier de cette anthologie, le *Florentinus, Laurentianus Plut.* 58.31.⁵⁶ Le chapitre des *LC* dans lequel se trouvent tous ces extraits s'intitule Περὶ ὀργῆς καὶ

παιδείας Θεοῦ, καὶ τῶν εὐγενῶς φερόντων). Ensuite, le premier chapitre de la même Lettre des *SP* (titre : Περὶ πίστεως καὶ εὐσεβείας εἰς Θεόν) contient une citation de Matt.19.27-29 : le verset 28 de cette péricope forme le douzième extrait de la Lettre Θ du *FC* (= chapitre 6). — Pour les *SP*, on a consulté *PG* 95, coll. 1040-1588 et *PG* 96, coll. 9-441 et 441-544, ainsi que *PG* 86, coll. 2017-2100 ; O. WAHL, *Der Sirach-Text der Sacra Parallela (Forschung zur Bibel, 16)*, Würzburg, 1974 ; IDEM, *Der Proverbien- und Kohelet-Text der Sacra Parallela (Forschung zur Bibel, 51)*, Würzburg, 1985 ; S. HAIDACHER, *Chrysostomos-Fragmente im Maximus-Florilegium und in den Sacra Parallela*, dans *BZ*, 16 (1907), pp. 168-201 ; et K. HOLL, *Fragmente vornicänischer Kirchenväter aus den Sacra Parallela (TU, 5.2)*, Leipzig, 1899. Dans cette dernière édition (aux pp. 132-133), le lecteur trouvera également le premier extrait de la Lettre Θ , mais ce fragment d'Hippolyte de Rome n'est pas cité dans les *SP* : Holl l'a tiré de notre témoin A.

⁵² Sauf pour ce qui est de la citation de Sir. 8.16 (qui correspond à l'extrait 10 du *FC*), tous ces fragments des *SP* peuvent être consultés dans l'édition de la recension vaticane, appelée *Florilegium Vaticanum*, éditée par Le Quien et reprise dans la *PG*, vols. 95-96 : voir les références qu'on trouvera dans le dernier appareil de notre édition.

⁵³ Quelques-uns des fragments en question se trouvent aussi une deuxième, troisième, ... fois dans d'autres chapitres des *SP* : ces parallèles, qui nous semblent moins pertinents que ceux avec le chapitre Π .15 qui contient la même série d'extraits que le *FC*, ne sont pas notés dans l'apparat de notre édition et ne sont pas traités ici. Ils peuvent être dépistés par l'intermédiaire des éditions de Wahl (voir n. 51).

⁵⁴ Nous avons utilisé l'édition de S. IHM, *Ps.-Maximus Confessor. Erste kritische Edition einer Redaktion des sacro-profanen Florilegiums Loci Communes, nebst einer vollständigen Kollation einer zweiten Redaktion und weiterem Material (Palingenesia, 3)*, Stuttgart, 2001.

⁵⁵ C'est le cas des citations de Prov. 25.23 et de Matth. 5.22.

⁵⁶ Il s'agit du manuscrit *F* dans l'édition citée à la n. 54. Dans les cas où ce manuscrit est seul à offrir un certain fragment, il est plutôt un témoin du *Florilegium Atheniense* que des *LC* : voir FERNÁNDEZ, *Book Alpha*, pp. XLVII-LIV (voir aussi notre n. 59). Le codex contient les citations suivantes : Job 34.19 ; Sir. 1.22 ; la combinaison de Prov. 11.25 et 22.24 (partim) ; et la citation du *De ieiunio* de Basile de Césarée (partim).

θυμοῦ.⁵⁷ On note également que le *FC* et les *LC* ne partagent aucun extrait qui est absent des *SP*.⁵⁸

On peut se poser la question s'il y a des accords, oui ou non, entre ces florilèges,⁵⁹ contre les sources respectives. La réponse à cette question pourrait clarifier la question difficile sur les relations entre le *FC* et les autres anthologies.⁶⁰ Tout d'abord, on note que l'ordre des fragments diffère d'un florilège à l'autre. De plus, lorsqu'on compare les textes tels qu'on les lit dans tous les florilèges avec celui de la Bible, on constatera tout de suite que les citations de Prov. 15.1, 22.24, 25.23 et de Sir. 1.22 sont identiques ou presque identiques dans toutes ces versions ; donc, il est clair que ces cas ne permettent pas d'en tirer des conclusions sur les relations entre les florilèges.

Heureusement, il y a d'autres fragments qui semblent être plus intéressants⁶¹ :

Iob 34.19

LXX	ὅς οὐκ ἐπισχύνθη πρόσωπον ἐντίμου οὐδὲ οἶδεν τιμὴν θέσθαι ἄδροϊς
<i>FC</i>	Ἄσεβῆς ὅς οὐκ ἤσχύνθη πρόσωπον ἐντίμου, οὐδὲ οἶδε τιμὴν θέσθαι τούτῳ
<i>SP</i> ^{PG 96}	Ἄσεβῆς οὐκ ἤσχύνθη πρόσωπον ἐντίμου, οὐδὲ οἶδεν τιμὴν θέσθαι τούτοις
<i>LC</i> ^{Plut. 58.31}	Ἄσεβῆς ὅς οὐκ ἐπαισχύνθη πρόσωπον ἐντίμου οὐδὲ οἶδε τιμὴν θέσθαι τούτῳ

⁵⁷ Seule la citation de Prov. 25.23 (cf. n. 55) se lit dans un autre chapitre des *LC*.

⁵⁸ Sauf pour ce qui est de l'extrait du *De ieiunio* de Basile de Césarée et de la citation de Prov. 15.1, tous les fragments du chapitre 5 que le *FC* et les *SP* ont en commun (également ceux qui ne se trouvent pas dans les *LC* pseudo-maximiens), se trouvent aussi dans les *Loci Communes* du Pseudo-Antoine Melissa (= *Mel.*). Dans *Mel.*, ces citations bibliques se trouvent soit dans le chapitre II, 72 (Περὶ προπετοῦς, καὶ ἀναιδοῦς, καὶ ὀργίλου, καὶ θυμώδους, καὶ ὄξυχόλου), soit dans le chapitre II, 53 (Περὶ θυμοῦ καὶ ὀργῆς), soit dans tous ces deux chapitres. Sans doute, le compilateur les a tirés des *SP* (ou des *LC*).

⁵⁹ Comme le montrent les éditions de Wahl (cf. n. 51) et de Ihm (cf. n. 54), les citations de Prov. 11.25, 15.1, 18.6, 22.24, 25.23, et de Sir. 8.16 se lisent également dans le *Florilegium Atheniense* (à propos de cette anthologie, on consultera RICHARD, *Florilèges spirituels grecs*, coll. 496-497, ainsi que FERNÁNDEZ, *Book Alpha*, pp. LI-LIII).

⁶⁰ Pour le débat sur cette question (avec des opinions opposées), lire FERNÁNDEZ, *Book Alpha*, pp. XXXIII-LXII ; IDEM, *The Florilegium Coislinianum and Byzantine Encyclopaedism*, pp. 134-142 ; I. DE VOS – E. GIELEN – C. MACÉ – P. VAN DEUN, *L'art de compiler à Byzance : la Lettre Γ du Florilège Coislin*, dans *Byz*, 78 (2008), pp. 173-177 ; IDEM, *La Lettre B*, pp. 80-83.

⁶¹ Dans le tableau qui suit, les fragments du *FC* sont cités d'après le texte critique établi dans cet article. Les références aux éditions des autres florilèges et de la Bible sont données dans l'index rejeté à la fin de l'article. En étudiant la tradition textuelle des Proverbes, nous avons pu consulter les collations complètes préparées par le *Septuaginta-Unternehmen* à Göttingen. Que cet institut trouve ici l'expression de notre gratitude.

Prov. 11.25

LXX	άνηρ δὲ θυμώδης οὐκ εὐσχήμων
FC	Ἄνηρ θυμώδης οὐκ εὐσχήμων
SP ^{Wahl}	άνηρ θυμώδης οὐκ εὐσχήμων
LC ^{Plut. 58.31}	Ἄνηρ θυμώδης οὐκ εὐσχήμων [...]

Prov. 18.6-7

LXX	χείλη ἄφρονος ἄγουσιν αὐτὸν εἰς κακά, τὸ δὲ στόμα αὐτοῦ τὸ θρασὺ θάνατον ἐπικαλεῖται. στόμα ἄφρονος συντριβὴ αὐτῷ, τὰ δὲ χεῖλη αὐτοῦ παγίς τῆ ψυχῆ αὐτοῦ
FC	Χεῖλη ἄφρονος ἄγουσιν αὐτὸν εἰς κακά, τὸ δὲ στόμα αὐτοῦ τὸ θρασὺ θάνατον ἐπικαλεῖται. Στόμα ἄφρονος συντρίβει ἑαυτόν, τὰ χεῖλη δὲ αὐτοῦ παγίς τῆ ψυχῆ αὐτοῦ
SP ^{Wahl}	χείλη ἄφρονος ἄγουσιν αὐτὸν εἰς κακά· τὸ δὲ στόμα αὐτοῦ τὸ θρασὺ θάνατον ἐπικαλεῖται. στόμα ἄφρονος συντρίβει αὐτόν, τὰ δὲ χεῖλη αὐτοῦ παγίς τῆ ψυχῆ αὐτοῦ
LC	/

Sir. 8.16

LXX	μετὰ θυμώδους μὴ ποιήσης μάχην καὶ μὴ διαπορεύου μετ' αὐτοῦ τὴν ἔρημον· ὅτι ὡς οὐδὲν ἐν ὀφθαλμοῖς αὐτοῦ αἷμα, καὶ ὅπου οὐκ ἔστιν βοήθεια, καταβαλεῖ σε
FC	Μετὰ θυμώδους μὴ ποιήσης μάχην καὶ μὴ διαπορεύου μετ' αὐτοῦ τὴν ἔρημον· ὅτι ὡς οὐδὲν ἐν ὀφθαλμοῖς αὐτοῦ αἷμα, καὶ ὅπου οὐκ ἔστιν βοήθεια, καταβαλεῖ σε
SP ^{Wahl}	μετὰ θυμώδους μὴ ποιήσης μάχην καὶ μὴ διαπορεύου μετ' αὐτοῦ εἰς τὴν ἔρημον· ὅτι ὡς οὐδὲν ἐν ὀφθαλμοῖς αὐτοῦ αἷμα, καὶ ὅπου οὐκ ἔστιν βοήθεια, καταβαλεῖ σε
LC	/

Matth. 5.22

NT	πᾶς ὁ ὀργιζόμενος τῷ ἀδελφῷ αὐτοῦ ἔνοχος ἔσται τῇ κρίσει
FC	Πᾶς ὁ ὀργιζόμενος τῷ ἀδελφῷ αὐτοῦ εἰκὴ ἔνοχος ἔστιν τῇ κρίσει
SP ^{PG 96}	Πᾶς ὀργιζόμενος τῷ ἀδελφῷ αὐτοῦ εἰκὴ ἔνοχος ἔσται τῇ κρίσει
LC	Πᾶς ὁ ὀργιζόμενος τῷ ἀδελφῷ αὐτοῦ εἰκὴ ἔνοχος ἔσται τῇ κρίσει

Malheureusement, la plupart de ces leçons ne nous permettent pas de voir plus clair dans les relations entre les florilèges en question. L'omission de δέ en Prov. 11.25 — omission qui peut être liée au fait que dans les florilèges ce verset est isolé de son contexte — n'est pas très probante, car on la trouve également dans d'autres témoins du texte des Septante, notamment dans sa tradition indirecte, ce qui ne peut pas étonner. La leçon εἰκὴ, qu'on

trouve dans les trois anthologies, mais qui est absente du texte de Matth. 5.22 édité par Nestle et Aland, ne nous permet pas non plus d'établir une parenté entre les florilèges, car ce mot est transmis par un grand nombre de témoins de ce verset néotestamentaire.

Plus prometteur nous paraît συντρίβει ἑαυτὸν/αὐτόν, une variante qu'on trouve dans la citation de Prov. 18.6-7 dans les florilèges et qui se rencontre très rarement (seulement attestée dans deux témoins du texte biblique) ; elle suggère l'existence de parenté entre les florilèges. Cette conclusion s'impose sans aucun doute pour ce qui est de la citation de Job 34.19 : le remplacement de ἀδροῖς par un pronom démonstratif, ainsi que la présence du mot ἀσεβής au début du verset, ne sont attestés nulle part, sauf dans ces trois florilèges.⁶²

En conclusion : il y a un certain lien qui unit les trois anthologies, mais la nature précise de ce lien reste encore très vague.

PRINCIPES DE L'ÉDITION

En établissant le texte des extraits de la Lettre Θ, nous avons privilégié les manuscrits A et C. En cas de désaccord, nous avons presque toujours considéré comme originale la leçon attestée par deux branches de la tradition contre une.⁶³ Pour les ll. 63-87 de l'extrait 2, on ne dispose malheureusement d'aucun témoin de la deuxième recension : à chaque fois que les recensions I et III s'opposent, nous avons choisi la leçon de la première recension (donc de A).⁶⁴ Le chapitre 5 (les extraits 5-11) est entièrement absent de la recension III : lorsqu'il y avait une opposition entre A et C (non seulement dans le texte, mais aussi dans les attributions et les titres), nous avons pris une décision *ad hoc*.

La numérotation des *chapitres* est celle qui se trouve dans la recension I, qui est la seule recension à avoir numéroté les chapitres par Lettre.⁶⁵ Nous avons

⁶² Ces deux variantes se lisent aussi dans toutes les autres occurrences de Job 34.19 dans les *SP*, dont nous n'avons pas traité ici (cf. n. 53).

⁶³ À trois reprises, nous avons dû nous écarter de ce principe : 2.18 (γεγέννηται) ; 11.10 (προσπίπτειν) ; 13.9 (κατακρινεῖν). Par endroits, la situation est encore plus compliquée lorsqu'une sélection des témoins d'une des recensions s'unit à quelques manuscrits d'une autre recension. Dans ces cas, nous avons pris une décision *ad hoc*, ce que nous avons également fait lorsque les trois recensions se caractérisent toutes par une leçon individuelle : le titre de l'extrait 3 (βιβλίον) ; 14.10 (ἀπλουσθήσονται).

⁶⁴ Il y a deux cas pareils : 2.81 (διακηρύττει) et 2.86 (αὐτόν). Une fois, par contre, on a choisi la leçon de la troisième recension, contre A : 2.73 (συγκαταφείρεσθαι). Toujours dans la même section on a une fois donné préférence à la leçon de F, contre tous les autres témoins : 2.65 (γεγεννησθαι).

⁶⁵ En A, les numéros des chapitres 1, 4 et 7 ont disparu : nous les avons ajoutés.

renvoyé à l'apparat la numérotation continue, typique des deux autres recensions.⁶⁶ La numérotation des *extraits* est la nôtre : dans les manuscrits, les extraits n'ont pas reçu de numérotation. De plus, les manuscrits ne sont pas toujours en accord à propos de la façon dont les extraits sont cités à l'intérieur des chapitres⁶⁷ ; dans notre édition, on a suivi l'usage propre aux recensions I et II.⁶⁸

Notre édition est accompagnée de cinq apparats contenant respectivement⁶⁹ :

- l'identification des sources,
- les variantes des manuscrits à propos des titres et des attributions,⁷⁰
- les variantes textuelles des manuscrits,
- la comparaison du texte du florilège avec celui de la source,⁷¹
- l'identification des mêmes extraits cités dans les *SP* et les *LC*.

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SUMMARY

This article offers the *editio princeps* of the Letter Θ of the *Florilegium Coislitanum*, an alphabetically arranged anthology that was compiled around the turn of the tenth century. The text has been transmitted in fifteen manuscripts (some of which are only partial witnesses) ; three recensions can be distinguished. The

⁶⁶ Le numéro donné en E au quatrième chapitre n'est pas ρζ', comme l'a dit DECLERCK, *Un manuscrit peu connu*, p. 488, mais ρε'.

⁶⁷ Dans le cas de la Lettre Θ, ces variations sont toutefois très limitées. On ne signalera qu'une seule différence vis-à-vis de notre édition (mais voir aussi la note suivante) : dans la troisième recension (D E G F H), les extraits 12 et 13 sont combinés.

⁶⁸ On notera toutefois que dans l'extrait 14, C contient les mots Διατί μη έωθινή ; (l. 2) comme le titre d'un nouvel extrait. Toujours en C, les mots Τής Κλίμακος sont donnés à la fin de l'extrait 8, et non comme l'attribution de l'extrait 9.

⁶⁹ Voici l'ordre général des manuscrits dans les apparats : A C B R U D E G F H Z K Ath. Les apoglyphes directs, manuscrits S et L, n'y figurent pas.

⁷⁰ Dans cet appareil, nous n'indiquons pas si ces leçons se trouvent soit *in margine*, soit *in textu*.

⁷¹ Pour les premières lignes de l'extrait 2 (ll. 1-5) et pour la dernière partie de l'extrait 14 (ll. 14-15), nous n'avons pas donné un appareil de comparaison, parce que la source précise n'est pas claire (voir plus haut). Aussi l'extrait 3 n'est accompagné par aucun appareil de comparaison, car la seule édition disponible est faite sur base de notre florilège (voir plus haut).

stoicheion consists of seven chapters of which each contains one or more excerpts : this amounts to a total of fourteen fragments, taken from the Old and the New Testament and from patristic texts from c. 200 to the sixth/seventh century, and dealing with topics of exegetical and dogmatic nature. For some of the excerpts, parallels with other florilegia (such as the *Sacra Parallela* and the *Loci communes*) can be observed.

CONSPECTUS SIGLORUM

Recensio I

A *Parisinus, Coislinianus* 294 (s. XI-XII), ff. 146^v-148^v et 126-131

Recensio II

C *Parisinus gr.* 924 (s. X), ff. 161-170

B *Atheniensis, Bibliotheca Nationalis* 464 (s. X), pp. 207-208

Recensio III

D *Mediolanensis, Ambrosianus* Q 74 sup. (s. X), ff. 55-58^v

E *Argentoratensis, Bibliotheca Nationalis et Universitatis gr.* 12 (a. 1285-1286), ff. 86^v-92

G *Athous, Iviron* 38 (a. 1281-1282), ff. 39-43^v

F *Atheniensis, Bibliotheca Nationalis* 329 (s. XIII-XIV), ff. 101-102^v et 109^{r-v}

H *Vaticanus gr.* 491 (s. XIII), ff. 168-173

Fragmenta

R *Athous, Lavra* B 43 (s. XII), f. 180^v

U *Oxonienis, Bodleianus, Baroccianus* 91 (s. XIV), ff. 199^v-200^v

Z *Monacensis gr.* 551 (s. XV), f. 64^{r-v}

K *Athous, Koutloumousiou* 9 (s. XIV), p. 486

Ath *Atheniensis, Bibliotheca Nationalis* 2429 (s. XIV), f. 14^v

Στοιχείον Θ

<A'> Περί τῶν τεσσάρων θηρίων ὧν ὁ Δανιὴλ ἐθεάσατο

1 Ἴππολύτου μάρτυρος

Ἐπειδὴ δυσνόητά τισι δοκεῖ εἶναι τὰ μυστικῶς ὑπὸ τοῦ Δανιὴλ εἰρημένα, οὐδὲν τούτων ἀποκρύψομεν πρὸς ἐπίγνωσιν τῶν ὑγιῆ νοῦν κεκτημένων. *Πρῶτον* τοίνυν θηρίον ὡς *λέαινα*, καὶ *περὰ αὐτῆ* ὡς *ἀετοῦ*. *Λέαιναν* τοίνυν προσειπὼν *ἀναβαίνουσιν ἐκ τῆς θαλάσσης* τὴν τῶν Βαβυλωνίων βασιλείαν γεγεννημένην ἐν τῷ κόσμῳ ἐσήμανεν, ταύτην οὖσαν τῆς εικόνας τὴν χρυσοῦν κεφαλὴν· τὸ δὲ λέγειν *περὰ αὐτῆ* ὡς *ἀετοῦ*, ὅτι ὑψώθη ὁ βασιλεὺς Ναβουχοδονόσορ καὶ κατὰ τοῦ Θεοῦ ἐπήρθη. Εἴτα φησιν *ἐξετίλη τὰ περὰ αὐτῆς*, ὅτι κατηρέθη ἡ δόξα αὐτοῦ· ἐξεδιώχθη γὰρ ἐκ τῆς βασιλείας αὐτοῦ. Τὸ δὲ εἰπεῖν *καρδία ἀνθρώπου ἐδόθη αὐτῷ καὶ ἐπὶ ποδῶν ἀνθρώπου ἐστάθη*, ὅτι μετενόησεν, ἐπιγνοὺς ἑαυτὸν ὅτι ἀνθρωπός ἐστιν, καὶ ἔδωκε τὴν δόξαν τῷ Θεῷ.

Μετὰ γοῦν τὴν λέαιναν *δεύτερον θηρίον ὄρα ὅμοιον ἄρκω*, ὅπερ ἦσαν οἱ Πέρσαι. Μετὰ γὰρ Βαβυλωνίους οἱ Πέρσαι διεκράτησαν. Τὸ δὲ λέγειν *τρία πλευρὰ ἐν τῷ στόματι αὐτῆς*, τρία ἔθνη ἔδειξεν, Πέρσας, Μήδους, Βαβυλωνίους, ὅπερ δέδεικται μετὰ τὸν χρυσοῦν ἄργυρος ἐν τῇ εἰκόνι.

Tit. litterae ACDEGH **Tit. capit** ACBUDEGFHZ **Tit. frg. 1** AUDEGFHZ
1 ACBUDEGFHZ

Tit. capit Cf. Dan. 7 **1.1-33** Hippol. Rom., *De Antichristo* 23.1 – 25.3 **3** Dan. 7.4 **3-4**
Dan. 7.3 **6** Dan. 7.4 **7-8** Dan. 7.4 **9-10** Dan. 7.4 **12** Dan. 7.5 **14** Dan. 7.5

Tit. litterae Στοιχείον] om. C **Tit. capit** A'] scripsimus, κεφάλαιον ριβ' CB, κεφάλαιον ρβ' EG, ρβ' DH, om. AUFZ | τεσσάρων] om. UDEGFHZ | θηρίων] θηρίων (sic) C | ὁ] om. UFZ | ἐθεάσατο] τεθέαται CB **Tit. frg. 1** μάρτυρος] ἱερομάρτυρος UEG

1.1 δοκεῖ εἶναι] transp. U | ὑπὸ] παρὰ U **2** τούτων] ὑμῖν add. UEG, μὲν add. D | ἀποκρύψομεν] ἀποκρύψομεν ADEGFHZ | τῶν] τὸν C^{a.c.} **3** λέαινα] λέαιναν (sic) U | αὐτῆ] αὐτῆς U | ὡς?] οὐς (sic) H **3-6** Λέαιναν... ἀετοῦ] om. H **4** προσειπὼν] εἰπὼν U **5** ταύτην] ὡς praem. UEG τῆς] καὶ praem. UEG **6** τὴν] om. U **7** καὶ] om. UEG | τοῦ] om. BEG | ἐπήρθη] καὶ praem. UEG | ἐξετίλη] ὅτι praem. F **8-9** ἐξεδιώχθη... αὐτοῦ] om. BG^{a.c.} **8** ἐξεδιώχθη] ἐδιώχθη U **9** καρδία] καρδίαν D **11** τὴν] om. Z **12** ἄρκω] ἄρκω Z **13** Πέρσαι!] πέρσοι (sic) F διεκράτησαν] ἐκράτησαν E^{a.c.}-FH **14** αὐτῆς] αὐτοῦ U | ἔθνη ἔδειξεν] transp. U **15** δέδεικται] καὶ praem. UEG | ἄργυρος] ἄργυρον Z

1.1 Ἐπειδὴ] Ἐπει οὖν Hippol. | τὰ] ταῦτα Hippol. | ὑπὸ... Δανιὴλ] non hab. Hippol. **2** τῶν] τοῖς Hippol. | κεκτημένων] κεκτημένοις Hippol. **3** Πρῶτον... ἀετοῦ] non hab. Hippol. **3-4** τοίνυν προσειπὼν] δὲ εἰπὼν Hippol. **6** αὐτῆ ὡς] αὐτῆς ὡσεὶ Hippol. (sed vide app. crit.) **8** ἡ... αὐτοῦ] αὐτοῦ ἡ δόξα Hippol. **9** αὐτῷ] αὐτῆ Hippol. **11** τὴν] non hab. Hippol. **13** ante Βαβυλωνίους] τοῦς hab. Hippol. | οἰ?] non hab. Hippol. **15** ante Βαβυλωνίους] καὶ hab. Hippol. | ante ἄργυρος] ὁ hab. Hippol.

Ἔπειτα τρίτον *θηρίον πάρδαλις*, οἵτινες ἦσαν οἱ Ἕλληνες. Μετὰ γὰρ Πέρσας Ἀλέξανδρος ὁ Μακεδῶν ἐκράτησεν, καθελῶν Δαρεῖον ὃς δέδεικται ἐν τῇ εἰκόνι ὁ χαλκός. Τὸ δὲ λέγειν *ἔπερὰ τέσσαρα καὶ τέσσαρες κεφαλαὶ τῷ θηρίῳ* σαφέστατα ἔδειξε πῶς διμερίσθη εἰς τέσσαρα μέρη ἢ βασιλεία 20 Ἀλεξάνδρου· τέσσαρας γὰρ κεφαλὰς εἰπὼν τοὺς τέσσαρας βασιλεῖς τοὺς ἐξ αὐτῆς ἀναστάντας ἐμήνυσε. Τελευτῶν γὰρ ὁ Ἀλέξανδρος διεῖλε τὴν βασιλείαν εἰς τέσσαρα μέρη.

Ἔπειτα φησὶν *θηρίον τέταρτον φοβερὸν καὶ ἔκθαμβον, οἱ ὀδόντες αὐτοῦ σιδηροῖ* καὶ οἱ ὄνυχες αὐτοῦ *χαλκοῖ*. Τίνες οὗτοι ἀλλ’ ἢ Ῥωμαῖοι, ὅπερ ἐστὶν ὁ σίδηρος ἢ νῦν ἐστῶσα βασιλεία; *Καὶ κνήμαι γὰρ αὐτῆς*, 25 φησὶν, *σιδηραῖ*. Μετὰ γοῦν τοῦτο τί ὑπολέλειπται, ἀλλ’ ἢ τὰ ἴχνη τῶν ποδῶν τῆς εἰκόνας, ἐν οἷς μέρος μὲν τι σιδηροῦν, μέρος δέ τι ὀστράκινον, ἀναμειγμένον εἰς ἄλληλα; Μυστικῶς ἐδήλωσε διὰ τῶν δακτύλων τοὺς δέκα βασιλεῖς τοὺς ἐξ αὐτῆς ἐγειρομένους, οὐσπερ καὶ δέκα κέρατα προσηγόρευσεν, ἐν οἷς ἀναβήσεται ἕτερον ὡσεὶ παραφυάδιον· *καὶ τρία τῶν* 30 *πρὸ αὐτοῦ ἐκριζώσεται*, ὅπερ δέδεικται οὐχ ἕτερος ἀλλ’ ἢ ὁ ἀντίχριστος. *Τρία δὲ κέρατα ἐκριζοῦσθαι ὑπ’ αὐτοῦ* τοὺς *τρεῖς βασιλεῖς* δείκνυσιν, Αἰγύπτου, Λιβύων τε καὶ Αἰθιοπίων, οὓς ἀνελεῖ ἐν παρατάξει πολέμου.

ACBUDEGFHZ | ab ὡσεὶ (l. 30) ACUDEGFHZ

1.16 Dan. 7.6 18-19 Dan. 7.6 23-24 Dan. 7.7 25-26 Dan. 2.33 26-27 Dan. 10.10 (LXX) 27 Dan. 2.42 28 Dan. 2.41 28-29 Dan. 7.24 29-31 Dan. 7.7-8 31-32 Dan. 7.8 32-33 Cf. Dan. 7.24

1.16 *πάρδαλις*] *πάρδαλιν* U | *οἵτινες*] *ἦτις* Z | *οἱ*] om. BEG 18 *τῆ*] om. DEG | *κεφαλαὶ*] *κεφαλαῖς* D 18-19 *τῷ θηρίῳ*] *τὸ θηρίον* FZ 19 *θηρίῳ*] *δὲ* add. D 20 Ἀλεξάνδρου] τοῦ praem. B 21 *αὐτῆς*] *αὐτοῦ* U | *ὁ*] om. B 23 *οἱ*] *καὶ* praem. FH 24 *ἀλλ’*] *οὐκ ἄλλοι* U 25 *σίδηρος*] *δὲ* add. F 25-26 *αὐτῆς φησὶν*] *transp.* UEG 26 *φησὶν*] om. FHZ | *σιδηραῖ*] *ἀργυραῖ* U ὑπολέλειπται] ὑπολείπεται E^{a.c.} 27 *μὲν τι*] *μέντοι* ADEGFHZ 28 *δέκα*] om. B 30 *προσηγόρευσεν*] *προηγόρευσεν* C^{a.c.} | *ἀναβήσεται*] *ἀναφυήσεται* UEG 31 *ἕτερος*] *ἄλλος* add. U 33 *τε*] om. FZ

1.16 *ante τρίτον*] *τὸ* hab. Hippol. 17 *ὁ... ἐκράτησεν*] *ἐκράτησεν ὁ Μακεδῶν* Hippol. 18 *post τέσσαρα*] *πετεινοῦ* hab. Hippol. 21 *ὁ*] *non* hab. Hippol. 22 *post βασιλείαν*] *αὐτοῦ* hab. Hippol. 24 *ante Ῥωμαῖοι*] *οἱ* hab. Hippol. 25 *Καὶ*] *Αἰ* Hippol. 26 *γοῦν*] *γὰρ* Hippol. ὑπολέλειπται] *περιλείπεται ἀγαπητέ* Hippol. 27 *ante σιδηροῦν*] *ἐστὶ* hab. Hippol. 28 *post δακτύλων*] *τῶν ποδῶν* hab. Hippol. 29-30 *οὐσπερ... προσηγόρευσεν*] *ἄπερ λέγει Δανιὴλ προσενόουν τῷ θηρίῳ καὶ ἰδοὺ δέκα κέρατα ὀπίσω αὐτοῦ* Hippol. 30 *post ἕτερον*] *μικρὸν* hab. Hippol. | *ὡσεὶ*] *ὡς* Hippol. 31 *post ἀντίχριστος*] *ὁ ἐγειρόμενος ὃς καὶ αὐτὸς τὴν Ἰουδαίων βασιλείαν ἀναστήσει* hab. Hippol. 32 *ἐκριζοῦσθαι... αὐτοῦ*] *ἃ λέγει ὑπ’ αὐτοῦ ἐκριζοῦσθαι* Hippol.

Β' Απόδειξις ὅτι θεοτόκος κυρίως ἡ μήτηρ τοῦ Κυρίου λέγεται

2

Κυρίλλου Ἀλεξανδρείας

Ἐπειδὴ τινες φρενοβλαβεῖα φερόμενοι χριστοτόκον μὲν θέλουσι καλεῖν τὴν ἁγίαν παρθένον, οὐκέτι δὲ θεοτόκον, ἴστωσαν ὅτι πολλοὶ τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἐν τῇ Παλαιᾷ προφηταί τε καὶ ἱερεῖς χριστοὶ ἐκαλοῦντο, κατὰ τὸ *‘μὴ ἄπτεσθε τῶν χριστῶν μου’*· καὶ *Χριστὸς Κύριον οὗτος ἐστίν*, καὶ πάντες οἱ τῷ ἐλαίῳ ἐκεῖνῳ τῷ τυπικῷ χριόμενοι ἐκαλοῦντο χριστοί. 5

Οὐκοῦν ἐκεῖνοι μὲν πάντες εἶεν ἂν καὶ μάλα εἰκότως διὰ τὸ κεχρίσθαι χριστοί, μόνος δὲ Χριστὸς καὶ Θεὸς ἀληθινὸς ὁ Ἐμμανουήλ, καὶ οὐκ ἂν ἁμάρτοι τάληθοῦς εἴ τις ἔλοιτο λέγειν, ὡς αἱ μὲν τῶν ἄλλων μητέρες χριστοτόκοι, οὐ μὴν ἔτι καὶ θεοτόκοι· μόνῃ δὲ παρ' ἐκεῖναις ἡ ἁγία παρθένος χριστοτόκος τε ὁμοῦ καὶ θεοτόκος λέγεται. Γεγέννηκε γὰρ τὸν οὐ 10 ψιλὸν ἄνθρωπον καθ' ἡμᾶς, σαρκωθέντα δὲ μᾶλλον καὶ ἐνανθρωπήσαντα τὸν ἐκ Θεοῦ καὶ πατρὸς λόγον.

Ἔφη δὲ καὶ που Παῦλος· *Ὁ καταβάς αὐτός ἐστιν καὶ ὁ ἀναβάς*. Ὅτε τοίνυν καὶ Θεὸς ἐστὶν ἀληθῆς καὶ βασιλεὺς κατὰ φύσιν, εἴρηται δὲ καὶ τῆς δόξης Κύριος ὁ ἐσταυρωμένος, πῶς ἀναδύσειε τις θεοτόκον εἰπεῖν τὴν 15 ἁγίαν παρθένον;

Tit. capit. ACDEGFH Tit. frg. 2 ACDEGF 2 ACDEGFH

2.1-5 fons ignota (cf. Cyrill. Alex., *Ep. ad monachos Aegypti* in Actis Concilii universalis Epheseni anno 431, ACO I, 1, 1 [p. 14.9-13]?) 3-4 Ps. 104.15 4 I Regn. 24.11 (cf. I Regn 24.7) 4-5 Cf. Ex. 30.25 6-12 Cyrill. Alex., *Ep. ad monachos Aegypti* in Actis Concilii universalis Epheseni anno 431, ACO I, 1, 1 (pp. 14.34 – 15.4) 13-16 Cyrill. Alex., *Ep. ad monachos Aegypti* in Actis Concilii universalis Epheseni anno 431, ACO I, 1, 1 (p. 23.8-12) 13 Eph. 4.10 14-15 cf. I Cor. 2.8

Tit. capit. Β' κεφάλαιον ριγ' C, κεφάλαιον ργ' EG, ργ' D, om. FH | λέγεται] καὶ οὐ χριστοτόκος add. F

2.1 φρενοβλαβεῖα] φρενοβλαβία CFH 2 ἴστωσαν] ἴτωσαν (sic) D 3 τε] om. DFH 5 τῷ τυπικῷ] om. FH | ἐκαλοῦντο χριστοί] transp. EGF 6-7 Οὐκοῦν... χριστοί] om. A^{a.c.} 7 Χριστὸς] κύριος add. E^{supra} 1m.G 8 ἁμάρτοι] ἁμάρτη EG 9 ἐκεῖναις] ἐκεῖνας D^{b.c.} EG 10 παρθένας] θεοτόκος DEG | τε] δὲ D | οὐ] om. DEG 11 ψιλὸν] ὑψηλὸν DEG 12 καὶ] om. EG 13 καὶ που] transp. A, που F | Ὅτε] Ὡστε F

2.6 ἐκεῖνοι μὲν] οἱ μὲν ἄλλοι Cyrill. | post πάντες] ὡς ἔφην hab. Cyrill. 7 ἀληθινός] ἀληθῶς Cyrill. 9 post χριστοτόκου] μὲν hab. Cyrill. (sed vide app. crit.) | ἐκεῖναις] ἐκεῖνας Cyrill. (sed vide app. crit.) 10 ante λέγεται] νοεῖται τε καὶ hab. Cyrill. | τὸν] non hab. Cyrill. 12 καὶ] non hab. Cyrill. 13 καὶ που] που καὶ Cyrill. | Παῦλος] ὁ μακάριος Παῦλος περὶ αὐτοῦ Cyrill. (sed vide app. crit.) | post ἀναβάς] ὑπεράνω τῶν οὐρανῶν ἵνα πληρώσῃ τὰ πάντα hab. Cyrill. 14 ἀληθῆς] ἀληθῶς Cyrill. 15 ἀναδύσειε] ἐνδοιάσειε Cyrill.

Ἄλλ' ἴσως ἐκεῖνο ἐρεῖς ἄρ' οὖν, εἰπέ μοι, θεότιτος μήτηρ γέγονεν ἡ
 παρθένος; Καὶ πρὸς σε τοῦτό φαμεν, ὅτι γεγέννηται μὲν ὁμολογουμένως ἐξ
 αὐτῆς τῆς οὐσίας τοῦ Θεοῦ καὶ πατρός ὁ ζῶν τε καὶ ἐνυπόστατος αὐτοῦ
 λόγος καὶ ἄναρχον ἐν χρόνῳ τὴν ὑπαρξίν ἔχει ἀεί, συνυφεστῶς τῷ
 γεγεννηκότι, ἐν αὐτῷ τε καὶ σὺν αὐτῷ ὑπάρχων τε καὶ νοούμενος· ἐν
 ἐσχάτοις δὲ τοῦ αἰῶνος καιροῖς ἐπειδὴ γέγονε σάρξ, τουτέστιν ἠνώθη σαρκί
 ψυχὴν ἐχούσῃ τὴν λογικὴν, γεγενῆσθαι λέγεται καὶ σαρκικῶς διὰ γυναικός.
 Ἔοικε δὲ πῶς τῷ καθ' ἡμᾶς τόκῳ τὸ ἐπ' αὐτῷ μυστήριον. Αἱ μὲν γὰρ τῶν
 ἐπὶ γῆς μητέρες, ὑπηρετοῦσαι τῇ φύσει πρὸς γέννησιν, ἔχουσι μὲν ἐν μήτρᾳ
 πηγνυμένην κατὰ βραχὺ τὴν σάρκα, καὶ ἀφράστοις τισὶν ἐνεργείαις Θεοῦ
 προιοῦσάν τε καὶ τελειουμένην εἰς εἶδος ἀνθρώπινον· ἐνίησι δὲ τῷ ζῳῳ τὸ
 πνεῦμα Θεός καθ' ὃν οἶδε τρόπον. Πλάττει γὰρ πνεῦμα ἀνθρώπου ἐν αὐτῷ
 κατὰ τὴν τοῦ προφήτου φωνήν· ἕτερος δὲ σαρκὸς καὶ ὁμοίως ἕτερος ὁ
 ψυχῆς ἐστὶ λόγος. Ἄλλ' εἰ καὶ γεγόνασι μόνον αὐτὰ τῶν ἀπὸ γῆς σωμάτων
 μητέρες, ἀλλ' οὖν ὅλον ἀποτεκοῦσαι τὸ ζῳον, τὸ ἐκ ψυχῆς λέγω καὶ
 σώματος, οὐχὶ μέρος λέγονται τεκεῖν, οὐδ' ἂν εἶποι τις τὴν Ἐλισάβετ, φέρε
 εἰπεῖν, σαρκοτόκον μὲν, οὐ μὴν ἔτι καὶ ψυχοτόκον· ἐκτέτοκε γὰρ
 ψυχοθέντα τὸν βαπτιστὴν καὶ ὡς ἐν ἐξ ἀμφοῖν τὸν ἀνθρώπου, ψυχῆς δὴ
 λέγω καὶ σώματος. Τοιοῦτο δὴ τι παραδεξόμεθα καὶ ἐπὶ τῇ γεννήσει τοῦ
 Ἐμμανουήλ. Γεγέννηται γάρ, ὡς ἔφην, ἐκ τῆς τοῦ Θεοῦ καὶ πατρός οὐσίας
 ὁ μονογενὴς αὐτοῦ λόγος· ἐπειδὴ δὲ σάρκα λαβὼν καὶ ἰδίαν αὐτὴν
 ποιησάμενος κεχηρμάτικε καὶ υἱὸς ἀνθρώπου καὶ γέγονε καθ' ἡμᾶς, οὐδὲν
 οἶμαι τῶν ἀτόπων εἰπεῖν, μᾶλλον δὲ καὶ ἀναγκαῖον ὁμολογεῖν ὅτι
 γεγέννηται καὶ κατὰ σάρκα διὰ γυναικός, καθάπερ ἀμέλει καὶ ἡ τοῦ
 ἀνθρώπου ψυχὴ συναπογεννᾶται τῷ σώματι καὶ ὡς ἐν λελόγισται πρὸς
 αὐτό, καίτοι τὴν φύσιν ἕτερα παρ' αὐτὸ νοουμένη τε καὶ ὑπάρχουσα κατὰ

ACDEGFH

2.17-48 Cyrill. Alex., *Ep. ad monachos Aegypti* in Actis Concilii universalis Epheseni anno 431, ACO I, 1, 1 (p. 15.7-33) 28 Zach. 12.1

2.17 ἄρ'] ἄρα A 18 γεγέννηται] γεγένηται ACF 19 Θεοῦ καὶ] om. FH | ὁ] ὡς F 23 τὴν] τῇ E^{a.c.} | γεγενῆσθαι] γεγενῆσθαι ADH 24 τῶν] αὐτῶν H 25 μήτρᾳ] μητρὶ (sic) D^{a.c.} 28 γὰρ] τοῖνον EG 29 τοῦ] om. EG | καὶ] om. F 33 σαρκοτόκον] σαρκοτότοκον (sic) A 36 τοῦ] om. FH 40 γεγέννηται] γεγένηται D 42 αὐτὸ] αὐτὸν D, αὐτῷ F, αὐτῇ H

2.18 σε] τε Cyrill. 20 συνυφεστῶς] συνυφεστηκῶς Cyrill. 21 τε²] non hab. Cyrill. 25 γέννησιν] γένεσιν Cyrill. (sed vide app. crit.) 27 ante ἀνθρώπινον] τὸ hab. Cyrill. 28 ante Θεός] ὁ hab. Cyrill. (sed vide app. crit.) 31 ante λέγω] δὴ hab. Cyrill. 32-33 τὴν... εἰπεῖν] φέρε εἰπεῖν τὴν Ἐλισάβετ Cyrill. (sed vide app. crit.) 35 Τοιοῦτο δὴ] Τοιοῦτόν Cyrill. | ante παραδεξόμεθα] πεπράχθαι hab. Cyrill. 36 post Γεγέννηται] μὲν hab. Cyrill. 39 τῶν ἀτόπων] τὸ ἄτοπον Cyrill. 40 καί'] non hab. Cyrill. 41 συναπογεννᾶται τῷ] τῷ ἰδίῳ συναπογεννᾶται Cyrill.

τὸν ἴδιον λόγον. Κἂν εἰ βούλοιτό τις τὴν τοῦ δεῖνος μητέρα λέγειν ὡς ἔστι
 μὲν σαρκοτόκος, οὐ μὴν ἔτι καὶ ψυχοτόκος, περισσοεπήσει λίαν· τέτοκε
 γάρ, ὡς ἔφην, συντεθειμένον εὐτέχνως ἐξ ἀνομοίων τὸ ζῶον, καὶ ἐκ δυοῖν
 μὲν πλὴν ἓνα ἄνθρωπον, μένοντος μὲν ἐκατέρου τοῦθ' ὅπερ ἐστίν,
 συνδεδραμηκότων δὲ ὡσπερ εἰς ἐνότητα φυσικὴν, καὶ οἷον ἀνακιρνάντων
 ἀλλήλοιν ὅπερ ἂν ὡς ἴδιον ἐκατέρω προσῆ.

Ἐπελάβετο τοίνυν σπέρματος Ἀβραάμ καὶ *κεκοινώνηκεν αἵματος καὶ*
σαρκὸς ὁ τοῦ Θεοῦ λόγος, ἴδιον ποιησάμενος σῶμα τὸ ἐκ γυναικός, ἵνα μὴ
 μόνος ὑπάρχη Θεός, ἀλλ' ἤδη καὶ ἄνθρωπος γεγωνὸς καθ' ἡμᾶς νοοῖτο διὰ
 τὴν ἔνωσιν. Οὐκοῦν ἐκ δύο μὲν πραγμάτων ὁμολογουμένως, θεότητός τε
 καὶ ἀνθρωπότητος, ὁ Ἐμμανουήλ. Πλὴν εἷς Κύριος Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς εἷς τε
 καὶ ἀληθὴς υἱός, Θεός τε ὁμοῦ καὶ ἄνθρωπος, καὶ οὐκ ἄνθρωπος
 θεοποιηθεὶς ἐν ἴσῳ τοῖς κατὰ χάριν, Θεὸς δὲ μᾶλλον ἀληθινὸς ἐν ἀνθρωπείᾳ
 μορφῇ πεφηνῶς δι' ἡμᾶς.

Ὡσπερ ἡμεῖς τὸ αὐτὸ πνεῦμα πλουτήσαντες –*κατόκηκε γὰρ ἐν ταῖς*
καρδίαις ἡμῶν– τετάγμεθα μὲν ἐν τέκνοις Θεοῦ, τό γε μὴν εἶναι τοῦθ' ὅπερ
 ἐσμὲν, οὐκ ἀποβεβλήκαμεν –ἐσμὲν γὰρ ἄνθρωποι κατὰ φύσιν, καίτοι Θεῷ
 λέγοντες *ἄββᾶ ὁ πατήρ*–, οὕτω καὶ αὐτὸς ὁ τῆς τοῦ Θεοῦ καὶ πατρὸς οὐσίας
 ἀπορρήτως ἐκπεφηνῶς Θεὸς λόγος προσλαβὼν τὸ ἀνθρώπινον, τετίμηκε
 μὲν τὴν φύσιν, οὐ μὴν ἔξω γέγονε τῆς ἰδίας ὑπεροχῆς, μεμένηκε δὲ καὶ ἐν
 ἀνθρωπότητι Θεός. Οὐκοῦν οὐκ ἐν ὀργάνου τάξει παρειλήφαμεν τὸν ἐκ τῆς
 παρθένου ναόν, ἐπόμενοι δὲ μᾶλλον τῇ πίστει τῶν ἱερῶν γραμμάτων καὶ
 ταῖς τῶν ἁγίων φωναῖς σάρκα γεγεννησθαι τὸν λόγον διακεισόμεθα κατὰ γε
 τοὺς ἤδη πολλάκις ἡμῖν προαποδοθέντας τρόπους· οὕτω καὶ τέθεικεν ὑπὲρ
 ἡμῶν τὴν ἰδίαν ψυχὴν. Ἐπειδὴ γὰρ ἦν ὁ θάνατος αὐτοῦ τῷ κόσμῳ
 σωτήριος, *ὑπέμεινε σταυρόν, αἰσχύνῃς καταφρονήσας*, καίτοι ζωὴ κατὰ

ACDEGFH | ab Οὐκοῦν (l. 63) ADEGFH

2.49-56 Cyrill. Alex., *Ep. ad monachos Aegypti* in Actis Concilii universalis Epheseni anno 431, ACO I, 1, 1 (p. 18.16-22) 49-50 Hebr. 2.14 57-89 Cyrill. Alex., *Ep. ad monachos Aegypti* in Actis Concilii universalis Epheseni anno 431, ACO I, 1, 1 (pp. 21.23 – 22.18) 57-58 Eph. 3.17 60 Rom. 8.15 65 cf. Io. 1.14 68 Hebr. 12.2

2.43 Κἂν] Καὶ DFH 45 ὡς ἔφην] om. FH 46 μὲν²] om. DEG 49 σπέρματος] σπέρματι C 51 μόνος] μόνον EG 51-52 διὰ τὴν] δι' A 52 μὲν] om. G^{a.c.} | τε] om. FH 53 εἷς τε] εἶτε AD 57 Ὡσπερ] Ὡσπερ EG, γὰρ add. FH 58 μὲν] οὖν add. EG | τέκνοις] τέκνοι (sic) D 63 Οὐκοῦν] Οὐκουν EG 65 γεγεννησθαι] γεγενῆσθαι ADEGH | διακεισόμεθα] διανοησόμεθα EG | γε] τε DEGF 66 οὕτω] καθ' οὗς EG

2.45 εὐτέχνως] εὐτεχνῶς Cyrill. 46 ἓνα ἄνθρωπον] ἄνθρωπὸν ἓνα Cyrill. (sed vide app. crit.) 51 μόνος ὑπάρχη] μόνον ὑπάρχων Cyrill. 52 δύο] δύοιν Cyrill. 54 ἀληθῆς] ἀληθῶς Cyrill. 57 post Ὡσπερ] γὰρ hab. Cyrill. | αὐτὸ] αὐτοῦ Cyrill. (sed vide app. crit.) 63 παρειλήφαμεν] παρειλήφθαι φαμὲν Cyrill. 66 πολλάκις] πλειστάκις Cyrill.

φύσιν ὑπάρχων ὡς Θεός. Πῶς οὖν ἡ ζωὴ τεθνάναι λέγεται; Τῆ ἰδία σαρκί
παθοῦσα τὸν θάνατον, ἵνα φαίνεται ζωὴ ζωοποιούσα πάλιν αὐτήν. Φέρε 70
γάρ, εἰ καὶ ἐφ’ ἡμῶν αὐτῶν ὁ τοῦ θανάτου πολυπραγμονοῖτο τρόπος, οὐχ
ἅπας τις οὖν τῶν εὐφρονούντων ἐρεῖ τοῖς ἀπὸ γῆς σώμασι
συγκαταφθεῖρεσθαι τὰς ψυχάς; Ἀλλ’ οἶμαι τοῦτο ἐστὶν οὐδενὶ τῶν ὄντων
ἐνδοιαστόν· πλὴν ἀνθρώπου θάνατος τὸ συμβεβηκὸς ὀνομάζεται· οὕτω 75
νοήσεις καὶ ἐπ’ αὐτοῦ τοῦ Ἐμμανουήλ. Ἦν μὲν γὰρ ὁ λόγος ὡς ἐν ἰδίᾳ
σώματι τῷ ἐκ γυναικός, ἐδίδου δὲ αὐτῷ θανάτῳ κατὰ καιρὸν, πάσχων μὲν
οὐδὲν εἰς ἰδίαν φύσιν αὐτός –ζωὴ γὰρ ἐστὶ καὶ ζωοποιός–, οἰκειούμενος δὲ
τὰ σαρκός, ἵνα καὶ αὐτοῦ λέγεται τὸ παθεῖν, καὶ εἰς ὁ πάντων ἀντάξιος
τεθνεῶς ὑπὲρ πάντων ἀγοράσῃ τῷ ἰδίῳ αἵματι τὴν ὑπ’ οὐρανόν, καὶ
κατακτήσῃ τῷ Θεῷ καὶ πατρὶ τοὺς ἀνὰ πᾶσαν τὴν γῆν. Καὶ τοῦτο ὡς 80
ἀληθῶς ὁ μακάριος προφήτης Ἡσαΐας διακηρύττει λέγων ἐν πνεύματι
*Διατοῦτο αὐτὸς κληρονομήσει πολλοὺς καὶ τῶν ἰσχυρῶν μεριεῖ σκῆλα, ἀνθ’
ὧν παρεδόθη εἰς θάνατον ἢ ψυχὴ αὐτοῦ, καὶ ἐν τοῖς ἀνόμοις κατελογίσθη.*
Εἰς οὖν ὁ πάντων ἀξιώτερος ὑπὲρ πάντων τέθεικε τὴν ψυχὴν, καὶ συνεχῶρει 85
μὲν οἰκονομικῶς καταβιβάζεσθαι βραχὺ τῷ θανάτῳ τὴν σάρκα, κατήργηκε
δὲ πάλιν αὐτὸν ὡς ζωὴ παθεῖν οὐκ ἐνδεχομένη τὸ παρὰ φύσιν ἰδίαν, ἵνα καὶ
ἐν τοῖς ἀπάντων ἀτονηθῇ σώμασιν ἢ φθορά, καὶ τὸ τοῦ θανάτου
παραλύοιτο κράτος. *Ὡσπερ γὰρ ἐν τῷ Ἀδάμ πάντες ἀποθνήσκουσιν, οὕτω
καὶ ἐν τῷ Χριστῷ πάντες ζωοποιηθήσονται.*

Προσκύνησον οὖν ὡς ἓνα, μὴ διελὼν εἰς δύο μετὰ τὴν ἔνωσιν. 90

ADEGFH | ab παραλύοιτο (l. 88) AC(πραλύοιτο)DEGFH

2.82-83 Is. 53.12 88-89 I Cor. 15.22 90 Cyrill. Alex., *Ep. ad monachos Aegypti* in Actis
Concilii universalis Epheseni anno 431, ACO I, 1, 1 (p. 23.13)

2.71 ὁ... πολυπραγμονοῖτο] πολυπραγμονοῖτο ὁ τοῦ θανάτου D | πολυπραγμονοῖτο]
πολυπραγμονεῖτο E, πολυπραγμονεῖ G 72 εὐφρονούντων] εὐφρονούντων
DEGF 73 συγκαταφθεῖρεσθαι] συγκαταφθεῖρεσθαι A | οὐδενὶ] οὐδὲν FH 75 ὡς] om.
EG 76 αὐτῷ] αὐτὸ H 81 διακηρύττει] κηρύττει DEGFH 85 κατήργηκε] κατηρκη (sic) D,
ἐξήρκει EG 86 αὐτὸν] αὐτὸς DEGFH 87 ἀτονηθῇ] ἀτονηθῆ (sic) D, δυνηθῆ
EG 88 παραλύοιτο] παραλύει τὸ AD | γάρ] om. G^{a.c.} 89 ζωοποιηθήσονται] ζωοποιησόμεθα G

2.72 εὐφρονούντων] εὐφρονούντων Cyrill. 73 ante συγκαταφθεῖρεσθαι] οὐ hab. Cyrill. (sed
vide app. crit.) 76 αὐτῷ] αὐτὸ τῷ Cyrill. 81 ἀληθῶς] ἀληθές Cyrill. 83 κατελογίσθη]
ελογίσθη καὶ αὐτὸς ἀμαρτίας πολλῶν ἀνήνεγκεν καὶ διὰ τὰς ἀνομίας αὐτῶν παρεδόθη Cyrill.
84 post ἀξιώτερος] τὴν ἰδίαν hab. Cyrill. | τὴν] non hab. Cyrill. 86 ἐνδεχομένη] ἀνεχομένη
Cyrill. 87 ἀτονηθῆ] ἀτονήση Cyrill. 88 ἀποθνήσκουσιν] ἀποθνήσκομεν Cyrill. 90 οὖν] ὡς
Cyrill.

Γ΄ Περὶ τοῦ μὴ θησαυρίζειν ἐπὶ γῆς

- 3 Ἀθανασίου Ἀλεξανδρείας βιβλίον τῆς ἐρμηνείας τοῦ κατὰ Ματθαῖον
*Μὴ θησαυρίζετε ὑμῖν θησαυροὺς ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς, φησὶν ὁ Χριστός, ὅπου σῆς καὶ
 βρῶσις ἀφανίζει, καὶ ὅπου κλέπται διορύσσουσι καὶ κλέπτουσι· θησαυρίζετε
 δὲ ὑμῖν θησαυροὺς ἐν οὐρανοῖς, ὅπου σῆς καὶ βρῶσις οὐκ ἀφανίζει, καὶ ὅπου
 κλέπται οὐ διορύσσουσιν, οὐδὲ κλέπτουσιν. Οἱ δὲ ἐπακούσαντες τούτων τῶν
 ῥημάτων εἶπον· Καλὴ ἐστὶ σφόδρα ἡ συμβουλίᾳ καὶ ἀπόδεκτος ἡ γνώμη, 5
 τοῦ παρὰ τὴν γῆν μᾶλλον ἐν οὐρανοῖς ἀποθησαυρίζειν τὰ παρόντα τοῦ
 βίου. Ἀλλὰ πῶς θήσομεν τὸ χρυσίον καὶ τὸ ἀργύριον ἐν οὐρανοῖς,
 ἀμηχανοῦμεν. Ἔστι γὰρ σφόδρα ὑψηλὸς ἀφ' ἡμῶν ὁ οὐρανός, καὶ οὐ
 δυνάμεθα τῇ χειρὶ ἐφικέσθαι αὐτοῦ· οὔτε δὲ ὀρῶμεν ἐκείνην τὴν κλίμακα
 ἣν ἐθέασατο ὁ πατριάρχης Ἰακώβ, ἵνα δι' αὐτῆς ἀνελθόντες ἀποθησώμεθα 10
 ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ τὰ ὑπάρχοντα ἡμῶν. Ὁ δὲ Κύριος· Κἂν ὁ οὐρανός ἐστι
 σφόδρα ὑψηλός, δύνασθε εἰς αὐτὸν ἀποθησαυρίσαι τὸν ἀσυλαγώγητον
 θησαυρὸν τῆς δικαιοσύνης. Δὸς πτωχῷ καὶ πένητι ὧν χρῆζει, καὶ εὐρήσεις
 αὐτὰ ἀποκείμενα ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ σῶα, ἀμόλυντα, ἀδιάφθορα. Ἔχεις δὲ καὶ
 κλίμακα διήκουσαν ἀπὸ γῆς εἰς οὐρανόν, τὸν σωτήριον σταυρὸν, 15
 ἀναβαθμίδας δὲ τὰ δόγματα τῶν ἀχράντων εὐαγγελίων· ἀνάβηθι οὖν δι'
 αὐτῶν εἰς τὰς ἐπουρανίους μονάς, ἵνα δοξασθῆς εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα. Πρόσεχε δὲ
 καὶ τῷ λεγομένῳ παρ' ἐμοῦ· Ὁ λύχνος τοῦ σώματός ἐστιν ὁ ὀφθαλμός. Εἰ ὁ
 ὀφθαλμός σου ἀπλοῦς ἐστίν, ὅλον τὸ σῶμά σου φωτεινὸν ἔσται· ἐὰν δὲ ὁ
 ὀφθαλμός σου πονηρός ἐστίν, ὅλον τὸ σῶμά σου σκοτεινὸν ἔσται. Γίνεται δὲ 20
 τὸ σῶμα σκοτεινόν, τοῦ ὀφθαλμοῦ πονηροῦ ὄντος, οὐ παρὰ τὴν αἰτίαν τοῦ
 δημιουργοῦ· πάντα γὰρ ὅσα ἐποίησεν ὁ Θεὸς καλὰ λίαν, ἀλλὰ παρὰ τὸν
 μοχθηρὸν καὶ ἐθελόκακον τρόπον τοῦ κεκτημένου αὐτόν. Ὁφθαλμὸν δὲ*

Tit. capitis ACDEGFH **Tit. frg. 3** ACDEGFH **3** ACDEGFH

Tit. capitis Matth. 6.19 **3.1-4** Matth. 6.19-20 **1-28** (Ps.-)Athan. Alex., *Schol. in Matth.*
 6.19, *PG* 27, col. 1373.4-43 **8-10** cf. Gen. 28.12 **18-21** Matth. 6.22-23 **22** Gen. 1.31
23-24 Matth. 6.23

Tit. capitis Γ΄] κεφάλαιον ριδ΄ C, κεφάλαιον ρδ΄ EG, ρδ΄ D, om. FH | γῆς] τῆς praem. EGF
Tit. frg. 3 βιβλίον... Ματθαῖον] ἐκ τοῦ Ματθαίου Λουκά D, Ματθαίου Λουκά EH, om. GF
 βιβλίον] βίβλος C | Ματθαῖον] λόγος θ΄ add. C

3.1 θησαυρίζετε] θησαυρίζετε C **3** ὑμῖν] ἡμῖν EGF | οὐρανοῖς] οὐρανῷ ADF | ὅπου¹] οὔτε
 add. F | οὐκ] om. F **5** συμβουλίᾳ] συμβουλή DEGFH | ἀπόδεκτος] ἀποδεκταία (sic)
 EG **6** οὐρανοῖς] οὐρανῷ F **9** αὐτοῦ] αὐτόν A **10** ἀποθησώμεθα] ἀποθώμεθα FH **11** τῷ
 οὐρανῷ] τοῖς οὐρανοῖς FH **12** αὐτόν] ἑαυτόν A **14** καὶ] om. G **16** ἀχράντων] ἁγίων D **18** καὶ]
 om. FH | τῷ λεγομένῳ] τὸ λεγόμενον DFH **19-20** φωτεινὸν... σου²] om. H **19** φωτεινὸν]
 σκοτόν (sic) F **20** Γίνεται] Γίνωσκε EGFH **21** παρὰ] περὶ F | τὴν αἰτίαν] om. E^{a-c}G

πονηρὸν ἀκούων, συννετὲ ἀκροατά, νόει εἶναι μὴ τὸν ὄντα ἐν τῇ κεφαλῇ, ἀλλὰ τὸν ὑπάρχοντα πονηρὸν λογισμὸν ἐν τῇ ἀφωτίστῳ καρδίᾳ. Εἰ δὲ καὶ 25
 συμβαίῃ τὸν σωματικὸν ὀφθαλμὸν σκοτισθῆναι ἐκ πολλῆς φορᾶς ρεύματος
 καὶ ὀδύνης τοῦ κρανίου, ἀλλ' οὔτε ἡ σωματικὴ τύφλωσις τινα ἀποξενοῖ τῶν
 μελλόντων καὶ ἀϊδίων ἀγαθῶν.

<Δ'> Περὶ θανάτων αἰφνιδίων

4 Βασιλείου Καισαρείας

Θάνατοι δὲ αἰφνίδιοι ἐπάγονται, τῶν ὄρων τῆς ζωῆς πληρωθέντων, οὓς ἐξ
 ἀρχῆς περὶ ἕκαστον ἢ δικαία τοῦ Θεοῦ κρίσις ἐπηξε πόρρωθεν, τὸ περὶ
 ἑκάστου ἡμῶν συμφέρον προβλεπομένη. Λοιμοὶ δὲ καὶ αὐχμοὶ καὶ
 ἐπομβρία, κοιναὶ τινές εἰσι πληγαὶ πόλεων καὶ ἐθνῶν, τοῦ κακοῦ τὴν
 ἀμετρίαν κολάζουσαι. Ὡς οὖν εὐεργέτης ὁ ἰατρός, κἂν πόνους καὶ 5
 ἀλγηδόνας ἐμποῖ τῷ σώματι –τῇ νόσῳ γὰρ μάχεται, οὐχὶ τῷ σώματι–,
 οὕτως ἀγαθὸς ὁ Θεὸς, ὁ τὴν σωτηρίαν τῷ παντὶ διὰ τῶν μερικῶν κολάσεων
 διοικούμενος.

Ε' Περὶ θυμώδους

5

Ανὴρ θυμώδης οὐκ εὐσχήμων.

ACDEGFH Tit. capitis ACDEGFHKath Tit. frg. 4 ACRDEGKath
 4 ACRDEGFHKath | ab Λοιμοὶ (l. 3) ACDEGFHKath Tit. capitis AC 5 AC

4.1-8 Basil. Caes., *Quod deus non est auctor malorum*, 3, PG 31, col. 333.20-30 5.1 Prov.
 11.25

Tit. capitis Δ'] scripsimus, κεφάλαιον ρι' C, κεφάλαιον ρε' EG, ρε' D, μζ' K, om. AFHath
 Περὶ... αἰφνιδίων] post Βασιλείου (tit. frg. 4) transp. KAth | θανάτων αἰφνιδίων] transp. F
Tit. frg. 4 Βασιλείου Καισαρείας] Βασιλείου CEGK, τοῦ αὐτοῦ μεγάλου Βασιλείου Ath,
 μεγάλου R **Tit. capitis** Ε'] κεφάλαιον ριC' C

3.24 εἶναι μὴ] transp. EG 27 οὔτε] οὐχ EG | ἀποξενοῖ] ἀποξενώνει (sic) A, ἀποξενεῖ (sic)
 F 4.1 τῶν ὄρων] τῷ ὄρω K^{a.c.} 1-2 ἐξ ἀρχῆς] ἐξαρχῆς R 2 κρίσις] post δικαία transp.
 R 3 συμφέρον] συμφέρω H^{a.c.} | Λοιμοὶ] Λοιμὸν A 4 πληγαὶ] om. F 5 ὁ] om. AEGKath | καὶ]
 κἂν E, κἂν GK 6 τῇ νόσῳ] τὴν νόσον F | γὰρ] om. EGFKath | οὐχὶ] οὐ FH | σώματι] δὲ add.
 H

4.1 αἰφνίδιοι] non hab. Basil. 2 ἢ... ἐπηξε] ἐπηξεν ἢ δικαία τοῦ Θεοῦ κρίσις Basil.
 3 ἑκάστου] ἕκαστον Basil. | προβλεπομένη] προβλεπομένου Basil. | Λοιμοὶ] Λιμοὶ Basil.
 5 καὶ] κἂν Basil. 6 σώματι] κάμνοντι Basil. 5.1 Ανὴρ] δὲ add. Prov.

4.1-8 *Sacra Parallela*, PG 96, col. 316.40-49 5.1 *Sacra Parallela*, PG 96, col. 265.14 (cf.
 Wahl 1985, p. 59); cf. Ps.-Max. Conf., *Loci Communes*, c. 19.5c (MaxII)

Ὅργη ἀπόλλυσι καὶ φρονίμους.

Μὴ ἴσθι ἐταῖρος ἀνδρὶ θυμῶδει, φίλω δὲ ὀργίλω μὴ συναυλίζου.

Χεῖλη ἄφρονος ἄγουσιν αὐτὸν εἰς κακά, τὸ δὲ στόμα αὐτοῦ τὸ θρασὺ θάνατον ἐπικαλεῖται. Στόμα ἄφρονος συντριβεῖ ἐαυτὸν, τὰ χεῖλη δὲ αὐτοῦ παγίς τῇ ψυχῇ αὐτοῦ. 5

Ἄνεμος βορρᾶς ἐξήγειρε νέφη, πρόσωπον δὲ ἀναιδὲς γλῶσσαν ἐρεθίζει.

Ἀσεβῆς ὃς οὐκ ἠσχύνθη πρόσωπον ἐντίμου, οὐδὲ οἶδε τιμὴν θέσθαι τούτῳ.

6

Σειράχ

Οὐ δυνήσεται θυμὸς ἄδικος δικαιωθῆναι· ἢ γὰρ ῥοπή τοῦ θυμοῦ αὐτοῦ πτώσις αὐτοῦ.

7

Ἐκ τοῦ κατὰ Ματθαῖον

Πᾶς ὁ ὀργιζόμενος τῷ ἀδελφῷ αὐτοῦ εἰκὴ ἔνοχός ἐστιν τῇ κρίσει.

8

Βασιλείου

Οὐαὶ οἱ μεθύοντες οὐκ ἀπὸ οἴνου. Θυμὸς μέθη ἐστὶ τῆς ψυχῆς, ἔκφρονα αὐτὴν ποιῶν ὡς ὁ οἶνος.

AC Tit. frg. 6 A 6 AC Tit. frg. 7 A 7 AC Tit. frg. 8 A 8 AC

5.2 Prov. 15.1 3 Prov. 22.24 4-6 Prov. 18.6-7 7 Prov. 25.23 8 Iob 34.19 6.1-2 Sir. 1.22 7.1 Matth. 5.22 8.1-2 Basil. Caes., *De ieiunio hom.* 1, 10, PG 31, col. 181.25-27 1 Is. 51.21

7.1 τῆ] ἐν praem. C

5.5 συντριβεῖ ἐαυτὸν] συντριβὴ αὐτῷ Prov. | χεῖλη δὲ] transp. Prov. 7 βορρᾶς ἐξήγειρε] βορέας ἐξεγείρει Prov. 8 Ἀσεβῆς] non hab. Iob (sed vide app. crit.) | ἠσχύνθη] ἐπὶ ἠσχύνθη Iob (sed vide app. crit.) | τούτῳ] ἀδροῖς Iob (sed vide app. crit.) 6.2 αὐτοῦ] αὐτῷ Sir. (sed vide app. crit.) 7.1 εἰκῆ] non hab. Matth. (sed vide app. crit.) | ἐστιν] ἔσται Matth.

5.2 *Sacra Parallela*, PG 96, col. 265.15 (cf. Wahl 1985, p. 74) 3 *Sacra Parallela*, PG 96, col. 265.20-21 (cf. Wahl 1985, pp. 106-107); cf. Ps.-Max. Conf., *Loci Communes*, c. 19.5c (MaxII) 4-6 *Sacra Parallela*, PG 96, col. 265.27-30 (cf. Wahl 1985, pp. 90-91) 7 *Sacra Parallela*, PG 96, col. 265.32-33 (cf. Wahl 1985, p. 126); Ps.-Max. Conf., *Loci Communes*, c. 69.4 (MaxU), c. 40.4 (MaxII) 8 *Sacra Parallela*, PG 96, col. 265.10-11; Ps.-Max. Conf., *Loci Communes*, c. 19.5b (MaxII) 6.1-2 *Sacra Parallela*, PG 96, col. 265.40-41 (cf. Wahl 1974, p. 45); Ps.-Max. Conf., *Loci Communes*, c. 19.6a (MaxII) 7.1 *Sacra Parallela*, PG 96, col. 268.1-2; Ps.-Max. Conf., *Loci Communes*, c. 19.1 (MaxU et MaxII) 8.1-2 *Sacra Parallela*, PG 96, col. 268.9-11; Ps.-Max. Conf., *Loci Communes*, c. 19.8f (MaxII)

9

Τῆς Κλίμακος

Τινές εὐμετάβλητοι ἐκ θυμοῦ ὑπάρχοντες, ἀμελῶς περὶ τὴν τούτου θεραπείαν καὶ ἐπιμέλειαν διάκεινται, μὴ νοοῦντες οἱ τάλανες, ὅτι γέγραπται ἡ ῥοπή τοῦ θυμοῦ αὐτοῦ πτώσις αὐτοῦ. Θυμώδης ἐστὶν ἐπιληπτικός ἐκούσιος, ἐξ ἀκουσίου προλήψεως.

10

Σειράχ

Μετὰ θυμώδους μὴ ποιήσης μάχην καὶ μὴ διαπορεύου μετ' αὐτοῦ τὴν ἔρημον· ὅτι ὡς οὐδὲν ἐν ὀφθαλμοῖς αὐτοῦ αἷμα, καὶ ὅπου οὐκ ἔστιν βοήθεια, καταβαλεῖ σε.

11

Γρηγορίου τοῦ Νύσσης

Τίς ἂν διεξέλθοι πρὸς ἀξίαν τὰ πάθη; Τίς ὑπογράψει λόγος τὴν ἀσχημοσύνην τῆς τοιαύτης νόσου; Ὅραξ τὰ τῶν δαιμονώτων πάθη, τοῖς ὑπὸ θυμοῦ κεκρατημένοις ἐπιφαινόμενα; Λόγισαι τὰ παράλληλα τοῦ δαίμονος καὶ τοῦ θυμοῦ τὰ συμπτώματα, καὶ τίς ἐν τούτοις ἡ διαφορά. Ὑφαιμος καὶ διάστροφος τῶν δαιμονώτων ὁ ὀφθαλμός, παράφορος ἡ γλῶττα, τραχὺ τὸ φθέγμα, ὀξεῖα καὶ ὑλακτώδης ἡ φωνή. Κοινὰ ταῦτα καὶ θυμοῦ καὶ τοῦ δαίμονος, κλόνος κεφαλῆς, χειρῶν ἔμπληκτοι κινήσεις, βρασμὸς ὄλου τοῦ σώματος, ἄστατοι πόδες, μία τῶν δύο νοσημάτων ἢ διὰ τῶν τοιούτων ὑπογραφή. Τοσοῦτον μόνον παρήλλακται τοῦ ἑτέρου τὸ ἕτερον, ὅσον τὸ μὲν ἐκούσιον εἶναι κακόν, τὸ δὲ ἀβουλήτως προσπίπτειν οἷς ἂν γένηται, τὸ δὲ κατ' ἰδίαν ὀρμὴν ἐν συμφορᾷ γενέσθαι, τοῦ παρὰ γνώμην τι παθεῖν, ὅσον ἐλεινότερον. Καὶ τὴν μὲν ἐκ δαίμονος νόσον ὁ ἰδὼν πάντως ἠλέησεν, τὴν δὲ ἐκ θυμοῦ παραφορὰν ὁμοῦ τε εἶδε καὶ

Tit. frg. 9 AC 9 AC **Tit. frg. 10** AC 10 AC **Tit. frg. 11** AC 11 AC

9.1-3 Io. Clim., *Scala paradisi* 8, PG 88, col. 828.24-27 **3** Sir. 1.22 **3-4** Io. Clim., *Scala paradisi* 8, PG 88, col. 829.20-21 **10.1-3** Sir. 8.16 **11.1-38** Greg. Nyss., *Or. beat.* 7, pp. 155.6 – 156.21

Tit. frg. 11 τοῦ] om. C

11.10 προσπίπτειν] scripsimus cum Gregorio, προσπίπτον codd. **12** δαίμονος] δαιμόνων A

9.2 νοοῦντες] ἐννοοῦντες Clim. | ὅτι γέγραπται] τοῦ εἰπόντος Clim. **3** αὐτοῦ²] αὐτῷ Clim. **11.1** post ἀξίαν] τῆς ὀργῆς hab. Greg. **3** τὰ] non hab. Greg. (sed vide app. crit.) **4** ante δαίμονος] τε hab. Greg. (sed vide app. crit.) **6** ὑλακτώδης] ὑλακώδης Greg. (sed. vide app. crit.) **7** θυμοῦ] ante τοῦ hab. Greg. (sed vide app. crit.) **11** γένηται] ἐγγένηται Greg.

10.1-3 *Sacra Parallela*, Wahl 1974, p. 69

ἐμιμήσατο, ζημίαν κρίνων τῷ μὴ ὑπερβαλέσθαι τῷ καθ' ἑαυτὸν πάθει τὸν
 προνοσήσαντα. Καὶ ὁ μὲν δαίμων στρεβλῶν τοῦ ἐμπαθοῦς τὸ σῶμα μέχρις 15
 ἐκείνου τὸ κακὸν ἴσθησι, κατὰ τοῦ ἀέρος εἰκῆ διαρρίπτων τοῦ μεμνηότος
 τὰς χεῖρας, ὁ δὲ τοῦ θυμοῦ δαίμων οὐκ ἀργὰς ποιεῖ τὰς κινήσεις τοῦ
 σώματος. Ἐπειδὴν γὰρ ἐπικρατήση τὸ πάθος καὶ ὑπερζέση τὸ περικάρδιον
 αἷμα, τῆς μελαινῆς χολῆς, ὡς φασιν, ἐκ τῆς θυμώδους διαθέσεως ἀπανταχῆ
 κατασπαρείσης τῷ σώματι, τότε ὑπὸ τῶν ἐνδοθεν συνθλιβομένων ἀτμῶν 20
 στενοχωρεῖται πάντα τὰ περὶ τὴν κεφαλὴν αἰσθητήρια· ὀφθαλμοὶ μὲν ὑπὲρ
 τὴν τῶν βλεφάρων ἐπιγραφὴν ἐξωθοῦνται, ὕφαιμόν τε καὶ δρακοντῶδες
 πρὸς τὸ λυποῦν ἀτενίζοντες· ἄσθματι δὲ τὰ σπλάγχνα συνέχεται· διοιδοῦσι
 δὲ κατὰ τοῦ ἀγένοσ αἰ φλέβες· καὶ ἡ γλῶσσα παχύνεται· καὶ ἡ φωνή,
 στενουμένης τῆς ἀρτηρίας, ἀκουσίως ὀξύνεται· καὶ τὰ χεῖλη τῆ ὑποσπορᾶ 25
 τῆς ψυχρᾶς ἐκείνης χολῆς πῆγνυταί τε καὶ περιμελαινεται, καὶ δυσκίνητα
 γίνεται πρὸς τὴν κατὰ φύσιν διαστολὴν καὶ ὑπομούσιν, ὡς μήτε τὸν
 πτύελον ἐν τῷ στόματι πλεονάζοντα περικρατεῖν δύνασθαι, ἀλλὰ
 συνεκβάλλειν τοῖς ῥήμασι, τοῦ βεβιασμένου φθόγγου τὸν ἀφρὸν
 παραπτύοντος. Τότε τοῖνον καὶ τὰς χεῖρας ἔστιν ἰδεῖν ἀνακινουμένας ὑπὸ 30
 τῆς νόσου καὶ τοὺς πόδας ὡσαύτως· κινεῖται δὲ τὰ μέλη ταῦτα οὐκέτι
 μάτην, καθάπερ ἐπὶ τῶν δαιμονώτων, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ κακοῦ τῶν ἄλλοις διὰ τῆς
 νόσου συμπλεκομένων. Εὐθὺς γὰρ πρὸς τὰ καίρια τῶν αἰσθητηρίων αἰ
 ὄρμαι τῶν ἀλλήλους πληττόντων γίνονται. Εἰ δέ που προσεγγίσειε τῆ
 συμπλοκῆ τὸ στόμα τῷ σώματι, οὐδὲ οἱ ὀδόντες ἄπρακτοι μένουσιν, ἀλλ' 35
 ἐμφύονται θηρίου δίκην οἷς ἂν ἐμπελάσωσι. Καὶ τίς ἂν τὰ καθ' ἕκαστον
 εἴποι κακά, ὅσα ἐκ τοῦ θυμοῦ τὴν γένεσιν ἔχει; Ὁ τοῖνον κωλύων τὴν
 τοιαύτην ἀσχημοσύνην εἰκότως ἂν μακαριστός τε καὶ τίμιος. Καὶ μηδεὶς
 οἰέσθω τῶν ἐκ τοῦ πάθους ἐνεργουμένων κακῶν, τῶν κατὰ τὸν θυμὸν
 οὐδεμίαν ἄλλην εἶναι χαλεπωτάτην νόσον. 40

 AC

 11.38-40 Greg. Nyss., *Or. beat.* 7, pp. 156.28 – 157.1

 11.14 ἐμιμήσατο] ἐμισήσατο C^{a.c.} 15-17 στρεβλῶν... δαίμων] om. A 22 δρακοντῶδες] δρακοντῶδης A 23 λυποῦν] λοιπὸν C

 11.14 τῷ¹] τὸ Greg. 22 ἐπιγραφὴν] περιγραφὴν Greg. (sed vide app. crit.) | τε] τι Greg. 27 ὑπομούσιν] ἐπίμυσιν Greg. | μήτε] μηδὲ Greg. (sed vide app. crit.) 32 κακοῦ] κακῷ Greg. (sed. vide app. crit.) | ἄλλοις] ἀλλήλοισ Greg. 34 post προσεγγίσειε] ἐν hab. Greg. (sed vide app. crit.) 39 πάθους] μίσους Greg. (sed vide app. crit.) | τῶν²] τὴν Greg. (sed vide app. crit.) 40 οὐδεμίαν... νόσον] ἀηδῖαν οἰεσθαί με χαλεπωτάτην εἶναι Greg. (sed vide app. crit.)

ς' Περὶ τοῦ καθήσεσθε καὶ ὑμεῖς ἐπὶ δώδεκα θρόνους. Τί δηλοῦσιν οἱ
θρόνοι;

12 Ἐκ τοῦ κατὰ Ματθαῖον

Ἀμὴν λέγω ὑμῖν, ὅτι ὑμεῖς οἱ ἀκολουθήσαντές μοι ἐν τῇ παλιγγενεσίᾳ, ὅταν καθίση ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ἐπὶ θρόνου δόξης αὐτοῦ, καθήσεσθε καὶ ὑμεῖς ἐπὶ δώδεκα θρόνους κρίνοντες τὰς δώδεκα φυλάς τοῦ Ἰσραὴλ.

13 Ἑρμηνεία τοῦ Χρυσοστόμου

Τί ἐστὶ 'κρίνοντες' ἀντὶ τοῦ 'κατακρίνοντες'; Οὐ γὰρ δικασταὶ μέλλουσι καθεδεῖσθαι, ἀλλ' ὥσπερ ἔλεγεν *ἄνδρες Νινευίται ἀναστήσονται καὶ κατακρινουσι τὴν γενεὰν ταύτην καὶ βασιλίσσα νότου κατακρινεῖ*, οὕτω δὴ καὶ οὗτοι. Καὶ διατί οὐκ εἶπε 'τὸν κόσμον καὶ τὴν οἰκουμένην', ἀλλὰ 'τὰς δώδεκα φυλάς τοῦ Ἰσραὴλ'; Ἐπειδὴ ἐν τοῖς αὐτοῖς ἦσαν τεθραμμένοι καὶ νόμοις καὶ ἤθεσιν. Ὅταν οὖν λέγωσιν οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι ὅτι διατοῦτο οὐκ ἠδυνήθημεν πιστεῦσαι τῷ Χριστῷ, ὅτι ὁ νόμος ἐκέλευε τὰ παραγγέλματα αὐτοῦ μὴ δέχεσθαι, τούτους εἰσάγει εἰς μέσον τοὺς τὸν αὐτὸν δεξαμένους νόμον καὶ πιστεύσαντας κατακρινεῖν ἐκείνους ἅπαντας· ὅπερ καὶ ἔλεγεν ὅτι *διατοῦτο ἐξ ὑμῶν αὐτῶν κριταὶ ὑμῶν αὐτοὶ ἔσονται*. Τί οὖν δηλοῦσιν οἱ

Tit. capit. ACDEGFH Tit. frg. 12 ACEGFH 12 ACDEGFH Tit. frg. 13 AC 13 ACDEGFH

Tit. capit. Matth. 19.28 12.1-3 Matth. 19.28 13.1-10 Io. Chrys., *In Matth. hom.* 64(65), 2, PG 58, col. 610.45-60 **1** Matth. 19.28 **2-3** Matth. 12.41-42 **4-5** Matt. 19.28 **10** Matth. 12.27 **10-12** Io. Chrys., *In Matth. hom.* 64(65), 2, PG 58, col. 611.14-16 **10-11** Matth. 19.28

Tit. capit. C' κεφάλαιον ρζ' C, κεφάλαιον ρς' EG, ρς' DH, om. F | καθήσεσθε] καθίσεσθε DEGH | τί] καὶ praem. EG **Tit. frg. 12** Ἐκ... Ματθαῖον] ante Ἑρμηνεία (tit. frg. 13) transp. C, τοῦ Χρυσοστόμου EGFH

13.2 καθεδεῖσθαι] καθευδεῖσθαι (sic) EG, καθῆσθαι F **5** Ἐπειδὴ] Ἐπεὶ δὴ E **6** λέγωσιν] λέγουσιν CDEGF | οἱ] om. H **7** ἐκέλευε] ἐκέλευες F **8** αὐτὸν] αὐτοῦ AF **8-9** δεξαμένους νόμον] transp. EG **9** κατακρινεῖν] κατακρίνειν CDEGFH

13.1 post τί] δέ hab. Chrys. | ἀντὶ τοῦ] τὰς δώδεκα φυλάς τοῦ Ἰσραὴλ τουτέστι Chrys. | post γὰρ] δὴ hab. Chrys. **2-3** ἔλεγεν... κατακρινεῖ] τὴν βασιλίссαν τοῦ νότου κατακρινεῖν τὴν γενεὰν ἐκείνην ἔφησε, καὶ οἱ Νινευίται δὲ κατακρινουσιν αὐτούς Chrys. **4** Καὶ διατί] Διὰ τοῦτο Chrys. | τὸν κόσμον] τὰ ἔθνη Chrys. **5** δώδεκα] non hab. Chrys. | post Ἐπειδὴ] γὰρ hab. Chrys. **6** ἠθεσιν] ἔθεσι καὶ πολιτεία οἱ τε Ἰουδαῖοι καὶ οἱ ἀπόστολοι Chrys. | οὖν] non hab. Chrys. **7** ἐκέλευε] ἐκόλυσε Chrys. (sed vide app. crit.) **8** μὴ] non hab. Chrys. εἰσάγει... μέσον] εἰς μέσον παραγαγὼν Chrys. **9** κατακρινεῖν... ἅπαντας] κατακρινεῖ πάντας ἐκείνους Chrys. | post καί] ἤδη hab. Chrys. | ὅτι] non hab. Chrys. (sed vide app. crit.) **10** ἐξ... αὐτῶν] non hab. Chrys. **10-11** τί... Οὐ] Οὐδὲ γὰρ Chrys.

θρόνοι; Οὐ καθέδραν δηλοῦσιν οἱ θρόνοι· μόνος γάρ ἐστιν ὁ καθεζόμενος καὶ κρίνων, ἀλλὰ τιμὴν καὶ δόξαν ἄφατον παρεδήλωσε διὰ τῶν θρόνων.

<Z'> Πῶς νοητέον τὸ Ἑπαρσις τῶν χειρῶν μου θυσία ἐσπερινή;

14

Σευηριανοῦ

Κατευθυνθήτω ἡ προσευχή μου ὡς θυμίαμα ἐνώπιόν σου, φησὶν ὁ Δαυὶδ, ἔπαρσις τῶν χειρῶν μου θυσία ἐσπερινή. Διατί μὴ ἑωθινή; Δύο θυσίας ὁ Μωϋσῆς ἐκέλευσε γίνεσθαι, μᾶλλον δὲ ὁ Θεός· μίαν ἑωθινήν καὶ μίαν ἐσπερινήν. Ὁρθρινὴ εὐχὴ ἦν ὑπὲρ τῆς νυκτός. Ὁ γὰρ διασωθεὶς τὴν νύκτα, εὐχαριστεῖ ἐν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ. Ἡ ἐσπερινὴ θυσία εὐχὴ ἦν ὑπὲρ τῆς ἡμέρας. Ἐπειδὴ 5 διετήρησάς με, φησὶν, ἐν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ, εὐχαριστῶ σοι ὑπὲρ ὅλης τῆς ἡμέρας. Ἐωθινὴ θυσία οὐ δέχεται τὸν ἀμαρτήσαντα ἐν νυκτί· ἡ ἐσπερινὴ θυσία οὐ δέχεται τὸν ἀμαρτήσαντα ἐν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ. Διατοῦτο λέγει Ἑπαρσις τῶν χειρῶν μου θυσία ἐσπερινή. Εἰσέρχη ἐσπέρας, ἀπλοῖς τὰς χεῖρας· εἰ ἔχουσι 10 παρρησίαν, ἀπλουσθήσονται, εἰ μὴ ἔγραψαν ἀδικίαν, εἰ μὴ ἤρπασαν πένητα, εἰ μὴ ἐπλεονέκτησαν ὀρφανόν, ὡς πρόσωπον ἔχουσαι ὑψοῦσθωσαν. Ἑπαρσις τῶν χειρῶν μου, ἀντὶ τοῦ ἑβλέπε, Κύριε, καθαρὰ αἰ χεῖρες'. Ὡσπερ γὰρ ὁ ἀμαρτήσας πρόσωπον οὐκ ἔχει ἐπᾶραι, χεῖρας ἀλλ'

ACDEFGH **Tit. capitis** ACDEFGH **Tit. frg. 14** ACDEFGH **14** ACDEFGH

Tit. capitis Ps. 140.2 **14.1-2** Ps. 140.2 **1-2** Sever. Gabal., *Cosmog. hom.* 3, 7, PG 56, col. 456.10-13 **2-4** Cf. Ex. 29.39 **2-14** Sever. Gabal., *Cosmog. hom.* 3, 7, PG 56, col. 456.15-31

Tit. capitis Z'] scripsimus, κεφάλαιον ρη' C, κεφάλαιον ρζ' G, ρζ' DEH, om. AF **Tit. frg. 14** Σευηριανοῦ] Γαβαλῶν add. F

13.11 Οὐ... θρόνοι? om. A | οἱ θρόνοι] οὔτοι EG, om. F **12** ἀλλὰ] καὶ add. C **14.1-2** Κατευθυνθήτω... ἑωθινή] om. EGFH **1-2** Κατευθυνθήτω... ἐσπερινή] om. D **2-3** ὁ Μωϋσῆς] post ἐκέλευσε transp. FH **4** Ὁρθρινὴ] ἡ praem. A **6** με] om. H^{ac}. | ὅλης] om. E^{ac}. **7** Ἐωθινὴ] Ἡ praem. EG **8** ἀμαρτήσαντα] ἀμαρτάνοντα A **9** Εἰσέρχη] Εἰσέρχεται AF, Εἰσέρχεται D, non liq. H **10** ἀπλουσθήσονται] ἀπλοῦσθαι C, ἀπλούσθωσαν DEFGH **11** πένητα] τὰ τοῦ πένητος EG

13.11 δηλοῦσιν... θρόνοι? om. Chrys. | ante ἐστιν] αὐτός hab. Chrys. καθεζόμενος] καθεδόμενος Chrys. **14.2** ante Διατί] καὶ hab. Sever. **2-3** ὁ... ἐκέλευσε] ἐκέλευσε Μωϋσῆς Sever. **3** καὶ] non hab. Sever. **4** Ὁρθρινὴ εὐχὴ] Ἡ ὀρθρινὴ εὐχαριστία Sever. **5** εὐχὴ] εὐχαριστία Sever. **7** ante Ἐωθινὴ] ἡ hab. Sever. **7-8** ἡ... ἡμέρα] non hab. Sever. **9** ἐσπέρας] ἐσπέραν Sever. **10** ἀπλουσθήσονται] ἀπλούσθωσαν Sever. **11** πένητα] πένητας Sever. | ὀρφανόν] ὀρφανούς Sever. **13** οὐκ... χεῖρας] ἐπᾶραι οὐ δύναται Sever.

ὕπὸ τῆς συνειδήσεως κέκαμπται, οὕτω χεῖρ μεμολυσμένη, οὐκ
 εὐπαρρησίαστος· καὶ τοῦτο βοᾷ Παῦλος· Ἐπαίροντας ὀσίους χεῖρας. 15

ACDEGFH

14.14-15 Cf. Sever. Gabal., *Cosmog. hom.* 3, 7, PG 56, col. 456.36-45 **15** I Tim. 2.8

14.14 μεμολυσμένη] μεμολυμένου (sic) A **15** Ἐπαίροντας] ἐπαίροντες F, non liq. H

14.14 τῆς] non hab. Sever. | κέκαμπται] κάμπτεται Sever.

INDEX LOCORUM

INDEX SACRAE SCRIPTURAE

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Gen. 1.31	3.22
Gen. 28.12	3.8-10
Ex. 29.39	14.2-4
Ex. 30.25	2.4-5
I Regn. 24.7	2.4
I Regn. 24.11	2.4
Ps. 104.15	2.3-4
Ps. 140.2	Tit. cap. Z', 14.1-2
Iob 34.19	5.8
Prov. 11.25	5.1
Prov. 15.1	5.2
Prov. 18.6-7	5.4-6
Prov. 22.24	5.3
Prov. 25.23	5.7
Sir. 1.22	6.1-2, 9.3
Sir. 8.16	10.1-3
Zach. 12.1	2.28
Is. 51.21	8.1
Is. 53.12	2.82-83
Dan. 2.33	1.25-26
Dan. 2.41	1.28
Dan. 2.42	1.27
Dan. 7	Tit. cap. A'
Dan. 7.3	1.3-4
Dan. 7.4	1.3, 1.6, 1.7-8, 1.9-10
Dan. 7.5	1.12, 1.14
Dan. 7.6	1.16, 1.18-19
Dan. 7.7-8	1.29-31
Dan. 7.7	1.23-24
Dan. 7.8	1.31-32
Dan. 7.24	1.28-29, 1.32-33
Dan. 10.10 (LXX)	1.26-27

Novum Testamentum Graece. Begründet von E. und E. NESTLE. Herausgegeben von B. und K. ALAND *et al.*, 28. revidierte Auflage, Stuttgart, 2012

Matth. 5.22	7.1
Matth. 6.19-20	3.1-4
Matth. 6.19	Tit. cap. Γ'

Matth. 6.22-23	3.18-21
Matth. 6.23	3.23-24
Matth. 12.27	13.10
Matth. 12.41-42	13.2-3
Matth. 19.28	Tit. cap. ζ', 12.1-3, 13.1, 13.4-5, 13.10-11
Io. 1.14	2.65
Rom. 8.15	2.60
I Cor. 2.8	2.14-15
I Cor. 15.22	2.88-89
Eph. 3.17	2.57-58
Eph. 4.10	2.13
I Tim. 2.8	14.15
Hebr. 2.14	2.49-50
Hebr. 12.2	2.68

INDEX SCRIPTORUM ALIORUM

(Ps.-)Athan. Alex., <i>Schol. in Matth.</i> (CPG 2141 [7]), PG 27, coll. 1364-1389 <i>In Matth.</i> 6.19: col. 1373.4-43	3.1-28
Basil. Caes., <i>De ieiunio hom. 1</i> (CPG 2845), PG 31, coll. 164-184 §10: col. 181.25-27	8.1-2
Basil. Caes., <i>Quod deus non est auctor malorum</i> (CPG 2853), PG 31, coll. 329-353 §3: col. 333.20-30	4.1-8
Cyrrill. Alex., <i>Ep. ad monachos Aegypti</i> (CPG 5301) in Actis Concilii universalis Epheseni anno 431, ACO I, 1, 1, pp. 10-23	
p. 14.9-13 (?)	2.1-5
pp. 14.34 – 15.4	2.6-12
p. 15.7-33	2.17-48
p. 18.16-22	2.49-56
pp. 21.23 – 22.18	2.57-89
p. 23.8-12	2.13-16
p. 23.13	2.90
Greg. Nyss., <i>Or. beat.</i> (CPG 3161) <i>Gregorii Nysseni De oratione dominica. De beatitudinibus.</i> Edidit J. F. CALLAHAN (GNO, 7.2), Leiden – New York – Köln, 1992, pp. 77-170	
Or. 7: pp. 155.6 – 156.21	11.1-38
Or. 7: pp. 156.28 – 157.1	11.38-40
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23.1 – 25.3	1.1-33

Io. Chrys., *In Matth. hom. 1-90* (CPG 4424), PG 57, coll. 13-472; PG 58, coll. 471-794

Hom. 64(65), 2: PG 58, col. 610.45-60 13.1-10

Hom. 64(65), 2: PG 58, col. 611.14-16 13.10-12

Io. Clim., *Scala paradisi* (CPG 7852), PG 88, coll. 632-1164

Grad. 8: col. 828.24-27 9.1-3

Grad. 8: col. 829.20-21 9.3-4

(Ps.-)Io. Damasc., *Sacra Parallela* (CPG 8056)

Sacra Parallela (recensiones secundum alphabeti litteras dispositae, quae tres libros conflant) (fragmenta e cod. Vat. gr. 1236), PG 95, coll. 1040-1588; PG 96, coll. 9-441

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PG 96, col. 265.10-11 5.8

PG 96, col. 265.14 5.1

PG 96, col. 265.15 5.2

PG 96, col. 265.20-21 5.3

PG 96, col. 265.27-30 5.4-6

PG 96, col. 265.32-33 5.7

PG 96, col. 265.40-41 6.1-2

PG 96, col. 268.1-2 7.1

PG 96, col. 268.9-11 8.1-2

PG 96, col. 316.40-49 4.1-8

Wahl 1974, p. 45 6.1-2

Wahl 1974, p. 69 10.1-3

Wahl 1985, p. 59 5.1

Wahl 1985, p. 74 5.2

Wahl 1985, pp. 90-91 5.4-6

Wahl 1985, pp. 106-107 5.3

Wahl 1985, p. 126 5.7

Ps.-Max. Conf., *Loci Communes* (CPG 7718)

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c. 19.1 (MaxU et MaxII) 7.1

c. 19.5b (MaxII) 5.8

c. 19.5c (MaxII) 5.1, 5.3

c. 19.6a (MaxII) 6.1-2

c. 19.8f (MaxII) 8.1-2

c. 40.4 (MaxII) 5.7

c. 69.4 (MaxU) 5.7

Sever. Gabal., *Cosmog. hom.* (CPG 4194), PG 56, coll. 429-500

Hom. 3, 7: col. 456.10-13

14.1-2

Hom. 3, 7: col. 456.15-31

14.2-14

Hom. 3, 7: col. 456.36-45

14.14-15

SOME OBSERVATIONS ON THE ΔΙΑΛΕΞΙΣ OF JOHN PLOUSIADENOS (1426?-1500)*

A credible synthesis of the biographical and intellectual profile of the Uniate Cretan scribe John Plousiadenos is traced back to the middle of the twentieth century, worded by Manoussos Manoussakas.¹ Modern scholars tend to base their studies solely on Manoussakas' work and focus mostly on Plousiadenos' religious, apologetic and hymnographic essays.² Indeed, compared to his contemporary Cretan coreligionists, Plousiadenos left many remarkable treatises in favor of the Union of the Churches.³ Among them, the *Διάλεξις* is considered one of the most interesting and lively works of his career. Its full title is *Διάλεξις γενομένη μεταξὺ Ἐδλαβοῦς τινος, καὶ Τελώνου, Ῥακενδύτου τε, καὶ ἐνὸς τῶν δώδεκα ἐνωτικῶν ἱερέων, παρόντων καὶ ἑτέρων τριῶν ἐκεῖσε, Ἀκροατοῦ δηλονότι, Μάρτυρος, καὶ Δικαιοκρίτου, περὶ τῆς διαφορᾶς τῆς οὔσης μέσον Γραικῶν καὶ Λατίνων, ἔτι τε καὶ περὶ τῆς ἱεράς καὶ ἀγίας συνόδου τῆς ἐν Φλωρεντία γενομένης*.⁴ The information in this interlocutory treatise has been used by Manoussakas and others⁵ as reliable historical and autobiographical source material for the delineation of the religious state of affairs, and particularly the anti-unionist context, in Venetian Crete in the second half of the fifteenth century. However, as this

* I would like to express my sincere gratitude to Prof. Dr. Antonio Rigo for his comments and suggestions. A book on John Plousiadenos' life and career, based on the author's PhD thesis, will be published shortly.

¹ M. I. MANOUSSAKAS, *Recherches sur la vie de Jean Plousiadénos (Joseph de Méthone) (1429?-1500)*, in *REB*, 17 (1959), pp. 28-51; see also IDEM, *Ἀρχιερεῖς Μεθόνης, Κορόνης καὶ Μονεμβασίας γύρω στὰ 1500*, in *Πελοποννησιακά*, 3-4 (1958-1959), pp. 97-100; for his codicographical activity see mainly *RGK* 1A, nr. 176; *RGK* 2A, nr. 234; *RGK* 3A, nr. 294; E. ΜΙΟΝΙ, *Codices graeci manuscripti Bibliothecae divi Marci Venetiarum. Thesaurus antiquus*, vol. 1, Roma, 1981, pp. 9-10, 59-60, 65-66, 171-172, 351; IDEM, *Codices graeci manuscripti Bibliothecae divi Marci Venetiarum. Thesaurus antiquus*, vol. 2, Roma, 1985, pp. 125, 223-224, 265-266, 411-413.

² See, for example, D. ΤΟΥΛΙΑΤΟΣ-MILES, *Ioannes Plousiadenos: The man, his music, and his musical treatise*, in *Θησαυρίσματα*, 28 (1998), pp. 79-91; D. K. ΒΑΛΑΓΕΩΡΓΟΣ, *Οι αποκείμενοι στη βιβλιοθήκη της ιεράς μονῆς του Σινά αυτόγραφοι κώδικες του Ιωάννου ιερέως του Πλουσιαδηνοῦ*, in *Proceedings of the 1st International Conference of the American Society of Byzantine Music and Hymnology (ASBMH)*, Athens, 2007, pp. 47-86.

³ On this issue see mainly M.-H. BLANCHET, *La question de l'Union des Églises (13e-15e siècle) : historiographie et perspectives*, in *REB*, 61 (2003), pp. 5-48; A brief checklist of Plousiadenos' writings can be consulted in *PLP* 23385.

⁴ *PG* 159, coll. 959-1028.

⁵ MANOUSSAKAS, *Recherches*, p. 33; see also M. CANDAL, *La «Apologia» del Plusiadenos a favor del Concilio de Florencia*, in *OCF*, 21 (1955), p. 36 n. 2.

short study aims to illustrate, the *Διάλεξις* is a fully symbolic essay, which does not present a reliable account of historical reality.

The period in which the *Διάλεξις* was written, the early 1460s,⁶ coincides with the initial stage of a period of ideological fermentation in a complicated socio-religious context. The outcome of the Council of Florence in 1439 did not radically affect the religious policy of the Venetian authorities in Crete. The Venetians probably interpreted the Union as another aspect of the decline of the Byzantine Empire and as a last and desperate attempt at its salvation. The impact of the Union was quite similar for the Greek Orthodox flock everywhere. The reaction in Constantinople was more disdainful of the reform than revolutionary.⁷ In Crete, for as long as the society's reaction was essentially negative and without inflammatory implications,⁸ the Venetian authorities maintained a neutral attitude, while giving to the Latin archbishop Fantino Valaresso the possibility to pursue proselytizing policies, according to the suggestions of the Holy See. Key historical events such as the fall of the Byzantine capital and the ensuing revelation of Sifis Vlastos' conspiracy in the years 1453-1454 constituted the main reasons for the political insecurity and wariness on the part of the Venetians, and for the strict supervision of the Cretan society, and especially the Orthodox clergy.⁹ In this context of socio-religious vigilance a group of priests was rallied to advocate Unionism and search for financial support for its subsistence within the strenuously Orthodox Cretan flock. John Plousiadenos was the leader of the Uniate group of Crete, whose existence was officially proclaimed and recognized in the early 1460s through the Bequest of Cardinal Bessarion.¹⁰ Thanks to the solicitude of Bessarion and the mobilization of Plousiadenos in Venice and in the Vatican, on April 1., 1463, the Holy See

⁶ See below p. 132.

⁷ M.-H. BLANCHET, *L'Église byzantine à la suite de l'Union de Florence (1439-1445) : de la contestation à la scission*, in *BF*, 29 (2007), pp. 79-123; see also V. LAURENT, *Les « mémoires » du Grand Ecclésiarque de l'Église de Constantinople Sylvestre Syropoulos sur le concile de Florence (1438-1439) (Concilium Florentinum. Documenta et scriptores, Series B, 9)*, Rome, 1971, pp. 554-556.

⁸ See for example the letter of the Uniate priest Gratianus in V. LAOURDAS, *Αί παλαιπορία του Γρατιανού*, in *Κρητικά Χρονικά*, 5 (1951) (*Κρητικά Παλαιογραφικά*, 11), pp. 245-252.

⁹ Ch. MALTEZOU, The historical and social context, in D. HOLTON (ed.), *Literature and society in Renaissance Crete*, Cambridge, 1991, pp. 26-29.

¹⁰ Z. N. TSIRPANLIS, *Τò κληροδότημα του καρδινάλιου Βησσαρίωνος για τους φιλενωτικούς της βενετοκρατούμενης Κρήτης (1439-17ος αϊ.) (Αριστοτέλειον Πανεπιστήμιον Θεσσαλονίκης, Επιστημονική Έπετηρίς Φιλοσοφικής Σχολής*, 12), Thessaloniki, 1967, pp. 89-102; for Bessarion see especially G. FIACCADORI (ed.), *Bessarione e l'Umanesimo. Catalogo della Mostra. Venezia, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, 27 aprile-31 maggio 1994 (Saggi e ricerche. Istituto italiano per gli studi filosofici, 1)*, Napoli, 1994, and the recent C. MÄRTL – Ch. KAISER – Th. RICKLIN (eds), “*Inter graecos latinissimus, inter latinus graecissimus*”. *Bessarion zwischen den Kulturen (Pluralisierung & Autorität*, 39), Berlin, 2013.

approved to subsidize twelve Uniate priests of Crete from the income of the estate that the Latin Patriarchate of Constantinople possessed on the island.¹¹ In late 1465 and by the initiative of Bessarion, the number of beneficiaries was increased to seventeen, plus one secular teacher of the Greek language.¹²

After the establishment of the Bequest, it seems that John Plousiadenos immediately gained the confidence of Bessarion, who became Latin Patriarch of Constantinople in April 1463.¹³ In June 1463 the Cardinal mentioned Plousiadenos as *capellanus suum* and *continuum commensalem* and made him a member of a committee that was established to resolve the problems of the patriarchal property in Euboea.¹⁴ However, Plousiadenos obtained important assignments in Crete. In late 1464, the Venetian authorities appointed him *vice protopapas* of Chandax,¹⁵ while Bessarion nominated him as Lord of the Churches (ἄρχων τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν)¹⁶ and as his plenipotent

¹¹ H. D. SAFFREY, *Pie II et les prêtres uniates en Crète au XV^e siècle*, in *Θησαυρίσματα*, 16 (1979), pp. 41-44.

¹² P. ELEUTERI, *Una lettera di Bessarione ai sacerdoti cretesi*, in *Bessarione e l'Umanesimo*, pp. 246-248; see also R. STEFEC, *Neue Dokumente zu kretischen Kopisten des 15. Jahrhunderts*, in *Bsl*, 70 (2012), pp. 325-326. The bull is published in TSIRPANLIS, *Tò κληροδότημα*, pp. 267-270, doc. 17; for the teacher of the Greek language, identified with the well-known Byzantine scholar Michael Apostolis, see A. F. VAN GEMERT, *Ο Μιχαήλ Αποστόλης ως δάσκαλος των ελληνικών*, in *Ελληνικά*, 37 (1986), pp. 141-145. From the beginning of the 16th century until the expiry of this institution in the 17th century, their number was set at sixteen – see TSIRPANLIS, *Tò κληροδότημα*, pp. 137-138, 171-175.

¹³ L. DE MAS-LATRIE, *Patriarches latins de Constantinople*, in *Revue de l'Orient latin*, 3 (1895), p. 445.

¹⁴ TSIRPANLIS, *Tò κληροδότημα*, p. 96 n. 2; for this issue see E. DESPOTAKIS, *Il patriarcato latino di Costantinopoli e le conflittualità ecclesiastiche a Negroponte (15^o sec.)*, in *REB*, 71 (2013), pp. 187-197.

¹⁵ In a notarial deed of late November 1464 Plousiadenos is mentioned as *protopapas*, chief of the Greek priests in Chandax (see TSIRPANLIS, *Tò κληροδότημα*, p. 92 n. 4), whereas in a deed of late August of the same year he is referred to without this title (see below, n. 16). It has to be mentioned that even if Plousiadenos is cited on many occasions as *protopapas*, he was always a *vice*, a substitute, as, since 1454, the emeritus was the priest John Limas, the betrayer of the conspiracy of Sifis Vlastos (see the checklist of the officers in N. V. TOMADAKIS, *Πρωτοπαπάδες Κρήτης (1210-1669)*, in *Κρητολογία*, 4 [1977], pp. 41-42). For the ecclesiastic function of *protopapas* in Chandax see IDEM, *Όφφικίων διάκρισις. Περί πρωτοπαπάδων χωροεπισκόπων και τῶν συναφῶν αὐτοῖς*, in *Αθηνά*, 76 (1976-1977), pp. 41-52.

¹⁶ The earliest documented mention of Plousiadenos with this title dates back to 1467 and is to be found in *codex Athous Lavr.* 545 (E 83): “Θεοῦ τὸ δῶρον καὶ πόνος Ἰωάννου, τὸ (sic) ᾠκλήν Πλουσιαδηνοῦ, τάχα καὶ θύτου, ψάλτου τε καὶ ἄρχοντος τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν, πρωτοπαπᾶ δὲ βίτζε Χάνδακος Κρήτης. Ἐγράφη ἐν Βενετίας τῷ α^{ου}β^{ου}ξ^{ου} εἴη ἐν ταῖς ἡμέραις Χριστοφῶρου Μῶρω Δουκός Βενετίας, ἀπριλλίω κ’” (MANOUSSAKAS, *Recherches*, p. 37). It is, however, most probable that Bessarion proceeded to grant this title immediately upon his election to the patriarchal see. This is confirmed by a notarial deed of August 28., 1464, in which Plousiadenos is mentioned by Niketas Lagos, one of his coreligionists in Chandax, as *ἀρχων τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν*: “Commitens committo ego papas Nichitas Lago, habitator Candide, vobis venerabili presbitero Iohanni Plussiano [sic], arghon ton eclis-sion, presenti [...]” (ARCHIVIO DI STATO DI VENEZIA [henceforth A.S.VEN.], *Notai di Candia*,

on the island.¹⁷ In fact, the *Διάλεξις* must have been written in the first years of his gradual consolidation in the religious life of the society of Chandax.

The treatise presents a vivid dialogue set in Chandax between two unionists, a “pious man” named *Μανουήλ ὁ Μουγγός* and a “Catholic” (*Ἰωάννης ἱερεὺς ὁ Πλουσιαδηνός*), and two “anti-Latins”, John Damasenīs (*Ἰωάννης ὁ Δαμασαίνης*) and a “monk” named Voulgaris (*Βούλγαρης Ῥακενδύτης*). The dispute takes place in front of three auditors, *Ἀντώνιος ὁ Σαγρέδος* (*δικαιοκρίτης*), *Γεώργιος ὁ Φαλιέρος* (*ἀκροατής*), *Ἰωάννης Τζουρδούνης* (*μάρτυς*).¹⁸ As is clear from the title of the treatise, their debate is about the dogmatic divergences between the Orthodox and the Latin faith, of which the latter prevails. The author speaks through the character of the “Catholic”, one of the twelve Uniate priests of Chandax who decides to interfere just in the middle of the conversation after being invited by the monk Voulgaris, the most polemic anti-unionist among the participants.¹⁹ Yet the “monk” is the one to be most convinced by the argumentation of the “Catholic” and finally he converts.²⁰

The exact date of composition of the *Διάλεξις* is controversial. Manoussakas placed it around 1460 because Plousiadenos is presented as a simple priest, with no mention of the office of *protopapas*, which was obtained by the author a few years later. The scholar did not take into consideration the office mentioned in the title (*Ἰωάννου πρωτοϊερέως τοῦ Πλουσιαδηνοῦ*), which he argued was an addition of a later period.²¹ Although there is no evidence to support such a date, it is suggested to be in line with the chronology, firstly because after 1465 the Catholic group did not count twelve priests as indicated in the title but seventeen, and secondly because the content is said to be related only to the author’s will for the achievements that were eventually obtained during the years 1464-1465.

Some of the historical inaccuracies arising from the content of the *Διάλεξις* primarily concern the chronology of the schism and the time of the author’s birth. At the beginning of the conversation, before the “Catholic”

b. 106 [Nicolò Gradenigo], fasc. 11, f. 97^v); for this office see V. A. LEONTARITOU, *Εκκλησιαστικά αξιώματα και υπηρεσίες στην πρόιμη και μέση βυζαντινή περίοδο* (*Forschungen zur byzantinischen Rechtsgeschichte. Athener Reihe*, 8), Αθήνα, 1996, p. 100.

¹⁷ His role as plenipotentiary of Bessarion in Crete is attested since March 1464 (A.S.VEN., *Notai di Candia*, b. 29 [Francesco Cappello], f. 106 [141]^v), and it was in this capacity that Plousiadenos bestowed the first portions of the Bequest on the beneficiaries (see some examples of the notarial deeds in TSIRPANLIS, *Τὸ κληροδότημα*, pp. 262-263 doc. 14, I-III).

¹⁸ PG 159, col. 961A.

¹⁹ *Ibidem*, col. 996C.

²⁰ *Ibidem*, col. 1021A-B.

²¹ MANOUSSAKAS, *Recherches*, p. 33 n. 35.

joins the group of interlocutors, the “pious man” asks Voulgaris about the origins of the doctrinal divergences between Greeks and Latins:

Εὐλαβής: Οὐκοῦν οἱ Λατίνοι οὐκ εἰσὶν ὀρθόδοξοι;

Ῥακενδύτης: Οὐδαμῆ.

Εὐλαβής: Καὶ νῦν ἐγένοντο ἑτερόδοξοι, ἢ πρὸ πολλοῦ τὴν πίστιν ἀπώλεσαν;

Ῥακενδύτης: Πρὸ πεντακοσίων χρόνων.²²

This chronological approach by Plousiadenos, where he refers to the schism of 1054 through the “monk”, is very generic.²³ It would be hazardous to assume that the author used this in order to demonstrate that the “monk” has a confused perception of the past and consequently to weaken his ensuing Orthodox thesis. Such a ploy would not be conducive to the author’s ulterior purpose, viz. to challenge the arguments of an efficient dogmatic opponent and not to proselytize an incompetent interlocutor. In any case, this constitutes a first indication that the historical information contained in the *Διάλεξις* should not be taken at face value, not because of the historical ignorance of the author, but because his ultimate purpose did not require a strict delineation of historical reality.²⁴

Another chronological imprecision is related to the year of the author’s birth. Plousiadenos decided to provide some auto-biographical information close to the end of his work in order to justify his initial attachment to the Orthodox faith:

Ῥακενδύτης: Πῶς ταῦτα οὐκ ἐλέγετε πρότερον, ὅτε καὶ ὑμεῖς οὐ μόνον ἐναντίοι τῇ συνόδῳ, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὑβρισταὶ τῶν Λατίνων ὑπήρχετε, ὡς καὶ σὺ εἰς τὸ τοῦ πατριάρχου κουκούλιον ἀναιδῶς ἐξῆβρισας; [...].

Ἀκροατής: Κομψός ἐστὶν ὁ τοῦ Πατρὸς λόγος, καὶ δεῖται καλλίστης ἀπολογίας.

Καθολικός: Οὕτως ἔχει, ὡς λέγεις, ὅτι οὐκ ἐλέγομεν ταῦτα πρότερον, καὶ ὅτι ὑβρισταὶ τῶν Λατίνων ἦμεν, καὶ ἔτι ἐγὼ εἶπερ τις ἄλλος. Ὁ δὲ λόγος, ὅτι οὐκ ἐγινώσκομεν· νήπια γὰρ ἦμεν. [...]. Εἰ δὲ καὶ ἐξ ἀρχῆς τῆς συνόδου ταύτην πῶς οὐκ ἐδεξάμεθα, ἢ ἐκηρύττομεν, εἴποι τις ἄν, ἴστω, ὅτι πρῶτον μὲν ἐν τῷ τῆς συνόδου ἡμεῖς βρέφη ὄντες, καὶ μήπω δέκα ἔτη ἔχοντες, ταῦτα οὐκ ἐγινώσκομεν. [...]. Νῦν δὲ εἰς τελείαν ἡλικίαν

²² PG 159, col. 965B.

²³ For the schism see the recent M.-H. BLANCHET – F. GABRIEL (eds), *Réduire le Schisme? Ecclésiologies et politiques de l’Union entre Orient et Occident (XIIIe-XVIIIe siècle)* (Collège de France-CNRS, Centre de Recherche d’Histoire et Civilisation de Byzance, Monographies, 39), Paris, 2013.

²⁴ Theological haze and inconsistency have been noticed in some of Plousiadenos’ writings by father Theodoros Zissis (Th. N. ZISSIS, *Die Glaubwürdigkeit von Johannes Plousiadenos*, in *JÖB*, 32/4 [1982], pp. 344-355). However the one-sided argumentation of Zissis is not sufficient to alter John Plousiadenos’ status as one of the greatest scholars of the fifteenth century.

ἐλθοῦσιν, οὐ καλὸν ἔδοξεν ἡμῖν τοῖς αὐτοῖς ἐπιμένειν κακοῖς. [...].
 Ὅθεν τῆ ἱερᾶ πραγματεία, δηλονότι τῶν Πρακτικῶν τῆς συνόδου
 ἐπιμελῶς ἐντρύφησαντες, καὶ ἄλλους τῶν διδασκάλων μετιόντες τὰ αὐτὰ
 συμμαρτυροῦντας αὐτῇ, τῇ ἀληθείᾳ ὑπεχωρήσαμεν.²⁵

Plousiadenos stressed the fact that at the time of the Council of Florence he was not even ten years old. Manoussakas relied on this information in order to calculate Plousiadenos' birth, placing it around 1429.²⁶ However, this deduction does not seem to be supported by some new archival evidence. In a notarial deed of 1451 Plousiadenos is already referred to as priest in Chandax.²⁷ According to a Venetian edict of 1360 no resident of Crete could be ordained as a priest before the age of twenty-five.²⁸ That said, the *terminus ante quem* for Plousiadenos's birth must be placed in 1426 and, consequently, during the Council of Florence the author must have been thirteen years old. Evidently, in this context of self-justification the author refrained from revealing his precise age in order to be considered younger than he was. By mentioning the age of ten, Plousiadenos presumably sought to allude to the ideal or the common age at which children in Crete received Christian education.²⁹ It is significant for the semiology of the *Διάλεξις* that the author equates himself with his main listener and character, Voulgaris, at the end of the script, to finally convince the "monk" of his arguments: only children or the uneducated are entitled to doubt the trueness of the Union.

²⁵ PG 159, coll. 1017A-1020A.

²⁶ MANOUSSAKAS, *Recherches*, p. 29.

²⁷ A.S.VEN., *Notai di Candia*, b. 2 (Francesco Avonal), fasc. 1, f. 23^v.

²⁸ E. GERLAND, *Das Archiv des Herzogs von Kandia im K. Staatsarchiv zu Venedig*, Strasbourg, 1899, pp. 61-62.

²⁹ This issue seems to be still unresolved by the scholars. According to Byzantine tradition, the age of the pupils' primary education varied from seven to twelve years old (N. M. KALOGERAS, *Byzantine Childhood Education and its Social Role from the Sixth Century until the End of Iconoclasm*, Chicago, 2000 [Ph.D. thesis], pp. 133-134). Unfortunately, there is no significant evidence for this practice in Venetian Crete. A few contracts of similar apprenticeships or learning were published by I. MARKOURIS, *Apprenticeships in Greek Orthodox chanting and Greek language learning in Venetian Crete (14th-15th century)*, in Ch. MALTEZOU – A. TZAVARA – D. VLASSI (eds), *I Greci durante la venetocrazia : Uomini, spazio, idee (XIII-XVIII sec.)*. *Atti del Convegno Internazionale di Studi, Venezia 3-7 dicembre 2007 (Istituto Ellenico di studi bizantini e post-bizantini di Venezia. Convegni, 13)*, Venezia, 2009, pp. 233-249, but the age of the pupils is not specified (The author's mention that a student named Thomas Sepe was instructed as an adult in *litteras grecas, videlicet psalmos, octaighum et psalterium* is not clear from the contract [*ibidem*, p. 240, n. 24]). On the other side, Thierry Ganchou has calculated that George Maurikas became a pupil of the well-known Byzantine scholar John Argyropoulos at the age of fourteen (Th. GANCHOU, *Iōannēs Argyropoylos, Gêōrgios Trapézountios et le patron crétois Gêōrgios Maurikas*, in *Θησαυρίσματα*, 38 [2008], p. 202); for education in Venetian Crete in general, see N. M. PANAGIOTAKIS, *The Italian Background of Early Cretan Literature*, in *DOP*, 49 (1995), pp. 281-323.

Voulgaris, the “monk” who was countering the unionist beliefs of the author, is also mentioned in a pastoral-monitory letter of Plousiadenos, *protopapas* of Chandax, as opposed to the Orthodox clergy of Crete for its resistance to the decree of the Council of Florence and its offensive judgment against the “true priests”.³⁰ Even in this case, Voulgaris is presented as one of the most acute adversaries of the Union, including Makrygenis (*Μακρυγένης*), Xylokaravis (*Ξυλοκαράβης*) and Tourkopoulos (*Τουρκόπουλος*). The mention of Xylokaravis alludes to the Orthodox Patriarch of Constantinople in 1466, who resided in Crete just before his election and then exile, and might place the issue of the letter around 1465, since Plousiadenos lost his role of *protopapas* before May 1466.³¹ It is very likely that the main reason for Plousiadenos to be replaced by the Venetian authorities was his high-toned unionist zeal, which posed an extreme threat for the social-religious balance of the dominion. That being said, it has to be noted that the mention of Voulgaris is not a coincidence. On the contrary, it seems that at least one character of the *Διάλεξις*, namely the converted one, actually existed.³² In fact, a monk named Voulgaris appears in a note of the *Vaticanus Palatinus* gr. 358, f. 13^v, written by the Uniate Cretan scribe George Trivizias:

[...] εἰς „α^{ov}νογ’ μηνὶ ἀγούστῳ ιη΄, ἐγίνετο (sic) ἀπόφασις παρὰ τῆς ἀθθεντίας τῶν ἰ΄, κατὰ τοῦ καλογέρου τοῦ βούλγαρι ἵνα τε ἢ περιορισμένος ἐν τῇ Βενετίᾳ μῆτε λέγειν μῆτε πράττειν τί κατὰ τῶν καθολικῶν.³³

The attestation by Trivizias, who was living and working in Venice in 1473, is significant for the identification of Voulgaris. Indeed, it testifies to the fact that this monk was confined to the city of Venice and he was no

³⁰ V. LAOURDAS, *Ἰωάννου τοῦ Πλουσιαδηνοῦ, ὑποθήκη πρὸς τοὺς ἱερεῖς τῆς Κρήτης*, in *Κρητικά Χρονικά*, 5 (1951) (*Κρητικά Παλαιογραφικά*, 12), pp. 252-262.

³¹ M. I. MANOUSSAKAS, *Βενετικά ἔγγραφα ἀναφερόμενα εἰς τὴν ἐκκλησιαστικὴν ἱστορίαν τῆς Κρήτης τοῦ 14^{ov}-16^{ov} αἰῶνος (Πρωτοπαπάδες καὶ πρωτοπάλται Χάνδακος)*, in *Δελτίον τῆς Ἱστορικῆς καὶ Ἐθνολογικῆς Ἑταιρείας τῆς Ἑλλάδος*, 15 (1961), pp. 196-198, doc. 17; for Markos Xylokaravis see *PLP* 20958.

³² It is also possible that *Μακρυγένης* of the letter is the same person as *Μακρογένης* mentioned in *Διάλεξις* (*PG* 159, col. 961C).

³³ STEFEC, *Neue Dokumente*, p. 332; V. LIAKOU-KROPP, *Ὁ Κρητὸς κωδικογράφος Γεώργιος Τριβίζιας καὶ ἡ ἐξέλιξη τῆς γραφῆς του*, in V. ATSALOS – N. I. TSIRONI (eds), *Πρακτικά του ΣΤ΄ Διεθνούς Συμποσίου Ἑλληνικῆς Παλαιογραφίας (Δράμα 21-27 Σεπτεμβρίου 2003) (Βιβλιοαμφιάστης, Παράρτημα, 1)*, Αθήνα, 2008, p. 338, n. 5; For his activity see mainly *RGK* 1A, nr. 73; *RGK* 2A, nr. 94; *RGK* 3A, nr. 123; MIONI, *Codices graeci manuscripti*, vol. 1, pp. 303-304, 307, 310-311, 333-337, 359-360, 366-368, 405-406, 418-419; IDEM, *Codices graeci manuscripti*, vol. 2, pp. 13-14, 87-88, 149-150, 169-170, 196-197, 202-203, 240-241, 247-248, 258-260, 271-276, 386-387.

longer able to cause problems for the unionist priests.³⁴ As the identification of Voulgaris seems highly accurate, it would be sufficient to prove that the aforementioned monk, confined in Venice in 1473, was actually from Crete and that he was exiled by the local Venetian authorities because of problems he had created for the Uniate group of the island. The final evidence comes from a decree of the Council of Ten, issued on the same date mentioned by Trivizias in his autograph:

Die XVIII Augusti [1473]

Quod papas Iona Vurgari caloierus huc missus de Creta relaxetur de carceribus. Et sit confinatus in hac civitate nostra Venetiarum in qua vivat sine aliqua seminatione scandali. Et si fregerit confine et venerit in fortiam nostram stare debeat anno uno in carcere clausus. Et hoc totiens quotiens.

De parte 13.

De non 0.

Non sinceri 2.³⁵

In summary, when Plousiadenos composed the *Διάλεξις* in the early 1460s, Voulgaris was a convinced anti-unionist but he converted after he listened to the arguments of the author. The pastoral letter of Plousiadenos against the Orthodox clergy of Crete and its representatives, among whom Voulgaris, is undoubtedly posterior to the *Διάλεξις* and demonstrates that the monk was still an active opponent of the Uniate group of Crete. That the entire doctrinal essay was composed in order to treat the fully symbolic conversion of a well-known anti-unionist, as was Voulgaris, is confirmed by the fact that in 1473, the monk was a prisoner in Venice. This reality gives to the *Διάλεξις* its emblematic dimension and indicates in addition that it had not been composed for the purpose of proselytizing. In fact, it would be paradoxical for the author to use the symbolic conversion of an existing person, who, before his exile, was fanatically opposed to the Union within Cretan society. Consequently, it is likely that Plousiadenos' purpose was to display his work to those who had to be reassured of the author's Catholic identity and his ability to affirm it in public. Not only the assumed conversion of Voulgaris, whose case would have inspired the author in Crete, but

³⁴ The term “τῶν καθολικῶν” surely refers to the unionist group of Crete, beneficiaries of Bessarion's bequest of which Trivizias and Plousiadenos were part. The same term is also used by George Gregoropoulos, another Cretan priest-scribe, wishing to join the favored group in 1498: “[...] Δήλωσον ἡμῖν τὰ τοῦ ἐπισκόπου πρακτέα πῶς τὰ περὶ τῆς ὑποθέσεως τῶν καθολικῶν ἐπραξε [...]” (M. I. MANOUSSAKAS, *Ἡ ἀλληλογραφία τῶν Γρηγοροπούλων χρονολογούμενη [1493-1501]*, in *Ἐπετηρὶς τοῦ Μεσαιωνικοῦ Ἀρχείου*, 6 [1957], pp. 184-185 doc. 13). Moreover, in the *Διάλεξις* Plousiadenos himself is said to be a Catholic (“καθολικός”).

³⁵ A.S.VEN., *Consiglio di Dieci, Deliberazioni Miste*, reg. 18, f. 73^r.

also the conversion of Plousiadenos, confessed within the work, can now be viewed as a foreshadowing literary trick, in order to render his thesis more credible. The recipient could not have been other than Bessarion, protector of the Catholic group, and especially the group of Cretan scribes, until his death in 1472. It is also likely that Plousiadenos meant to assimilate his experience with that of Bessarion, as the latter had reconsidered some of his initial Orthodox views expressed during the discussions in Ferrara,³⁶ and at the same time align with the similar example of Gregorios III Mammas, the Uniate patriarch of Constantinople.³⁷ Evidently, it is not a coincidence that exactly at this time Bessarion rewarded Plousiadenos for his unionist zeal and qualities with important offices and thereby raised his reputation in the opinion of the Venetian authorities. The *Διάλεξις*, composed at an early stage, can be considered an indication of the qualities that the author proved to possess during his long and eventful career.

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RÉSUMÉ

L'étude concerne l'analyse du cadre historique, selon lequel le copiste Ioannès Plousiadénos, partisan de l'Union des Églises, a composé son traité dialogué, intitulé *Διάλεξις*. Outre sa dimension justificative en faveur de l'Union, l'œuvre comprend aussi des témoignages ayant une valeur historique, qui, néanmoins, s'éloignent des données réelles de l'époque. Cette altération volontaire de la réalité historique de la part de l'écrivain, s'inscrit dans le cadre d'un effort permanent de l'écrivain afin de se distinguer dans l'environnement unioniste du 15^e siècle.

³⁶ A. RIGO, *La refutazione di Bessarione delle Antepigraphai di Gregorio Palamas*, in M. CORTESI – C. LEONARDI (eds), *Tradizioni patristiche nell'Umanesimo. Atti del Convegno. Istituto Nazionale di Studi sul Rinascimento-Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Firenze 6-8 febbraio 1997 (Millennio Medievale. Atti di Convegni, 4)*, Firenze, 1999, pp. 283-294.

³⁷ S. L. VARNALIDIS, *Γρηγόριος ο Γ', ο τελευταίος πατριάρχης Κωνσταντινουπόλεως πριν από την Αλωση (1453) και η φιλενωτική πολιτική του (Βυζαντινά Κείμενα και Μελέτες, 30)*, Thessaloniki, 2001, pp. 27-28.

THE ARTISTIC PATRONAGE OF THE KOMNENOS-DOUKAS FAMILY (1204-1318) IN THE BYZANTINE STATE OF EPEIROS*

ARCHAEOLOGICAL AND TEXTUAL EVIDENCE FOR THE ARTISTIC PATRONAGE OF THE KOMNENOS-DOUKAS FAMILY

In the wake of the Fourth Crusade and the capture of Constantinople in 1204, the Byzantine State of Epeiros, one of the Greek successor states, was established in the Western part of the Balkan Peninsula.¹ The founder of this new political entity was Michael Angelos Komnenos Doukas (r. 1204-1215), an illegitimate son of the sebastokrator John Angelos Komnenos (d. 1200), the eldest son of Constantine Angelos (d. 1166) and Theodora Komnene, daughter of the emperor Alexios I Komnenos (r. 1081-1118).² Michael and his brother and successor, Theodore Komnenos Doukas (r. 1215-1230), attempted to maintain the Byzantine identity of Epeiros with an ultimate goal to re-conquer the imperial capital, Constantinople, and restore the former Empire.

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¹ The bibliography on the history of the State of Epeiros is extensive. General overviews include D. NICOL, *The Despotate of Epiros*, Oxford, 1957; IDEM, *The Despotate of Epiros 1267-1479*, Cambridge, 1984; G. PRINZING, *Studien zur Provinz- und Zentralverwaltung im Machtbereich der epirotischen Herrscher Michael I und Theodoros Dukas*, in *Ηπειρωτικά χρονικά*, 24 (1982), pp. 73-120; B. FERJANČIĆ, *Plemstvo u Epirskoj državi prve polovine XIII veka (1204-1261)*, in *Glas CCCXLIII de la Académie Serbe des sciences et des arts: Classe de sciences historiques*, 5 (1986), pp. 131-175; A. STAURIDOU-ZAFRAKA, *Níkata kai Hπειρος τον 13ο αιώνα. Ιδεολογική αντιπαράθεση στην προσπάθειά τους να ανακτήσουν την αυτοκρατορία*, Thessaloniki, 1990; E. CHRYSOS (ed.), *Πρακτικά Διεθνούς Συμποσίου για το "Δεσποτάτο της Ηπείρου"*, Arta, 1992; A. STAURIDOU-ZAFRAKA, *The Political Ideology of the State of Epiros*, in A. LAIOU (ed.), *Urbs Capta, The Fourth Crusade and Its Consequences (Réalités byzantines)*, 10, Paris, 2005, pp. 311-323; G. PRINZING, *Epiros 1204-1261: Historical Outline – Sources – Prosopography*, in J. HERRIN – G. SAINT-GUILLEAUME (eds), *Identities and Allegiances in the Eastern Mediterranean after 1204*, Burlington, 2010, pp. 81-98; B. OSWALD, *L'Épire du treizième au quinzième siècle: autonomie et hétérogénéité d'une région balkanique*, Université Toulouse II–Le Mirail (unpublished PhD thesis), 2011.

² NICOL, *Despotate of Epiros* [see n. 1], p. 11.

In the newly established state, cultural and economic conditions were conducive to an unobstructed development of art. At the beginning of the thirteenth century, there were workshops producing textiles as well as a workshop specializing in metalwork and embroidery.³ Over the course of the same century, a significant number of churches were built and renovated. The investment in architecture led to the formation of a distinct “local school”.⁴ The available literary sources and inscriptions preserved on edifices and art objects testify to the high aesthetic standards of the Epeirote elite.

Architectural monuments that came into being during the thirteenth century range from princely foundations sponsored by members of the ruling Komnenos-Doukas family to unassuming cave churches and village shrines built by clergymen, monks, and local communities. The artistic production in Epeiros under its first two rulers, Michael I and Theodore, is still poorly understood. Literary sources and inscriptions dating from this period, however, shed some light on the circumstances of the foundation or renovation of churches. For example, the metropolitan John Apokaukos (1200-1230) informs us that Michael I and Theodore Komnenos Doukas founded a monastery at Chimara.⁵ In 1215, a monk named Nikon, who was a legate of the patriarchal monasteries in Bagenetia (Βαγενέτια),⁶ lived in that monastery.⁷

The preserved epigraphic record also attests to the building activity of the Komnenos-Doukas family and its involvement in the decoration of several prominent Epeirote churches during the first three decades of the thirteenth century.⁸ One example comes from a three-aisled, timber-roofed basilica with a single apse, known as Episkope Mastroi,⁹ in Aetoloacarnania. A fragmen-

³ S. KISSAS, *Umetnost u Solunu početak XIII veka i mileševsko slikarstvo*, in V. J. ĐURIĆ (ed.), *Mileševa dans l'histoire du peuple serbe, Colloque scientifique international à l'occasion de 750 ans de son existence*, Belgrade, 1987, p. 41.

⁴ G. VELENIS, *Thirteenth-Century Architecture in the Despotate of Epirus: The Origin of the School*, in V. KORAC (ed.), *Studenica et l'art byzantine autour de l'année 1200*, Beograd, 1988, 279-286; P. VOKOTOPOULOS, *Church Architecture in the Despotate of Epirus: the problem of influences*, in *Zograf*, 27 (1998-1999), pp. 72-92, with relevant bibliography; IDEM, *Η Μονή του Αγίου Δημητρίου στο Φανάρι. Συμβολή στην μελέτη της αρχιτεκτονικής του Δεσποτάτου της Ηπείρου*, Athina, 2012.

⁵ For Chimara, see J. KODDER – H. FRIEDRICH, *Hellas und Thessalia*, in *TIB*, 1, pp. 136-137.

⁶ Bagenetia was the region between the Adriatic coast and Ioannina. See J. SCHMITT, *The Chronicle of Morea*, London, 1904, p. 592.

⁷ N. A. BEES (ed.), *Unedierte Schriftstücke aus der Kanzlei des Johannes Apokaukos des Metropolitzen von Naupaktos (in Aetolien)*, in *BNJ*, 21 (1971-1974), no. 57, II, 49 sq.

⁸ Most of these inscriptions have been published by V. KATSAROS. See V. KATSAROS, *Λόγια στοιχεία στην επιγραφική του “Δεσποτάτου”*. *Λόγιοι και διανούμενοι κατά τον 13ο αι. στην Ήπειρο με βάση τις έμμετρες επιγραφές του χώρου*, in *CHRYSOS, Πρακτικά* [see n. 1], pp. 517-544.

⁹ During the existence of the state of Epeiros, Episkope Mastroi was the seat of the bishops of Achelos. About this Middle Byzantine church, see P. VOKOTOPOULOS, *Επισκοπή*

tarily preserved inscription in the conch of this church's sanctuary apse mentions Theodore Doukas and his brother Constantine (appendix, no. 1).¹⁰ Next to the inscription is the representation of a kneeling cleric who prays to the Virgin Mary. The fresco should probably be dated to the same period as the inscription, namely, to the second decade of the thirteenth century.¹¹ Unfortunately, the identity of the praying figure cannot be established due to the absence of a name and the overall damage suffered by the painting.

The name of Theodore Doukas's brother, despot Constantine, turns up in an inscription on the fragments of a sarcophagus from the Middle Byzantine monastery of Barnakoba (appendix, no. 2).¹² Theodore appointed Constantine governor of Aetoloacarnania. When Theodore was proclaimed emperor in Thessaloniki in 1225, he granted Constantine the title of despot.¹³ Constantine is believed to have erected the outer narthex and commissioned the fresco decoration of the Barnakoba monastery in 1229/30.¹⁴ Despot Constantine is also associated with the establishment of large secular buildings in Naupaktos as well as of the monastery of John the Baptist in Arta.¹⁵

Another, now lost, inscription attesting to the patronage of Theodore Doukas was once displayed on a castle tower in Dyrrachion (Durrës) in

Μάστρου, in *Αρχαιολογικόν Δελτίον* 22, Β'2 (1967), pp. 328-330; IDEM, *Επισκοπή Μάστρου*, in *Αρχαιολογικόν Δελτίον* 24, Β'2 (1969), p. 241, pin. 240, 241α; IDEM, *Επισκοπή Μάστρου*, in *Αρχαιολογικόν Δελτίον* 25, Β'2 (1970), pp. 299-300, pin. 257-259; V. KATSAROS, *Η θέση της επισκοπής Αχελώου και η σχέση της με τη "βυζαντινή Πόλη" γύρω από το λόφο "Επισκοπή" κοντά στο χωριό "Μάστρου" της Αιτωλίας*, in *Ιστορικογεωγραφικά*, 2 (1988), pp. 198-201; A. PALIOURAS, *Βυζαντινή Αιτωλοακαρνανία, Συμβολή στη βυζαντινή και μεταβυζαντινή μνημειακή τέχνη*, Athina, 2004, pp. 75-76, 197-200, fig. 47; M. VEIKOU, *Byzantine Epirus. A Topography of Transformation. Settlements of the Seventh-Twelfth Centuries in Southern Epirus and Aetoloacarnania, Greece*, Leiden – Boston, 2012, pp. 459-460.

¹⁰ KATSAROS, *Λόγια στοιχεία* [see n. 8], p. 532.

¹¹ Only a small part of the fresco decoration has been preserved. See VOKOTOPOULOS, *Επισκοπή Μάστρου* [see n. 9] and PALIOURAS, *Βυζαντινή Αιτωλοακαρνανία* [see n. 9], pp. 197-200.

¹² The Katholikon was built in 1077 by the monk Arsenius during the patriarchy of Cosmas (1075-1081), but the fresco decoration in the nave and sanctuary was carried out during the reign of Alexios Komnenos and the patriarchy of Nikolaos III Gramatikos (1084-1111). A second church was built by monk John in 1148 during the reign of Manuel Komnenos and the patriarch Nikolaos III Mouzalon (1147-1151). See A. ORLANDOS, *Η μονή Βαρνάκοβας*, Athina, 1922; KATSAROS, *Λόγια στοιχεία* [see n. 8], pp. 518-519; VEIKOU, *Byzantine Epirus* [see n. 9], pp. 425; A. RHOBY, *Byzantinische Epigramme auf Stein nebst Addenda zu den Bänden 1 und 2*, Vienna, 2014, pp. 190-194.

¹³ For Despote Constantine Doukas, see K. VARZOS, *Η Γενεαλογία των Κομνηνών*, vol. 2, Thessaloniki, 1984, pp. 656-664; M. ANGOLD, *Church and Society in Byzantium Under the Comneni, 1081-1261*, Cambridge, 2000, pp. 219-222.

¹⁴ KATSAROS, *Λόγια στοιχεία* [see n. 8], p. 518; VEIKOU, *Byzantine Epirus* [see n. 9], pp. 425, 423-426.

¹⁵ KISSAS, *Umetnost u Solunu* [see n. 3], p. 39; NICOL, *Despotate of Epiros* [see n. 1], p. 72, n. 23, p. 199, n. 14.

Albania. The inscription was set up after Theodore's victory over the Latin Emperor Peter II of Courtenay in 1217 (appendix, no. 3).¹⁶

Theodore Doukas and his wife also commissioned an embroidered red silk *aer* with the Virgin *orans*, today in the collection of the National History Museum in Sofia (fig. 1).¹⁷ The couple's involvement is recorded in a dedicatory inscription in eight dodecasyllable lines running along the cloth's border (appendix, no. 4). The *aer* can be dated between 1215 and 1225/6. It may have been donated for the cathedral of Hagia Sophia at Ohrid during the archiepiscopacy of John Kamateros, more precisely on the occasion of his re-installment in 1215. Another possibility is that it was donated to the new archbishop Demetrios Chomatenos (1216-1236), who was appointed by Theodore Doukas himself after Kamateros's death.¹⁸ In any case, this embroidered *aer* must have been ordered before Theodore's coronation in Thessaloniki in 1227, because the inscription does not mention his imperial title, which he always used in his legal acts, coins, and inscriptions following the coronation.

Theodore's wife Maria was connected with the Blacherna monastery near Arta, one of the most important Epeirote shrines.¹⁹ The transformation of the monastery church from a timber-roofed basilica to a vaulted structure could be dated to Theodore's reign. The earliest reference to this church comes from a synodal decree issued by John Apokaukos regarding the conversion of the monastery from a male monastic house into a nunnery at the

¹⁶ KATSAROS, *Λόγια στοιχεία* [see n. 8], pp. 525-526; STAURIDOU-ZAFRAKA, *Political Ideology* [see n. 1], p. 316; A. RHOBY, *Interactive Inscriptions: Byzantine Works of Art and Their Beholders*, in A. M. LIDOV (ed.), *Prostranstvennyye ikony. Performativnoe v Vizantii i Drevnej Rusi / Spatial Icons. Performativity in Byzantium and Medieval Russia*, Moscow, 2011, pp. 321-322; IDEM, *Byzantinische Epigramme* [see n. 12], pp. 108-111; IDEM, "When the year ran through six times of thousands": The date in (inscriptional) Byzantine epigrams, in CH. MESSIS – P. ODORICO (eds), "Pour une poésie de Byzance", *Hommage à Vassilis Katsaros (Dossiers Byzantins, 16)*, Paris, 2015, pp. 225-226.

¹⁷ N. P. KONDAKOV, *Makedonia. Arheologičeskoe putešestvie*, Sankt-Peterburg, 1909, pp. 270-271; R. ROUSSEVA (ed.), *National Museum of History. Catalogue*, Sofia, 2006, cat. no. 139; A. RHOBY, *Byzantinische Epigramme auf Ikonen und Objekten der Kleinkunst: Nebst Addenda zu Band 1, Byzantinische Epigramme auf Fresken und Mosaiken*, Vienna, 2010, pp. 371-372, no. Te2; I. DRPIĆ, *Epigram, Art, and Devotion in Later Byzantium*, Cambridge, 2016, pp. 276-279, fig. 5.5.

¹⁸ The information about Demetrios Chomatenos's election is provided by two letters of John Apokaukos who proposed Demetrios to be appointed archbishop of Ochrid. See his letter to the Patriarch Germanos II: *Epirotica*, no. 17, 272.29-273; A. PAPADOPOULOS-KERAMEUS, *Συμβολή εις την ιστορίαν της ἀρχιεπισκοπῆς Ἀχρίδος*, in *Sbornik statej posvěčenných počítateljami V. I. Lamanskomu: po slučaji 50-letiyu ego uč. dejatel'nosti*, Sankt-Peterburg, 1907, no. 2, 233.1-16. For a letter to Chomatenos, see G. PRINZING (ed.), *Ponemata Diaphora*, Berlin et Novi Eboraci, 2002, p. 10.

¹⁹ M. ACHEIMASTOU-POTAMIANOU, *Η Βλαχέρνα της Άρτας. Τοιχογραφίες*, Athina, 2009.



Fig. 1. Embroidered *aēr* with the Virgin *orans*, ca. 1215-1225/26, National History Museum, Sofia.

order of Theodore's wife, Maria Doukaina Petraliphaina.²⁰ Judging by this source, the transformation took place around 1227. As has been convincingly argued, the change of the monastic community was most likely prompted by the need to provide shelter for a group of refugee nuns from Constantinople. It was believed that the Blacherna monastery was a royal mausoleum of the Komnenos-Doukas family, since the two sarcophagi preserved in it are usually linked with the despot Michael and his and Theodora's sons, John and Demetrios, who had supposedly been buried there.²¹ George Velenis and Andrea Rhoby have revised the previous reading of the inscriptions on the sarcophagi, which were actually incorrectly joined during restoration works.²² The inscribed fragments do not belong to two different graves, as Anastasios Orlandos believed,²³ but are excerpts of a single epigraph. It is a long text written in the Byzantine dodecasyllable verse (appendix, No. 5). Of the greatest interest is the second portion of the inscription, which contains a section detailing the genealogy of the deceased. More specifically, several blood relatives are mentioned, beginning with the ultimate ancestor of the dead, Peter Aliphas. The Petraliphas family originated from the Norman duke Peter Aliphas who, after the war with the Normans (1085), defected to the emperor Alexios I Komnenos. Alexander Kazhdan in his study on the Petraliphai came to the conclusion that ten members of this family held high titles in the period between 1118 and 1204.²⁴ In the early decades of the thirteenth century, they were powerful

²⁰ A. PΑΠΑΔΟΠΟΥΛΟΣ-ΚΕΡΑΜΕΥΣ, *Συνοδικὰ γράμματα Ἰωάννου τοῦ Ἀποκαύκου, μητροπολίτου Ναυπάκτου*, in *Βυζαντινὸς Α'*, 14, no. 3, 1909; For a detailed analysis, see A. M. TALBOT, *Affirmative Action in the 13th Century: An Act of John Apokaukos concerning the Blachernitissa Monastery in Arta*, in C. CONSTANTINIDES – N. PANAGIOTAKES et al. (eds), *Φιλέλλην, Studies in Honour of Robert Browning*, Venice, 1996, pp. 399-409; ΑΧΕΙΜΑΣΤΟΥ-ΡΟΤΑΜΙΑΝΟΥ, *Ἡ Βλαχέρνα* [see n. 19], pp. 60-63.

²¹ For the sarcophagi at the Blacherna monastery, see A. ORLANDOS, *Ἡ παρά τὴν Ἄρτα Μονὴ τῶν Βλαχερνῶν, Ἀρχαίων Βυζαντινῶν Μνημείων τῆς Ἑλλάδος*, Β' (1936), pp. 30-37, 165, fig. 10, 26-31; A. GRABAR, *Sculptures Byzantines du Moyen Age II (XI^e-XIV^e siècle)*, p. 145, pin. CXXIIIa, CXXIV, CXXV; Th. PΑΖΑΡΑΣ, *Ἀνάγλυφες Σαρκοφάγοι καὶ ἐπιτάφιας πλάκες τῆς Μέσης καὶ Ὑστερῆς Βυζαντινῆς περιόδου στὴν Ἑλλάδα*, Athina, 1988, pp. 42-43, fig. 38, 39; V. PΑΠΑΔΟΠΟΥΛΟΥ, *Ἡ Βυζαντινὴ Ἄρτα καὶ τὰ μνημεῖα τῆς*, Athina, 2002, pp. 76-78, fig. 85-87; ΕΑΔΕΜ, *Οἱ Σαρκοφάγοι*, in V. PΑΠΑΔΟΠΟΥΛΟΥ (ed.), *Ἡ Βλαχέρνα τῆς Ἀρτας*, Arta, 2015, pp. 107-117; RHOBY, *Byzantinische Epigramme auf Stein* [see n. 12], pp. 148-151.

²² G. VELENIS, *Οἱ ταφικὲς ἐπιγραφὲς τοῦ ναοῦ τῆς Βλαχέρνας*, in PΑΠΑΔΟΠΟΥΛΟΥ, *Ἡ Βλαχέρνα τῆς Ἀρτας* [see n. 21], pp. 122-126; RHOBY, *Byzantinische Epigramme* [see n. 12], p. 143.

²³ ORLANDOS, *Ἡ παρά τὴν Ἄρτα Μονὴ τῶν Βλαχερνῶν* [see n. 21], pp. 13-14, 47-48; KATSAROS, *Λογία στοιχεῖα* [see n. 8], pp. 522-524.

²⁴ A. KAZHDAN, *Social'nyj sostav gosподstvujuščego klassa Vizantii XI-XII vv.*, Moskva, 1974, pp. 93, 116.

landholders with strong ties to the Angelos family of Epeiros.²⁵ For example, the spouse of Theodore I Angelos, Maria, originated from the Petraliphas family, as did Saint Theodora, Michael II Doukas's wife.

The genealogical tree of the deceased in the inscription on the large tomb from Blacherna ends with the mention of his relative, the despot Nikephoros, who was the son of the deceased's sister, Saint Theodora. Theodora had three brothers, namely, Theodore, Andronikos, and Nikephoros. Accordingly, the new reading of the inscriptions indicates (appendix, No. 5a) that these sarcophagi contained the remains of members of the Petraliphas family, and not of the family of the despots of Epeiros, as has been repeatedly maintained in scholarship.²⁶

G. Velenis has also proposed a new reading of the inscription from the second and smaller tomb (appendix, No. 5b), suggesting that it probably belonged to Theodora's nephews, John and Demetrios, and not to two of the three sons of Michael and Theodora.²⁷ The presence of the name of Theodora in the inscription was the main reason behind the hypothesis that her sons were buried in the sarcophagi. Recent excavations of the site have revealed that the tombs and their marble slabs were not initially located in the nave of the church. Velenis's new reading of the inscription does not provide sufficient information to ascertain whether the renovation and decoration of the Blacherna monastery was sponsored by the Petraliphas family or by the ruling house of Komnenos-Doukas. The quality of the sculpture as well as the high quality of painting, with its use of precious materials (lapis lazuli and sporadically gold), show that the workshops employed at the site were trained in the most advanced artistic milieu of the period.

We do not know whether Michael II Doukas (1231-1267/8) was involved in the restoration of the Blacherna monastery. However, the evidence of epigraphy and other textual sources shows that he sponsored three other churches: Kato Panagia in Arta,²⁸ the church of the Transfiguration near Galaxidi,²⁹ and the Pantanassa monastery near Philippias (Fig. 4).³⁰

²⁵ FERJANČIĆ, *Plemstvo* [see n. 1], pp. 139-146.

²⁶ VELENIS, *Οι ταφικές επιγραφές* [see n. 22], pp. 126-129, 137.

²⁷ Andreas Rhoby, although being rather reluctant to accept the opinion that the sarcophagi contained two sons of Michael and Theodora, indicates that it may be the case. However, he proposes that the children from the sarcophagi are unknown from other sources and suggests a date after Michael's death. RHOPY, *Byzantinische Epigramme* [see n. 12], pp. 149-150.

²⁸ V. ΠΑΠΑΔΟΠΟΥΛΟΥ, *Κάτω Παναγία*, in *Βυζαντινά*, 27 (2007) pp. 369-396; D. GIANNOULES, *Οι τοιχογραφίες των βυζαντινών μνημείων της Άρτας κατά την περίοδο του Δεσποτάτου της Ηπείρου*, Ioannina, 2010, pp. 209-225, pin. 43-50, fig. 509-520 with relevant bibliography.

²⁹ H. M. KÜPPER, *Der Bautypus der Griechischen Dachtranseptkirche*, Amsterdam, 1990, pp. 109-110; P. ΒΟΚΟΤΟΠΟΥΛΟΣ, *Παρατηρήσεις στον ναό του Σωτήρος κοντά στο Γαλαξείδι*, in *ΔΧΑΕ*, 19 (1993-1994), pp. 199-210.

³⁰ P. ΒΟΚΟΤΟΠΟΥΛΟΣ, *Παντάνασσα Φιλιπιάδος*, Athina, 2007.

Furthermore, it is possible that Michael was associated with the construction of the old church of the Paregoretissa in Arta as well.³¹

A brick-made monogram with the name of Michael II Doukas is preserved on the exterior of the monastery church of Kato Panagia, on the south facade between the two pilasters of the transverse barrel-vault (Fig. 2).³² Above the monogram on the south gable of the transept, a two-row inscription has been preserved (Fig. 2):

† Ἐκ βάθρων [σ]ῶν πάνταγενε ἱστῶμ[ε]ν δόμον³³

From the foundations, O All-Pure One, we erected your house (i.e., church).

Another metrical inscription, executed in porous stone, is preserved on the northwest pilaster of the transverse barrel-vault (Fig. 3):

† Πύλας ἡμῖν ἄνοιξον ᾧ θ(εο)ῦ Μ(ῆ)τερ
τῆς μετανοίας τοῦ φωτός οὔσα πύλη³⁴

Open the doors of repentance to us, O Mother of God, you who are the gateway to the light.

Next to these two dodecasyllable verses is displayed a cruciform monogram, which has been associated with the despot Michael:

Δ(εσπότη) Μ(ιχαήλ) Π(αράσχου) Ρ(ύσιν αμαρτημάτων).³⁵
Give deliverance from sins to the despot Michael.

This reading of the abbreviation has generally been accepted and associated with the improper behaviour of Michael towards his spouse Theodora, afterwards declared a saint. In the *Life of Saint Theodora*, which was composed by the monk Job Melias in the second half of the thirteenth century, the despot Michael is credited with founding two monasteries dedicated to the Theotokos, the Pantanassa in Philippias and Kato Panagia (τῆς Παναγίας) in Arta. The widespread opinion that the foundation of the latter was an act of penitence for his bad behaviour towards Theodora cannot be confirmed by her *Life*.³⁶ Rather, the establishment of both of these monasteries, as well

³¹ A. ORLANDOS, *Η Παρηγορήτισσα της Αρτης*, Athina, 1963.

³² S. KALOPISSI-VERTI, *Dedicatory Inscriptions and Donor Portraits in Thirteenth Century Churches of Greece*, Vienna, 1992, pp. 50-51, fig. 5.

³³ G. VELENIS, *Σχόλια και παρατηρήσεις σε πολύστιχες πλιθινές επιγραφές*, in P. BELISARIOU – E. DORE et. al. (eds), *Αντίφωνον: Αφιέρωμα στον καθηγητή Ν.Β. Δρανδάκη*, Thessaloniki, 1994, pp. 266-268, fig. 1; RHOBY, *Byzantinische Epigramme* [see n. 12], pp. 151-152. All translations are mine unless otherwise stated.

³⁴ KALOPISSI-VERTI, *Dedicatory Inscriptions* [see n. 32], p. 51, fig. 6; RHOBY, *Byzantinische Epigramme* [see n. 12], pp. 153-154.

³⁵ KALOPISSI-VERTI, *Dedicatory Inscriptions* [see n. 32], p. 51, fig. 6.

³⁶ *Life of St. Theodora of Arta*, trans. and intr. A.-M. Talbot, in A.-M. TALBOT (ed.), *Holy Women of Byzantium: Ten Saints' Lives in English Translation*, 1, Washington, D.C., 1996, pp. 323-333.



Fig. 2. Arta. Kato Panagia. Carved inscription on the north facade (G. Fousteris).



Fig. 3. Arta. Kato Panagia. South facade. Inscription and monogram of the Despot Michael II (L. Fundić)

as of the one of Saint George, now the church of Saint Theodora, is related to their piety.

Velenis has recently proposed a new reading of the above mentioned cruciform monogram (Fig. 2).³⁷ He suggests that the third letter, read as Π in the edition of the monogram, is actually the letter T and, accordingly, the inscription contains the letters ΔΜΤΡ. The letters represent the four consonants of the name Demetrios. Furthermore, Velenis has detected a previously unnoticed letter X at the end of the monogram. He proposes the following reading of the monogram:

Δ(η)μ(ή)τρ(ι)ος Χ(ωματηνός).³⁸

Hence, Velenis believes that the founder of the Kato Panagia monastery was Michael II together with the archbishop Demetrios Chomatenos who, possibly, retired to this monastery after 1235. Due to the lack of additional evidence, this interpretation must remain a hypothesis.

A post-Byzantine text, the *Chronicle of Galaxeidi* (1703), yet based on earlier sources, claims that the patron of the church of the Transfiguration near Galaxeidi was Michael II Doukas. The *Chronicle* was found in 1864 in the ruins of the original church after the earthquake of 1862.³⁹ The construction of the church was completed shortly after the incursion of Latin pirates in the Corinthian gulf. The date of the incursion in 1246/47 leads us to the middle of the thirteenth century, a chronology that accorded well with the architectural features of the church.

After the death of her husband, the despot Michael II, Theodora spent the last years of her life as a nun in the monastery of Saint George, currently the church of Saint Theodora (Fig. 6).⁴⁰ She is considered the second founder of the monastery. Theodora is also linked with the construction and decoration of the cave church of Saint Andrew the Hermit near the village of Chalkiopoulos in Aetoloacarnania.⁴¹ Saint Andrew the Hermit from the village of Monodentro lived in the reign of the despot Michael II and of his successor Nikephoros

³⁷ G. VELENIS, *Προσθήκες και διορθώσεις σε επιγραφές τριών σταυροειδών ναών του 13ου αιώνα*, in 34^ο Συμπόσιο Βυζαντινής και Μεταβυζαντινής Αρχαιολογίας και τέχνης, Αθήνα, 9-11 Μαΐου. Πρόγραμμα και περιλήψεις εισηγήσεων και ανακοινώσεων, Athina, 2014, pp. 31-32.

³⁸ *Ibidem*, pp. 31-32.

³⁹ For the *Chronicle of Galaxeidi*, see: K. SATHAS, *Χρονικόν ανέκδοτον Γαλαξειδίου ή Ιστορία Αμφίσσης, Ναυπάκτου, Γαλαξειδίου. Λοιδορικίου οιδορικίου., ώρων από των αρχαιοτάτων μέχρι των καθ' ημάς χρόνων μετά προλεγομένων και άλλων ιστορικών σημειώσεων*, Athina, 1962.

⁴⁰ ΠΑΠΑΔΟΠΟΥΛΟΥ, *Η Βυζαντινή Άρτα* [see n. 21], pp. 45-55.

⁴¹ S. KISSAS, *Όσιος Ανδρέας ο ερημίτης ο εκ Μονοδένδρου. Ιστορία, λατρεία, τέχνη*, in CHRYSOS, *Πρακτικά*, [see n. 1], p. 205.

(1268-1296). Shortly before the Ottoman conquest of the region, a *synaxarion* life of Saint Andrew was written. Despite the usual exaggerations, this text includes accurate historic information. The first part of the *synaxarion*, which is included in the *akolouthia*, tells us that the *basilissa* Theodora, by that time a nun, after she had been informed of her husband's death, took personal care of the building and the decoration of the church, which she dedicated to the memory of the hermit, inside his cave *asketerion* (hermitage).

The decline of the State of Epeiros during the reign of Nikephoros (1267-1296/8) is not reflected in the art of the same era. Nikephoros, together with his wife, Anna Palaiologina, built and decorated with mosaics the monastery of the Paregoretissa between 1294 and 1296, as is confirmed by the dedicatory inscription on the west wall of the nave, sculptured on the relief marble arch above the western entrance (appendix, No.6).⁴²

The couple also sponsored the ambulatory in the Pantanassa monastery to the north of Philippias (Fig. 4).⁴³ In the donor portraits from this church, Nikephoros and Anna are depicted being crowned by the Virgin in bust, holding the Christ Child in her arms, while fragmentary inscriptions with surnames Komnenos Doukas and Anna Komnenodoukaina Palaiologina accompany the depicted figures.⁴⁴ Their two children, probably the son Thomas and the daughter Thamar, are also portrayed in this image.

It seems that during the reign of Nikephoros, around the end of the thirteenth century, a narthex was added to the Blacherna monastery and decorated with frescoes. No dedicatory inscription has been uncovered thus far, and there is no written evidence that could confirm the dating of the church with certainty. However, in the fresco decoration preserved on the west wall of the narthex, which depicts the ceremony related to the icon of the Virgin Hodegetria in Constantinople, three female figures, who lead the procession and are dressed more sumptuously than other participants, are usually identified as Anna Palaiologina of Epeiros, her sister Theodora Raoulaina, and their mother Eirene-Eulogia (Fig. 5).⁴⁵ The triumphal, apologetic, and didactic spirit of this period can be observed in the iconography of this fresco, as has been proposed in earlier publications.⁴⁶

⁴² ORLANDOS, *Η Παρηγορήτισσα* [see n. 31], pp. 154-155; KALOPISSI-VERTI, *Dedicatory Inscriptions* [see n. 32], p. 51, fig. 7; KATSAROS, *Λόγια στοιχεία* [see n. 8], p. 521; N. MELVANI, *Late Byzantine Sculpture*, Turnhout, 2013, p. 17, 245 (fig. 41), 271, 281; RHOBY, *Byzantinische Epigramme* [see n. 12], pp. 140-143.

⁴³ VOKOTOPOULOS, *Παντάνασσα Φιλιπιάδος* [see n. 30] with older bibliography.

⁴⁴ P. VOKOTOPOULOS, *Η κτιτορική τοιχογραφία στο περίστωο της Παντανάσσης Φιλιπιάδος*, in *ΔΧΑΕ*, 28 (2008), pp. 73-79; G. VELENES, *Γραπτές επιγραφές από το περίστωο του ναού της Παντάνασσας στη Φιλιπιάδα*, in *ΔΧΑΕ*, 28 (2008), pp. 81-85.

⁴⁵ ACHEIMASTOU-ΡΟΤΑΜΙΑΝΟΥ, *Η Βλαχέρνα* [see n. 19], pp. 81-92, 115-122, fig. 44-55.

⁴⁶ *Ibidem*, see also below p. 153. n. 61 and 62.



Fig. 4. Philippias, Pantanassa monastery (L. Fundić).



Fig. 5. Blacherna monastery near Arta. The litany of the icon of the Panagia Hodegetria (G. Fousteris)

The name of the *basilissa* Anna – [Ἄν]να βασίλισ[σ]α Καντακουζ(ηνή) [Παλαιο]λόγου τε – is also found in an inscription from the church of Hagia Sophia at the cemetery of the village of Mokista in Aetolia, along with the names of a high-ranking military commander, the *protostrator* Michael Zorianos,⁴⁷ and the monk Kosmas Andritzopoulonymos.⁴⁸ The inscription points to their joint patronage.⁴⁹

The *basilissa* Anna is also believed to have sponsored the narthex of the church of Saint Theodora in Arta (Fig. 6) and its fresco decoration, while the erection of a castle known as Thomokastro (literally, the castle of Thomas) in the village of Riza (Riniasa) on the coast to the north of Preveza is attributed to her son Thomas.⁵⁰

THE IDEOLOGICAL PROFILE OF THE ARTISTIC PATRONAGE OF THE KOMNENOS-DOUKAS FAMILY

Emerging from the combined visual and textual record is a complex picture of intense artistic activity, in which new elites joined the old Constantinopolitan aristocracy in exile as patrons of the arts, while new centres such as Arta, Naupaktos, and Ioannina came to define standards of artistic excellence. As I have argued elsewhere, aside from spiritual concerns, which undoubtedly preoccupied elite patrons across the Byzantine world, the patronage of the Epeirote rulers during the first fifty-year period was to a large extent informed by a nostalgia for the lost “Queen of Cities.”⁵¹ Indeed, as I have proposed, they consciously sought to model their capital Arta in the image of Constantinople. In this way, they preserved the memory of the imperial capital, while the carefully maintained link with Constantinople served as an ideological basis for their attempts to restore the former Empire.

One of the ways in which this nostalgia was manifested was through the memory of Constantinopolitan shrines. It is highly significant that, while the Marian epithets used in the dedications of Constantinopolitan churches

⁴⁷ For Michael Zorianos, see below n. 80.

⁴⁸ S. LAMBROS, *Η πρόρρησις του Ανδριτζοπούλου*, in *Ηπειρωτικά Χρονικά*, 3 (1906), pp. 474-476.

⁴⁹ Another three inscriptions from Mokista with the names of M. Zorianos and K. Andritzopoulonymos are preserved from the Hagios Nikolaos and Taxiarches churches – see KALOPIS-SI-VERTI, *Dedicatory Inscriptions* [see n. 32], pp. 56-59, fig. 17-21; KATSAROS, *Λόγια στοιχεία* [see n. 8], pp. 520-521; RHOBY, *Byzantinische Epigramme* [see n. 12], pp. 233-235, 369-373.

⁵⁰ CH. KOYTSOTOLE, *Θωμόκαστρο ή κάστρο της Ριβιάσας (τέλη 13^{ου}- μέσα 15^{ου} αιώνα)*, in *Πρεβεζάνικα Χρονικά*, 47-48 (2011), pp. 1-28.

⁵¹ See L. FUNDIC, *Art and Political Ideology in the State of Epiros during the Reign of the Theodore Doukas (r. 1215-1230)*, in *Βυζαντινά Σύμμεικτα*, 23, (2013), pp. 224-225.

are rarely encountered in other parts of the Byzantine world, they were very prominent throughout thirteenth-century Epeiros. Examples include the Blacherna at Arta, the *Pantanassa* at Philippias, and the *Panymnetos* at Nau-paktos.⁵² The church of the Panagia Vellas near Voulgareli was also known by the name of *Panymnetos*.⁵³ In addition, there was a monastery of the Panagia *Peribleptos* located in Arta.⁵⁴ A church dedicated to the Panagia *Paramythia* is still preserved in Thesprotia,⁵⁵ while the church at Preventza in Aetoloacarnania bore the name of the Panagia *Kyriotissa*.⁵⁶

One should also recall that, after 1227, Theodore Komnenos Doukas chose the epithet *Hagiosoritissa*, another Marian appellation of Constantinopolitan origin, for an issue of his coins, thereby promoting in yet another way his privileged relationship with the former Byzantine capital.⁵⁷

The Epeirote rulers stressed their blood ties to the Komnenian family and, accordingly, claimed that they were legal successors of the imperial throne as can be observed in many dedicatory inscriptions. The following few examples are characteristic:⁵⁸

The [...] brothers [...] wearing crowns [...] towards the throne of the kingdom [...] of the mistress Anna the most reverent, the great Komnene [...] the despot Theodore and Constantine from motherhood *all with royal descent Komnenos Alexios* your servant in all ways; for the most beautiful of <the ultimate kingdom> (?). [Episkope Mastro] (appendix, No. 1)

...This child of a happy man John, the sebastokrator, *the flower of the [imperial] purple*, Theodore supreme in military command, Doukas Komnenos, firm,

⁵² John Apokaukos's letters clearly show that he was involved in the restoration and decoration of the church dedicated to the Virgin Panymnetos, which was the cathedral of the diocese of Naupaktos, in the period between 1218 and 1222. See BEES, *Unedierte Schriftstücke* [see n. 7], no. 27.38-41, p. 86; no. 47, p. 104; no. 54, pp. 110-111; No. 57.64-68, pp. 112-114; no. 58.22-28, p. 115; no. 103.16-18, p. 153.

⁵³ For the dedicatory inscription in this church, see A. RHOBY, *Byzantinische Epigramme auf Fresken und Mosaiken*, Vienna, 2009, pp. 149-150, fig. 19.

⁵⁴ Its existence is attested by letters of John Apokaukos from 1222 and 1223, written during his sojourn in this monastery. BEES [see n. 7], p. 84; V. KATSAROS, *Πνευματικός βίος και πολιτισμός της Βυζαντινής Άρτας*, in: *Πρακτικά Β' Διεθνούς αρχαιολογικού και ιστορικού συνεδρίου "Η Βυζαντινή Άρτα και η περιοχή της"*, Arta, 2008, pp. 25-42. V. PAPAΔΟΠΟΥΛΟΥ, *Η Βυζαντινή μονή Παναγίας Περιβλέπτου. Συμβολή στη μνημειακή τοπογραφία της Βυζαντινής Άρτας*, in *ΔΧΑΕ*, 26 (2005), pp. 283-302.

⁵⁵ A. PASALI, *Η Μεγάλη Παναγία στην Παραμυθία Θεσπρωτίας*, in *ΔΧΑΕ*, 19 (1996-1997), pp. 369-393, with previous bibliography.

⁵⁶ The church was flooded by water from an artificial lake in 1969. P. VOKOTOPOULOS, *Ο ναός της Παναγίας στην Πρεβέντζα της Ακαρνανίας*, in N. A. STRATOS (ed.) *Βυζάντιον, Θεολογία και φιλολογία αφιέρωμα στον Ανδρέα Ν. Στράτο*, Athina, 1986, pp. 251-275; KALOPISSI-VERTI, *Dedicatory Inscriptions* [see n. 32], pp. 56-57, fig. 16.

⁵⁷ FUNDIĆ, *Art and Political Ideology* [see n. 51], pp. 225-228, fig. 3.

⁵⁸ For the full text of the inscriptions, see the appendix.

strong-handed. [Dyrrachion (Durrës) in Albania, castle tower] (appendix, No. 3)

...receive this gift from Theodore Komnenos Doukas and his fair wife, Maria Doukaina, *of the lineage of the Komnenoi*... [Embroidered red silk aer, National History Museum in Sofia] (appendix, No. 4)

The despot Komnenos Doukas Nikephoros, Anna, empress, Komnene Doukaina, the great despot Thomas, Komnenian offspring, *branch of the famous Komnenoi*, bearing the name of angel. [Arta, Monastery of Paregoretissa] (appendix, No. 7)

The imperial aspirations of the rulers of Epeiros also found eloquent visual expressions in monumental pictorial programs created within their domain. In the church of Saint Demetrios Katsouris near Arta,⁵⁹ for example, the prophets represented in the dome hold scrolls bearing an ingenious selection of inscriptions that voice the desire for the re-conquest of Constantinople. The same applies to the depiction of prophets in the Old Metropolis in Veroia.⁶⁰

After the restoration of the Byzantine rule on the Bosphorus in 1261, the Epeirote elites continued to promote their Constantinopolitan ancestry, while simultaneously maintaining their distance from the new Palaiologan regime. The celebrated scene showing the procession of the icon of the *Hodegetria* in the narthex of the royal monastery of Blacherna – itself a “replica” of the eponymous Constantinopolitan shrine – makes the association with the imperial capital explicit (Fig. 5).⁶¹ Seen in conjunction with the Ecumenical Councils depicted above it, the procession of the *Hodegetria* may be also read as a celebration of the triumph of Orthodoxy following the demise of the short-lived Union of Lyon, to which the commissioner of the murals, the *basilissa* Anna, wife of the despot Nikephoros (1267-1296/8), was strongly opposed, as has been proposed by Myrtali Acheimastou-Potamianou.⁶²

Towards the end of the thirteenth century a new reality can be observed, namely artistic production is mobilised in the service of the “survival” of the State of Epeiros and the preservation of its Byzantine identity. After the death of the despot Nikephoros in 1296, a dynastic crisis broke out in the Despotate of Epeiros due to the demand of his son-in-law, Philip of Taranto, to inherit the rule of the whole dominion of the Despotate. In his effort to reinforce an alliance with Italy, Nikephoros gave his daughter Thamar as a

⁵⁹ T. ΠΑΡΑΜΑΣΤΟΡΑΚΗΣ, *Το εικονογραφικό πρόγραμμα του προύλλου του ναού του Αγίου Δημητρίου του Κατσούρη*, in CHRYSOS, *Πρακτικά* [see n. 1], pp. 419-454.

⁶⁰ This is discussed in greater detail in FUNDIĆ, *Art and Political Ideology* [see n. 51], pp. 232-239, fig. 3.

⁶¹ ACHEIMASTOU-POTAMIANOU, *Η Βλαχέρνα* [see n. 19], pp. 81-92, 115-118, fig. 44-55.

⁶² *Ibidem*, pp. 117-118.

bride to the son of Charles of Anjou, Philip of Taranto, in 1294.⁶³ Thamar took as dowry the following four castles: Blochos, known as the citadel of the Thestians, to the north-east of Kainourgio, Angelocastro to the south-west of Agrinio, Naupaktos, and Bonitsa.⁶⁴ The wedding contract contained an article about succession. The Despotate of Epeiros was considered a feud of Nikephoros and Anna until the despot's death; afterwards, it was to pass into the hands of their daughter Thamar and her husband Philip as despot. Should Thamar's younger brother Thomas survive his father, he would be recognised as despot, yet under the suzerainty of Philip and on the condition that he would cede the castle of Photici to Philip as well as the whole region of Thesprotia. Finally, it was agreed a priori that Thamar would be the owner of the one third of her husband's possessions and that she could safeguard the complete freedom of the Orthodox faith.

It is very likely that, through the works of art he commissioned, the despot Nikephoros sought to express allegiance to his Latin allies in visual terms. For instance, his important dynastic church, the Theotokos Paregoretissa in Arta, abounds in Western architectural elements reminiscent of Italian late medieval palaces.⁶⁵ In this church, the dedicatory inscription mentioning the despot Nikephoros, his spouse Anna, and their son Thomas, is placed on the relief marble arch decorated with double-headed eagles, a symbol of the Byzantines, and with an ivy leaf, an emblem of the house of Anjou.⁶⁶ In a similar way, the wedding gift of Thamar, Nikephoros's daughter, to her husband Philip, was a gilded and enamelled casket in the shape of a lily, with double-headed eagles depicted on it.⁶⁷

Nikephoros's wife, the *basilissa* Anna, disapproved of the alliance that had been forged with the Latins. Thus, after the death of her husband in 1296, she disobeyed the terms of Thamar's dowry and, as a true Palaiologina, refused to deliver the Despotate of Epeiros into the hands of her son-in-law Philip, that is, to the Latins. On the contrary, she decided to take over

⁶³ NICOL, *Despotate of Epiros* [see n. 1], pp. 46-49.

⁶⁴ The marriage contracts of Thamar are analytically referred in the Chronicle of the Morea, see J. LONGNON (ed.), *Livre de la conquête de la princée de l'Amorée. Chronique de Morée (1204-1305)*, Paris, 1911, col. 657-660; NICOL, *The Despotate of Epiros 1267-1479* [see n. 1], pp. 66-67.

⁶⁵ ORLANDOS, *Η Παρηγορήτισσα* [see n. 31]; L. SAFRAN, *Exploring Artistic Links Between Epiros and Apulia in the Thirteenth Century: The Problem of Sculpture and Wall Painting*, in CHRYSOS, *Πρακτικά* [see n. 1], pp. 455-474.

⁶⁶ ORLANDOS, *Η Παρηγορήτισσα* [see n. 31], pp. 154-155, fig. 104-108; KATSAROS, *Λόγια στοιχεία* [see n. 8], pp. 521-522; KALOPISSI-VERTI, *Dedicatory Inscriptions* [see n. 32], pp. 53-54, fig. 11-14. PAPAPOPOULOU, *Η Βυζαντινή Αρτα* [see n. 21], p. 151, fig. 176.

⁶⁷ G. BERGAMINI – C. GABERSCEK (eds), *Ori e tesori d' Europa: mille anni dioreficeria nel Friuli-Venezia Giulia*, Milano, 1992, no. II. 1; P. L. DE CASTRIS (ed.), *Ori, argenti, gemme e smalti della Napoli Angioina 1266-1381*, catalogo della mostra, Neapoli, 2014, pp. 114-119.

the government of the State of Epeiros as co-regent of her underage son Thomas who was only six years old at the time. The regency of Anna proved to be quite successful; she took a stand against any kind of Western pressure.⁶⁸ The *basilissa* sought to buttress her authority and that of her son in several ways. She is believed to have played an important role in promoting the cult of Saint Theodora, which undoubtedly represented a significant ideological base for Anna's rule, not least because of her familial tie with the saint. Anna was devoted to the memory of her mother-in-law Theodora, who served as an exemplar for her. The addition of a narthex to the church of Saint Theodora (Fig. 6) as well as the composition of her *Life*,⁶⁹ dated to the late thirteenth century, were likely Anna's initiatives.

The marble sarcophagus (Fig. 7) situated to the left of the main entrance into the church, which may represent the same *basilissa* with her son Thomas, must have been carved at Anna's behest. Still, local tradition identifies the sarcophagus with the tomb of Saint Theodora.⁷⁰ The boy depicted on the sarcophagus (Fig. 7) appears to be of the same age as Thomas. The fact that the female figure is depicted in royal attire points to Anna, who remained *basilissa* until her death, rather than to Theodora, who ended her life as a nun.⁷¹

The painted decoration of the narthex further indicates that Anna may have been responsible for the addition of this space.⁷² The iconographic program of the south barrel vault of this tripartite structure (Draw 1) comprises scenes from the life of the patriarch Jacob,⁷³ based in the Book of Genesis. The life of Jacob is rarely depicted in Byzantine art.⁷⁴ As in the

⁶⁸ NICOL, *Despotate of Epiros* [see n. 1], pp. 50-61.

⁶⁹ See above, n. 36.

⁷⁰ The tomb is made during the nineteenth century from byzantine sculpture found in situ. A. ORLANDOS, *Ο τάφος της Αγίας Θεοδώρας*, in *Αρχαίον των Βυζαντινών μνημείων της Ελλάδος Β'*, pp. 105-115; PAZARAS, *Ανάγλυφες Σαρκοφάγοι* [see n. 21], p. 42, fig. 36; PΑΡΑΔΟΠΟΥΛΟΥ, *Η Βυζαντινή Αρτα* [see n. 21], p. 52; ΕΑΔΕΜ, *Αρτα*, in J. ALBANI – E. CHALKIA (eds), *Heaven & Earth: Cities and Countryside in Byzantine Greece*, Athens, 2013, p. 131, fig. 113.

⁷¹ B. CVETKOVIC, *The investiture relief in Arta, Epiros*, in *ZRVI*, 33 (1994), pp. 103-112; IDEM, *Iconography of Female Regency: An Issue of Methodology*, in *Niš i Vizantija*, 10 (2011), pp. 405-414.

⁷² The iconographic program of the church has been published by GIANNOULES, *Οι τοιχογραφίες* [see n. 28], pp. 291-306, fig. 73-78.

⁷³ *Ibidem*, pp. 294-306.

⁷⁴ Extensive painted cycles from the life of Jacob are attested only in illustrated manuscripts of the Octateuch. Four decorated Octateuchs from the middle Byzantine period have survived: *Vaticanus gr. 746*, *Vaticanus gr. 747*, *Istanbul Top Kapi Saray, gr. 1. 8*, and *Smyrna Evangelical School Library codex A*. Octateuch. For the cycles of the life of Jacob in the Octateuchs in question, see M. WEITZMANN – K. BERNABO, *The Byzantine Octateuchs*, Princeton, 1999, v. 1, pp. 94-110, v. 2, fig. 355-440. For basic information on the illustrated manuscripts of the Octateuch, see J. LOWDEN, *The Octateuchs. A Study in Byzantine Manuscript Illustration*, Pennsylvania, 1992. See also K. LINARDOU, *Reading two Byzantine Illustrated Books: The Kokkinobaphos Manuscripts (Vaticanus graecus 1162 and Parisinus graecus*



Fig. 6. Arta, Church of St. Theodora (L. Fundić).

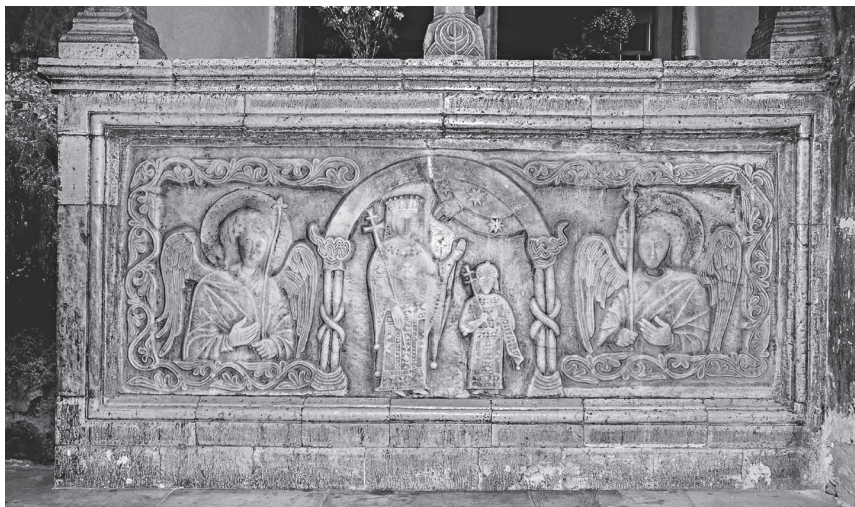
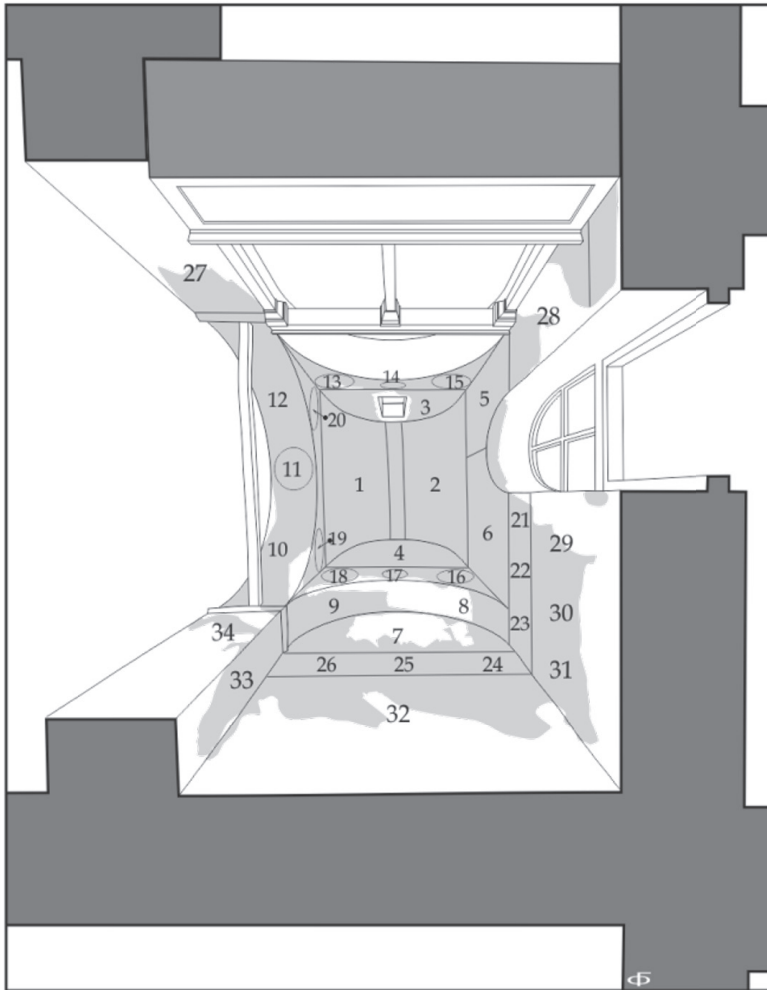


Fig. 7. Arta, Church of St. Theodora. Slab of the pseudo-sarcophagus (L. Fundić).



- | | | |
|---|-------------------------|---|
| 1. The farewell of Jacob and his flight to Mesopotamia | 10. Unidentified hosios | 23. Unidentified saint |
| 2. The return of Jacob to Palestine | 11. Unidentified saint | 24. Unidentified hierarch |
| 3. Blessing of Jacob by his father Isaac | 12. Unidentified saint | 25. Unidentified saint |
| 4. The events in the house of Jacob's uncle Lavan at Harran | 13. Unidentified hosios | 26. Unidentified saint |
| 5. The farewell of the Virgin Mary and Elizabeth (?) | 14. Unidentified saint | 27. Unidentified saint |
| 6. Unidentified scene | 15. Unidentified saint | 28. Angel |
| 7. Unidentified scene | 16. Unidentified saint | 29. St. Kyriaki |
| 8. Unidentified saint | 17. Unidentified saint | 30. Unidentified female saint |
| 9. Unidentified saint | 18. Unidentified saint | 31. Unidentified female saint |
| | 19. Hosios Sophronios | 32. The forty Martyrs of Sebasteia in the frozen lake |
| | 20. Hosios Epiphanius | 33. Unidentified saint |
| | 21. Unidentified saint | 34. Unidentified saint |
| | 22. John of Damascus | |

Draw 1. Arta, Church of St. Theodora. The iconographic program of the south barrel-vault of nartex (G. Fousteris).

case of the wall paintings of the narthex at Blacherna, the choice of this unusual theme must have resonated with the period's political and ideological concerns. There is little doubt, in my view, that the extended life of Jacob (Fig. 8. and 9) was intended to parallel and theologically legitimise the political position taken by Anna Palaiologina vis-à-vis the question of succession. Anna's strong personality, her successful defence against the attack of the Latins in 1304, as well as the title of despot that Thomas held – all these elements were sufficient to ensure succession. It seems, however, that Anna also sought to strengthen the legitimacy of her choice in a symbolic way, namely through several iconographic themes produced, as it would appear, at her behest. A central element in the biblical narrative about Jacob is the story of how his older brother Esau gave his birth right to him.⁷⁵ It was common, both in Byzantium and in the newly established neighbouring states, which were under Byzantine influence, to use the story of Jacob as well as other narratives from the Old Testament for the theological reinforcement of one's right to wield power. Thus, for example, Stefan Nemanja, the founder of the Serbian medieval state, in a charter to the Chilandar monastery mentions that, after he had ceded power to his second-born son, Stefan, he blessed him “with every blessing, as Isaac blessed his son Jacob”. Stefan Nemanja's son and biographer, Saint Sabas, also speaks of this blessing, adding the qualification “unconventionally”, meaning that, according to the principle of primogeniture, the throne should have passed to Stefan Nemanja's first-born son Vukan: “And <he> crowned him (i.e. Stefan the First Crowned) and blessed him *unconventionally*, as Isaac blessed Jacob, his son, with every blessing”.⁷⁶ Several painted cycles with Old Testament themes such as the life of Joseph, encountered in some Serbian monuments, may be directly connected with the dynastic propaganda of the Serbian rulers; examples include the narthex programs at Sopoćani and Lesnovo.⁷⁷

1208) and their illustration, Ph. D. dissertation, University of Birmingham, 2004; M. EVANGELATOU, *Threads of Power, Clothing Symbolism, Human Salvation, and Female Identity in the Illustrated Homilies by Iakobos of Kokkinobaphos*, in *DOP*, 68, (2015), pp. 241-323.

⁷⁵ Gen. 25, 20-22.

⁷⁶ As mentioned in his *Life*, Stefan Nemanja compares his son and successor Stefan the First-crowned with Joseph. Sveti Sava, D. BOGDANOVIĆ (ed.), *Sabrani spisi*, v. 2, p. 102. Also, when Sabas describes the translation of the relics of Stefan Nemanja from Mount Athos to Studenica, he compares his brothers Stefan and Vukan once again with Joseph. *Ibidem*, v. 2, p. 117.

⁷⁷ See R. LJUBINKOVIĆ, *Sur le symbolisme de l'histoire de Joseph du narthex de Sopoćani*, in V. DJURIĆ, *L'art byzantin du XIII^e siècle, Symposium de Sopoćani 1965*, Belgrade, 1967, pp. 207-237; Z. GAVRILOVIĆ, *Divine Wisdom as Part of Byzantine Imperial Ideology, Research into the Artistic Interpretations of the Theme in Medieval Serbia, Narthex Programmes of Lesnovo and Sopoćani*, in *Zograf*, 11 (1980), pp. 49-50; S. MARIANOVIĆ-DUSANIĆ, *Vladarska ideologija Nemanjića: diplomatička studija*, Beograd, 1997, pp. 210-216.



Fig. 8. Arta, Church of St. Theodora. Narthex. The farewell of Jacob and his flight to Mesopotamia (G. Fousteris).



Fig. 9. Arta, Church of St. Theodora. Narthex. The return of Jacob to Palestine (G. Fousteris).

Moreover, André Grabar and Sirarpie Der Nersessian have posited a direct link with imperial iconography in the depiction of the story of Joseph in the manuscript *Parisinus gr.* 510.⁷⁸

It seems that certain other scenes, apart from the cycle of Jacob, in the narthex of Saint Theodora may have ideological connotations as well. This is most notably the case with the depiction of the Forty Martyrs of Sebasteia freezing to death in a lake (Draw 1, No. 32). The depiction is quite elaborate and occupies the lower register of the west wall of the south barrel vault; it is placed immediately under the scenes from the life of Jacob. When depicted next to a church entrance, the scene of the Forty Martyrs in the lake usually carries intercessory and prophylactic connotations. Such is the case with Žiča, Gradac, and Lesnovo, to name a few relevant examples. Vojislav Djurić, who studied the case of Žiča, has demonstrated that this specific representation is to be connected with the ideology of the Serbian rulers. The content of the office of the Forty Martyrs makes an allusion to living rulers. Emperors and rulers must always remember that their power and rule is granted by God.⁷⁹ The coronation of the saints, which was a reward for their faith, is here interpreted as a prefiguration of the coronation of a ruler or the consecration of a bishop or an abbot. When seen within the context of the historical events at the end of the thirteenth and the beginning of the fourteenth centuries, the scene of the Forty Martyrs in the narthex of Saint Theodora in Arta amplifies the interpretation of the cycle of the patriarch Jacob, put forth above.

From all the above, we can conclude that the *basilissa* Anna was surrounded by capable and highly educated people interested in artistic production, who lived at the end of the thirteenth or the beginning of the fourteenth centuries.⁸⁰ They helped maintain in various ways the independence of Epeiros and its Byzantine identity.

⁷⁸ S. DER NERSESSIAN, *The Illustrations of the Homilies of Gregory of Nazianzus Paris. gr. 510. A. Study of the Connection between Text and Images*, in *DOP*, 16 (1962), pp. 214-215; A. GRABAR, *Les cycles d'images byzantine tirés de l'histoire biblique et leur symbolisme princier*, in *Starinar*, 20 (1969), p. 134.

⁷⁹ V. DJURIĆ, *La royauté et le sacerdoce dans la décoration de Žiča*, in G. SUBOTIĆ (ed.), *Manastir Žiča zbornik radova*, Kraljevo, 2000, pp. 123-144.

⁸⁰ One of them was the *protostrator* Michael Zorianos (1296-1318), mentioned above (p. 151). See *PLP* 3, 6666; NICOL, *Despotate of Epiros* [see n. 1], pp. 242, 247. His golden signet ring, bearing the inscription ΣΦΡΑΓΙΣ ΜΙΧΑΗΛ ΤΟΥ ΖΩΡΙΑΝΟΥ (Seal of Michael Zorianos), has been preserved in the Metropolitan Museum of New York. This fact shows the high office that Zorianos had. See R. HALLMAN, *Signet Ring of Michael Zorianos*, in C. EVANS (ed.), *Byzantium: Faith and Power*, New York – London, 2004, n. 14, p. 46. He was also known for his learned writings as well as ktetoric activities in Aetoloacarnania. Furthermore, he ordered a luxurious manuscript, the lectionary *Barocianus* 29, preserved at the Bodleian Library in Oxford, which bears his signature and provides biographical details.

After the death of Anna, Thomas assumed power in Epeiros as an independent sovereign according to the Byzantine custom. He imitated Byzantine emperors and, in 1303, made a donation to Jacopo Contareno in which he accorded privileges like Byzantine emperor would. Furthermore, he named this document a chrysobull,⁸¹ although he was not an emperor but a despot. His signature, bearing the name of Komnenodoukas, is similar to those of his ancestors from the first half of the thirteenth century. Apart from the mention to the ancestors, he also stresses his connection, through his mother, with the Palaiologos family. Thomas received the title of *despot* from Constantinople perhaps in 1291 or later,⁸² and in 1308, he married Anna, daughter of Michael IX Palaiologos (r. 1294/5-1320), thus strengthening his ties with the house of the Palaiologoi.⁸³ Thomas is represented on his golden seal as an emperor, wearing imperial clothes and holding the insignia of power, namely, the scepter in the right hand and the *akakia* in the left. He is accompanied by the following inscription: ΑΓΓΕ/ΛΟΓΟ/ΝΟΥ / ΣΦΡ/Α-ΓΙΣΜ/Α / ΘΩΜ/Α ΔΕ/ΣΠΟ/ΤΟΥ (= Ἄγγελολόγνου σφράγισμα Θωμᾶ δεσπότη), (*Seal of Thomas, despot, descendant of the Angelos family*). The obverse of the seal bears a figure of the archangel Michael with imperial garb.⁸⁴ The seal stresses Thomas' descent from the imperial family of the Angeloi. Thomas is also connected with the archangel in a list containing Greek rulers, composed in 1313, in which Thomas is

See D. ΟΤΤΟ, *Corpus der byzantinischen Miniaturenhandschriften: Oxford Bodleian Library*, v. 1, Stuttgart, 1977, No. 64, pp. 104-105, fig. 396-397, 402-405; v. 3, 1, Stuttgart, 1982, pp. 346-347; A. W. CARR, *Oxford, Barocci 29 and manuscript illumination in Epiros*, in CHRYSOS, *Πρακτικά* [see n. 1], pp. 567-584. M. Zorianos could also be the founder of the monastery of Saint Demetrios in the village of Kipseli (former Tourkopalouko) in Thesprotia, dated to the last decade of the thirteenth century. See ΒΟΚΟΤΟΠΟΥΛΟΣ, *Η Μονή του Αγίου Δημητρίου στο Φανάρι* [see n. 4], pp. 91-93, pin. 2, 21b.

⁸¹ This document is preserved in latin translation, see P. LEMERLE, *Le Privilège du Despote d'Épire Thomas I pour le Vénitien Jaques Contareno*, in *BZ*, 44 (1951, *Festschrift Franz Dölger*), pp. 389-396; A. STAURIDOU-ZAFRAKA, *Το αξίωμα του «Δεσπότη» και τα Δεσποτικά έγγραφα της Ηπείρου*, in *Μεσαιωνική Ήπειρος (Πρακτικά Επιστημονικού Συνεδρίου, Ιωάννινα 17-19 Σεπτεμβρίου 1999)*, Ioannina, 2001, pp. 95-96; LJ. ΜΑΚΣΙΜΟΒΙĆ, *Dvor epirskih Despota u XIV i XV veku*, in *ZRVI*, 33 (1994), p. 129.

⁸² George Pachymeres, *De Michaele et Andronico Palaeologis libri tredecim*, ed. I. BEKKER, v. 2 (*CSHB*), Bonnae, 1835, p. 202, 3-4. Opinions vary regarding the precise year in which Thomas received the title of despot. S. N. ΑΣΟΝΙΤΕΣ, *Το Νότιο Ιόνιο όντά τον όψιμο Μεσαιώνα. Κομητεία Κεφαλληνίας, Δουκάτο Λευκάδας, Αιτωλοακαρνανία*, Athina, 2005, p. 75, n. 21.

⁸³ Nikephoros Gregoras, *Byzantina historia*, vols 1-2 ed. L. SCHOPEN, Bonn, 1829-1830, vol. 3 ed. I. BEKKER, Bonn, 1855, p. 283. 5-9; NICOL, *Despotate of Epiros* [see n. 1], p. 106, n. 43.

⁸⁴ D. BUCKTON (ed.), *Gold seal of Thomas, Despot of Epirus*, in *Byzantium. Treasures of Byzantine Art and Culture from British Collections*, London, 1994, No. 214, pp. 198-199; J. NESBITT, *Gold Seal of Thomas, Despot of Epiros*, in H. C. EVANS (ed.), *Byzantium, Faith and Power (1261-1557)*, New York, 2004, pp. 35-36.

named *Archang(eli) Dominus (ruler of the Archangel)*.⁸⁵ The word *Archang(eli)* might refer to the above mentioned castle known as *Thomokastro* built by Thomas at the village of Riza (Riniasa) at the coast to the north of Preveza.⁸⁶

CONCLUSION

It is commonly argued that the patronage of many notable churches in Epeiros and Thessaly in the late thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries should be related to the ideological climate of restored Orthodoxy after the Union of the Churches imposed by Michael VIII. It is quite likely, however, that the acts of patronage in Epeiros, namely, the renovation of older shrines and the foundation of new ones, were not influenced by that event. For instance, the despot Nikephoros along with his wife Anna simply continued the building activity of his father, Michael II, which had already been quite impressive, in the middle of the thirteenth century. I would argue that, apart from their desire to ensure/gain eternal salvation by building churches, all five Epeirote rulers, from Michael I to Thomas, also wanted to maintain the Byzantine identity of the newly established State of Epeiros. For them, artistic patronage was, moreover, a means to promote their political aspirations regarding the development of Epeiros as an independent state, even capable of reclaiming Constantinople. Towards the end of the thirteenth century, when, due to adverse political circumstances, the Epeirote rulers were mostly concerned with the survival of their state, the artworks they sponsored served a similar purpose.

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⁸⁵ Thomas also held several other titles, which suggest that he imposed his rule over other regions for an unknown period of time. These titles are the following: “Ser Thomas Dei gratia magnus Romanie Dispotus, Princeps Blachie, Archang(eli) Dominus, Dux vigenitie, Comes Achilo et Nepanti ac Regalis Castri Ioannine Dominus”. See K. HOPF, *Chroniques Gréco-Romanes, Inédites ou peu connues*, Berlin, 1873, p. xxiv and p. 178; IDEM, *Geschichte Griechenlands vom Beginne des Mittelalters bis auf die neuere Zeit*, in J. S. ERSCH – J. G. GRUBER, *Allgemeine Encyclopädie der Wissenschaften und Künste*, Leipzig, 1867-1868, t. I, 356.

⁸⁶ See above, n. 50.

SUMMARY

This essay offers an analysis of the motive forces behind the artistic patronage of the Komnenos-Doukas family, which ruled the Byzantine State of Epeiros between 1204 and 1318. The analysis is grounded in a comprehensive examination of the archaeological and textual evidence concerning the activities of the Epeirote rulers in the domain of art and architecture. Special consideration is given to the ways in which the rulers promoted their political aspirations and expressed their desire to forge a Byzantine imperial identity in the newly established state in the wake of the Fourth Crusade and the fall of Constantinople in 1204. The final part of the essay focuses on the ideological background of the patronage of art in the late thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries. At that time, due to adverse political conditions, the Epeirote rulers were mostly concerned with the survival of their state, a situation reflected in the works they sponsored.

APPENDIX

1. Episkope Mastrou, Aetoloacarnania.

- + Τὸ[.....ἄδε]λφούς
 [.....στεφ]ηφόρους
 [.....]ηφορ[.....] ε[.....]ν πρὸς θρό-
 νον βασιλείας...δεσπο[ίνης Ἄν]νας φι[λενσεβε]στάτης με
 5 γάλης Κομνηνῆς [.....]δεσπ[ό]τη Θεοδ[ώ]ρ[ω καὶ Κ]ωνσταντίνω
 ἔ[κ μητρό]τητος πάντας [γέ]νει βασιλέω[ν]
 Κομνηνὸν Ἀλέ[ξιον] [τὸν] δοῦλον σὸν πάντως· εὐειδέεστα[τος] γὰρ
 <β[ασι]λείας [ἐσ]χά[της] (:)>

The [...] brothers [...] wearing crowns [...] towards the throne of the kingdom [...] of the mistress Anna the most reverent, the great Komnena [...] the despot Theodore and Constantine from motherhood all with royal descent Komnenos Alexios your servant in all ways; for the most beautiful of <the ultimate kingdom> (?)

2. Barnakoba, Aetoloacarnania, Church of the Dormition of the Virgin Mary.

- Ἦγαγεν ἡμᾶς ᾧδε θανάτου νόμ[ος]
]
 Σεβαστοκράτωρ· Ἄννα καὶ Κωνσταντῖν[ος]
]
 5 Καὶ λοῖσθον δ' αὐτὸν δεσπότην Κωνσταντῖνο[ν]
]
 [Π]ρὸ τῆς δίκης ρύσαι με τῆς καταδίκης
 [.....]

The [natural] law of death brought us here, [...] Sebastokrator, Anna and Constantine [...] and the last despot Constantine [...]. Before the trial save me from the condemnation [...]

Second fragment:

- [Τὸ πλήρωμα ἧ]νωσεν ἡμᾶς τοῦ χρόνου
 Κομνηνοδοῦκ[ας].....
συμ]περικλείει τάφοις·
 Ἀλέξιον μὲν.....
 5ἄ]νυμνεῖν τὴν εὐδοκίαν
 ὀτανπε[ρ] π[.....]β[.....]
]αναν οὐ κ[αὶ] νόων
 τῶν συμπλο[κῶν] γὰρ [.....].

[The fullness] of time joined us Komnenodoukas [...] encloses in tombs. Alexios [...] to praise the good will, whenever [...] not even of the struggle of the (evil) minds. For [...]

3. Dyrrachion (Durrës in Albania) castle tower (inscription no longer exists)

- Μαθών, θεατά, τίς ὁ πῆξας ἐκ βάθρων
 τὸν πύργον, ὄνπερ καθορᾶς, κτίσμα ξένον,
 θαύμαζε τούτου τὴν ἀριστοβουλίαν.
 Παῖς οὗτος ἀνδρὸς εὐτυχοῦς, Ἰω(άννου)
 5 σεβαστοκρατοῦντος, ἄνθους πορφύρας,
 Θεόδωρος μέγιστος ἐν στρατηγίαις,
 Δοῦκας Κομνηνός, εὐσθενής, βριαρόχειρ,
 Ἐχθρ(ο)ῖς ἀπροσμάχητος, ἀκάμας πόνοις,
 ἔτους τρέχοντος ἑξάδι μὲν χιλίων,
 10 σὺν τοῖς ἑκατὸν ἑπταδ[ι]κ[οῖ] ἐγκύκλοις,
 τριπλῆ δεκά[δι κ]αὶ μοναπλῆ τριάδι
 τρισκαιδεκάτης ἰνδικτιῶνος δρόμου
 λῆξιν φέροντος ἐν Θεῷ παντεργάτη.

Learning, beholder, who erected the tower from its foundations, [the tower] which you see, wonderful building, admire the wisest counsel [behind] it. This child of a happy man John, the Sebastokrator, the flower of the [imperial] purple, Theodore supreme in military command, Doukas Komnenos, firm, strong-handed. Unconquerable by enemies, resistant to pains, when the year ran through six times of thousands, with the sevenfold circles of hundreds, triple decades and a single triad, while the course of the thirteenth indiction came to an end in all-accomplishing God.

4. Embroidered red silk *aer* with the Virgin *orans*, in the collection of the National History Museum in Sofia.

Ὁ σάρκα λαβὼν ἐξ ἀπειράνδρου κόρης
 τρόποις ἀφράστοις, ὃ Θεοῦ πατρὸς λόγε,
 ἦν νῦν ὀρῶμεν ἀνθρώποις προκειμένην
 εἰς ἐστίασιν, κἄν πᾶσι παρ' ἀξίαν,
 δέξαι τὸ δῶρον ἐκ Θεοδώρου τόδε
 Κομνημοδούκα καὶ Δουκαίνης Μ[αρίας]
 Κομνηνοφουῶς τῆς καλῆς συζυγίας.
 ἀντιδίδου δὲ ψυχικὴν [σωτ]ηρίαν.

O Logos of God the Father, you who assumed the flesh from the virgin Maiden in an ineffable manner, the flesh which we now see displayed for nourishment to mankind, even though nobody is worthy of it, receive this gift from Theodore Komnenos Doukas and his fair wife, Maria Doukaina, of the lineage of the Komnenoi, and in return give salvation to their souls.⁸⁷

⁸⁷ The translation is taken from I. DRPIĆ, *Epigram, Art, and Devotion* [see n. 17], p. 276.

5. Arta, Blacherna monastery, inscriptions from sarcophagi.

a. Inscription from the first sarcophagus.⁸⁸

- Τὸ μαρτ[ύριον τοῦτο.....

].έωσι και βιώσκου[σι.....
 4τῶν] βροτῶν τῷ λαΐνω
 ..[.....
]τροφεῖ συγγαλύπτεσ[θαι.....
μα]θεῖν θέλεις
 8 ὁ λίθος οὗτ[ρος.....

]ους μένοντα τοῦ πορρ<ω>[τέρω
αῖ]ματος τῆς διπ[λόης
 12τῶ]ν περικλυτῶν σθένει
 Πέτρο[υ Ἀλίφα ἔκγονος στρατηγέτου
 πρόπαπ]πος αὐτοῦ Μανουῆλ αυτοκράτωρ
 [.....
 16πεν]θερὸς μέγας ἀναξ
 ἐπὶ δ' ἀδελφῆ γ[αμβρὸς.....
Μιχα]ῆλ Δού[κας
 ἀδελφιδεὺς Νικηφόρος
 20 σύνευνος Ἀν]νης δεσπότης δυσμοκράτωρ
 τοῖον [.....
ο]ς ὁ Πετραλίφας
 ἡ δ' ἀπλ[ότης.....
 24] διος ὡς θαυμασία
 ἡ δ' ἡλικία κ.[.....
] εὐψύχου θάρρους
 ἀρώ.[.....
 28] ἄθλον ἠνδρειωμένον
 μειλίχιον τὸ π[άθος.....
] πτεροῦ δίκην
 ζ..]ς δότης ἦν κεκλ[.....
 32]εν ἐκεῖνος ὡς δὲ καὶ τόσος
 γένος τιάρ[ρας.....

]κὸν τὸ σῶμα καὶ χει[.....
 36]ος τῷ ξίφει
 καὶ τόνδε λοῖσθον ἐκ λίθου πέρ[.....

]της εὐκλειαν ἦρ.[.....

⁸⁸ I do not provide an English translation of this inscription, since its preservation is very fragmentary.

- 40] εἰς βίον
σαλπυγίσαντος ἐσχάτως ἀρχαγγ[έλου
.....
.....
44
Δημη]τρίου μάρτυρος ἄλλων ἀγί(ων)
τῶν εὐαρέστων [.....
.....
48]

b. Inscription from the second sarcophagus.

- Ἀδελφεὸν τὸ χρῆμα τοῦτο τοῦ τάφου · [.....]
This grave is related to siblings · [.....]
ἡ ψαλμικὴ κέκραγε τοῦ Δα(βι)δ λύρα · [.....]
David's lyra that plays psalms announced · [.....]
πλὴν οὐκ ἀπεικὸς οἰ]δὲ τῇ φύσει ξένον · [.....]
but not unlikely nor strange to nature · [.....]
4 κἂν πικροδακρύφυρτος ἐστὶν αἰτία · [.....]
even if the occasion is mixed with bitter tears · [.....]
μήτηρ γὰρ ἡμῖν μία καὶ νηδὺς μία · εἰς φῶς παρῆξε[.....·]
For we have one mother and one maternal womb · brought (us) to light [.....]
Ἡ βασιλίσα Δούκαινα Θεοδώρα · [.....]
the basilissa Theodora Dukaina · [.....]
ἐν φιλότῃτι γνησιοστοργουμένη · [.....]
who sincerely loved in affection · [.....]
8 γῆ καὶ τάφος χωρεῖ με διπλῶ τῷ μόρῳ · [.....]
The earth and grave hold me with a twofold fate · [.....]
ἀρχαῖς ἀναλογοῦντος ἡμῖν τοῦ τέλους · [.....]
since the end for us corresponds to the beginning [.....]
καὶ κατάλληλον τοῦ θεανθρώπου φέρω · σ[ωτῆρος ἡμῶν Ἐμμ]ανου[ῆλ.....]
and I endure similar (fate) of the God-man · our S[aviour Emm]anuel.....
ἐνὸς γένους δῆλωσις ἀγνεῖας μίας · ἡ [.....] μανου[ῆλ.....]
The revelation of chastity of one gender · [.....] [.....]
12 Τὸ ψαλμικὸν πρόασμα τοῦ Δα(βι)δ μέλος · ὡς [.....] βαθὺν [.....]
Psalm prelude, the song of David · [.....] deep [.....]
ὡς ταυτοκοιτάσαιμι τῇ τάφου κλίνη · ζω[.....]ἐ]ντελου[.....]
lest I make my bed in the same way on the bearing of the tomb · [.....]
κατὰ μόνας οἰκήσομεν τῶν πν(ευμά)των · εω[.....]νεις φῶς [.....]
In the abodes of the angels we will live · [.....]
ἀνεσπέρου γῆς κοιλία τῆς πανδόχου · σω[.....]λα]ι τῷ πλαστ[ιγγί]φ
through the womb of the night-less, all receiving earth · up [.....]
16 φαεινὸμορφος τῷ πρὸς ἀέρα δρόμῳ · ἥξ[.....τ]τῶν βροτῶν [.....]
luminous figure of the course in the air · [.....] of the dead [.....]

6. Pantanassa monastery.

Inscription 1.

+ Ἐν Χριστῷ τῷ Θεῷ πιστός
 δεσπότης Κομνηνός Δούκας
 Ἀγγελώνυμος Νικηφόρος.

Nikephoros, faithful in Christ God despot Komnenos Doukas, bearing the name of angel.

Inscription 2.

Ἄννα ἐν Χριστῷ τῷ Θεῷ εὐσεβεστάτη
 Κομνηνοδοκῆνη ἡ Παλαιολογήνα.

.....

Anna Komnenodoukaina the Palaiologina, most pious in Christ God.

Inscription 3.

- + Ἡ παμβασιλις τοῦ Θεοῦ Μήτηρ λόγου
 ὡς ἐκ νεφῶν ὑπερθεν οὐρανοδρόμο<ς>
 π<λήθους> στρ<α>τηγῶ<ν ἀγγέ>λων ἀρχηγέτης
 κάτεισιν ἄνω τῷ στ<έφει> [κοσμη]μέ<ν>η
 5 τεχν<ου>ργικοῖς χρώμασιν ἱστορουμέν<η
 κ>όπος [...] ε[...]. εὐλαβ<εστά>τ<ο>υ
 τ<ρ>ισε<υκά>λων <τε> εὐαρεστάτων τύπω<ν>.
 [...] συντετα<γ>μέν<οι>
 ἰλῶς κροταφίζουσι <εὐσε>βε<ίς> πέρι
 10 ταῖς δεσποτικαῖς ἀξίαις ἐστεμμένοι
 τρόμφ παρ[ιστάμενοι]...
 <Κομ>νηνοδοκόβλαστ<ος> ἡ συζυγία
 σὺν <τ>οῖς νεθοῦσι εὐθαλεστάτο<ις> κλάδοις.
 Ἄμφω κρατοῦντες δεσπό<ται> κλη[...
 15 ...] σοὶ τὸ κράτος.
 Τα<ρσ>ῶ σκέποις ἄνασσα ἐν θεία δίκη
 [...]ς
 Νικ<ηφόρ>ω νέμο<υσα> πανσθένει σθένει
 μ[...]
 20 εἰς τὴν μό<νην εὐ>χιοιο [...].

The Queen of all (and) Mother of God the Logos,
 as if from clouds traversing the heavens,
 the leader of the multitude of angelic generals,
 is coming down from above adorned with the crown
 5 depicted with artful colours,
 work [...] of the most pious (painter ?)

- of the most gentle and well-pleasing images.
 ... arranged
 the pious crowned with the despotic dignities
 10 graciously around the temples
 with trembling are standing next ...
 the couple, offspring of the Komnenoi and the Doukai,
 with the flourishing offshoots spun in each other (?).
 Both despots holding ...
 15 ... to you the power.
 With your palm, o queen, protect at the divine judgment
 ...
 granting Nikephoros with an all-powerful strength
 ...
 20 You may pray at the only (?) ...

7. Arta, Monastery Paregoritissa.

Κομνηνοδούκας δεσπότης Νι[κηφ]όρος
 Ἄννα βασίλι[σσι]α Κομνην[οδούκαινα:]
 Κομνηνόβλαστος δεσπότης Θ]ωμᾶς μέγας
 Κομνην[ῶν κ]λάδος ἀ[γγελωνύμων].

Despot Komnenos Doukas Nikephoros, Anna, empress, Komnena Doukaina,
 the great despot Thomas, Komnenian offspring, branch of the famous Kom-
 nenoi, bearing the name of angel.

A FOURTEENTH-CENTURY ORATION ON THE DORMITION OF THE VIRGIN*

Matthew of Ephesos (1271/72-1355/60) belongs to the prominent scholars of the so-called Early Palaiologan Renaissance.¹ His literary output, mostly preserved in the autograph codex *Vindobonensis theologicus gr.* 174,² consists of: *i*) a large letter collection³ (which testifies to his acquaintance with other men of letters and influence of the same time such as Theodore Metochites and Nikephoros Choumnos), *ii*) theological treatises,⁴ *iii*) three treatises on Homer,⁵ *iv*) two hundred *Kephalaia* of moral/philosophical content,⁶ *v*) ten prayers,⁷ as well as a small number of rhetorical pieces: *vi*) two monodies,⁸ *vii*) a consolation,⁹ *viii*) an *ekphrasis* of the Easter festival,¹⁰ and *ix*) two speeches addressed to the emperor Andronikos II Palaiologos. Some years ago I published one of these speeches, viz. a laudatory address to the

* I would like to thank Dr. Nikolaos Zagklas (Wien) for his help with the consultation of codex *Vindobonensis theologicus gr.* 174.

¹ On Matthew of Ephesos, see PLP 3309 (with references to the older literature), as well as the extensive bio-ergographical study of S. KOUROUSIS, *Ματθῶν Γαβαλάς εἶτα Ματθαῖος μητροπολίτης Ἐφέσου (1271/72-1355/60). Α. Τὰ βιογραφικά*, Ἀθήνα, 1972.

² For the codex, see H. HUNGER – O. KRESTEN, *Katalog der griechischen Handschriften der österreichischen Nationalbibliothek, Teil 3/2. Codices theologici 101-200*, Wien, 1984, pp. 304-310. The first to notice that the manuscript is an autograph by Matthew was M. Treu in his essay *Matthaios Metropolit von Ephesos. Über sein Leben und seine Schriften (Programm des Victoria-Gymnasiums zu Potsdam)*, Potsdam, 1901, pp. 30, 34-35.

³ The collection has been edited by D. R. REINSCH, *Die Briefe des Matthaios von Ephesos im Codex Vindobonensis Theol. gr. 174*, Berlin, 1974.

⁴ See KOUROUSIS, *Ματθῶν Γαβαλάς* [see n. 1], pp. 164-167.

⁵ For Matthew's Homeric treatises, see KOUROUSIS, *Ματθῶν Γαβαλάς* [see n. 1], pp. 168-171, and R. BROWNING, *A Fourteenth-Century Prose Version of the Odyssey*, in *DOP*, 46 (1992), pp. 27-36.

⁶ For the *Kephalaia*, see A. ANGELOU, *Matthaios Gabalas and his Kephalaia*, in A. MOFFATT (ed.), *Maistor. Classical, Byzantine and Renaissance Studies for Robert Browning*, Canberra, 1984, pp. 259-268, and P. GÉHIN, *Les collections de Kephalaia monastiques. Naissance et succès d'un genre entre création originale, plagiat et florilège*, in A. RIGO, *Theologica Minora: The Minor Genres of Byzantine Theological Literature (Byzantios, 8)*, Turnhout, 2013, p. 28. These have been preserved in another autograph by Matthew, the codex *Oxonien-sis Burneianus* 114.

⁷ See KOUROUSIS, *Ματθῶν Γαβαλάς* [see n. 1], pp. 172-183.

⁸ For the monodies, see A. SIDERAS, *Die byzantinischen Grabreden. Prosopographie, Datierung, Überlieferung 142 Epitaphien und Monodien aus dem byzantinischen Jahrtausend (WBS, 19)*, Wien, 1994, pp. 265-269.

⁹ See KOUROUSIS, *Ματθῶν Γαβαλάς* [see n. 1], pp. 188-190.

¹⁰ See A. PIGNANI, *Matteo di Efeso, Racconto di una festa popolare. Ekphrasis per la festa di Pasqua*, Napoli, 1984.

emperor on the occasion of Matthew's recovery from an illness.¹¹ In the present article I will focus on the second speech, entitled *Address to the emperor on the occasion of the Dormition of the Mother of God*.

The text has been preserved on ff. 271^v-277^v of the *Vindobonensis*. Kourousis has established its date to August 1325, based on the evidence provided by Matthew's Ep. 19 to Joseph the Philosopher.¹² This letter bears testimony not only to the oral delivery of the speech in the presence of the emperor,¹³ but also to its circulation among scholars of that time,¹⁴ a practice quite common in the early Palaiologan period.¹⁵ Regarding the reasons for the composition of the oration, the author informs us that he was inspired by the emperor's devotion to the Virgin, which surpasses that of all emperors of the past;¹⁶ it is well attested that Andronikos II showed special interest for the worship of the Virgin Mary, dedicating the whole month of August to celebrations in her honour.¹⁷

The structure of the text runs as follows: in the Prologue (ll. 1-21) the author informs us about the occasion (cf. above) and the character of his speech: it is going to be a short address (l. 14: *σμικρόν τι προσφώνημα*), meant to celebrate the Dormition of the Virgin (ll. 15-16: *κατὰ γοῦν δύναμιν ἕξυμ<νοῦν> τὴν ἐκείνης δηλαδὴ μετὰστασιν ἕξ ἀνθρώπων*). Matthew also comments on the length of the text: he has tried to make it as

¹¹ See E. KALTSOGIANNI, *Die Lobrede des Matthaios von Ephesos auf Andronikos II. Palaiologos*, in *JÖB*, 59 (2009), pp. 107-126.

¹² See KOUROUSIS, *Μανουὴλ Γαβαλάς* [see n. 1], pp. 184-185. For Ep. 19, see REINSCH, *Briefe* [see n. 3], pp. 112-114.

¹³ Cf. Ep. 19, ll. 46-49: ὅς (sc. λόγος) οὐκ οἶδ' ὅπως, μήτε τῆ τοῦ θεοῦ μητρὶ μήτ' αὐτῶ γε τῶ θειοτάτῳ μοι βασιλεῖ ἱκανῶς ἔχων παρρησιάσασθαι, ὅμως τυγχάνει κατὰ σχολὴν τῆς παρὰ βασιλεῖ ἀκροάσεως τιμὴν κὰν τῶ τῷδε τῷ μέρει παρεχομένῳ τῆ πάντων τιμιωτέρῃ.

¹⁴ Cf. Ep. 19, ll. 54-59: περιφερόμενος (sc. ὁ λόγος) δ', ὡς ἔοικε, καὶ ἐξ ἑτέρου εἰς ἕτερον μετακλινοῦμενος, ὡσπερ φύσις τοῖς λόγοις, ἐπεὶ μὴ βασκάνῳ τινὶ περιέτυχεν ἕξολέσθαι, εὐτυχῶς μάλα καὶ κατ' εὐχὴν ἐμοὶ πρὸς σέ σέσωσται καὶ διὰ σοῦ δὲ αὖ πρὸς γε τὸ κέντρον, ὅθεν τὴν ἀρχὴν ὄρμηται, ἐμαυτὸν λέγω τὸν τούτου πατέρα.

¹⁵ For this practice, see A. KARPOZILOS, *Books and Bookmen in the 14th C. The Epistolographical Evidence*, in *JÖB*, 41 (1991), pp. 255-276, and recently I. TAXIDIS, *Μάξιμος Πλαυνόδης. Συμβολὴ στη μελέτη του corpus των επιστολῶν του (Βυζαντινὰ κείμενα καὶ μελέτες, 58)*, Θεσσαλονίκη, 2012, pp. 142-144.

¹⁶ Cf. ll. 1-10: ἐμοὶ μὲν, ᾧ μέγιστε βασιλεῦ, πολλῶν δὴ τῶν πάλα βασιλέων λογιζομένῳ τιμῇ, ὁπόσῃν εὖ ποιοῦντ<ες> λαμπρῶς δὴ μάλα καὶ φιλοτίμως τῆ τοῦ Θεοῦ Λόγου προσήγον μητρὶ, οὐδὲν πλέον τὸ κατ' ἐκείνους καὶ τὸ <σὸν δέ> τοῦτο περὶ τὴν παρθένον σέβας παρατιθέντι ἐ<φαίνε>το, ἀλλ' ἢ ῥανίς γε σμικρὰ πρὸς ἀμήχανον <μονον> οὐχὶ πέλαιος. Οὐκοῦν καὶ τῶν ἀτοπωτάτων ἐδό<κει οὐ>τω τοι σφόδρα βασιλέα τιμῶντα τὴν ὡς ἀληθῶς <τιμᾶσ>θαι ἀξίαν ἀκριβῶς ἐπιστάμενον, μὴ ἐκ τῶν δυ<νατῶν> ἐμοὶ τρόπων συνεπιλαμβάνεσθαι τοῦ πόθου, εἰθ' <όσα> μὲν φίλα, τῆ δὲ θεομητορὶ γένοιτ' ἂν πάντως <κεχ>αρισμένα, συνεισφέρειν ἐπὶ τῆ παρουσίᾳ τῆδε ἡμέρα.

¹⁷ Matthew himself testifies to this in his above mentioned Ep. 19 (l. 14-31). See also the old article of V. GRUMEL, *Le mois de Marie des Byzantins*, in *EO*, 31 (1932), pp. 257-269.

short as possible, so that the emperor neither rejects it as wordy nor resents it because of its length.¹⁸ At the end of the Prologue we find the *captatio benevolentiae*: it is the emperor's goodwill that gives the author the confidence to proceed with his enterprise.¹⁹

Moving to the main part of the speech, at first Matthew expresses his surprise over the death of the Virgin Mary: one wonders how the one who has surpassed even the angels with her virtue and has risen above everything mortal now lies dead, breathless and still (ll. 22-40). If she obeyed the laws of the mortals, it was only to prove herself equal to her Son, who also suffered death in order to ensure immortality for mankind (ll. 41-55); furthermore, it was a proof of her being not only mother of the New Adam, but also daughter of the old Adam, who was responsible for the fall of the man (ll. 55-63). Drawing upon the hagiographical tradition the author describes in the following the events of the Dormition: Mary's prayer at the Mount of Olives (ll. 99-114), the participation of the elements of nature, which pay tribute to her (ll. 115-125), the visit of the Apostles arriving on clouds from the distant corners of the earth and gathering around her death-bed (ll. 152-158), the angels coming down from Heaven along with Christ Himself in order to stand by the Virgin in her last struggle (ll. 158-174), the lament of the Apostles (ll. 175-200) and Mary's last precepts to them (ll. 201-211).

The Epilogue of Matthew's oration is built on an antithesis: on the one hand the author expresses his sorrow for the death of the Virgin (ll. 226-237), but on the other hand he finds a reason to celebrate, for being in Heaven Mary will intercede with God for his affairs (ll. 237-248).²⁰ In his final address to the emperor he expresses his wish that the Virgin should not only protect Andronikos from every possible disaster but also give him longevity along with a long reign (ll. 249-262).

The analysis of the content makes it clear that we are dealing with a rather typical Homily on the Dormition, which shares many common themes and motives with the relevant homiletic tradition. Nevertheless, in all probability the oration was delivered during a small gathering at the imperial palace, in the presence of the emperor and his immediate circle (cf. above) and not within a liturgical context. The text was meant for a restricted audience and does not seem to have been included in any surviving liturgical collection; it has not been registered in F. Halkin's

¹⁸ See ll. 16-19: καθόσ<ον> ἐξῆν τῷ λόγῳ συντετημένον, ὡς ἄν, μήτε τῷ μήκει παραρριφέν ἀπέλθῃ λελυπημένον, μήτε δὲ στερχθὲν αἰδοῖ τῆς γεννησαμένης τὸν τοῦ Θεοῦ Λόγον, βασιλέως <τηλικού>του λυπήσειεν ἀκοάς.

¹⁹ See l. 19: καὶ οἶδ' ὅτι εὐμενῶς ἄν δέξαιο, <θειό>τατε βασιλεῦ.

²⁰ Kourousis has suggested that Matthew alludes here to his conflict with the general Manuel Tagaris – see KOUROUSIS, *Μανουὴλ Γαβαλάς* [see n. 1], pp. 185 and 335-343.

Bibliotheca Hagiographica Graeca.²¹ In the following I will investigate the links between Matthew's oration and the homiletic tradition on the Dormition of the Virgin.

The feast of the Dormition was one of the feasts for the Virgin Mary that was established quite late, probably during the 6th century; it was the emperor Maurice (582-602) who extended its celebration on August 15th to the whole Byzantine empire.²² The 6th century also marks the beginning of the relevant hagiographical/homiletic tradition.²³ The earliest surviving accounts of the events of the Dormition in Greek are those attributed to pseudo-John the Theologian, both the version published by Tischendorf (*BHG* 1055-1056)²⁴ and the one published by Wenger (*BHG* 1056d),²⁵ that influenced later writers such as John of Thessalonica in the first half of the 7th century (*BHG* 1144-1144g; *CPG* 7924a-b);²⁶ before John of Thessalonica, probably in the second half of the 6th century, Theoteknos, bishop of Livias, composed a Homily *On the Assumption (sic) of the Virgin Mary*, where the encomiastic element prevails over the narrative of the events (*BHG* 1083n; *CPG* 7418).²⁷ At least ten Homilies on the Dormition survive from the period between the second half of the 7th and the first half of the 8th century: apart from an oration attributed to (pseudo) Modestos of Jerusalem (*BHG* 1085; *CPG* 7876),²⁸ we have the trilogies on the feast written by Andrew of Crete (*BHG* 1122, 1115, 1109-1109c; *CPG* 8181, 8182, 8183),²⁹ Germanos I of Constantinople (*BHG* 1119, 1135, 1155; *CPG* 8010,

²¹ See F. HALKIN, *Bibliotheca Hagiographica Graeca*, I-III (*SH*, 8a), Bruxelles, 1957³, and *IDEM*, *Novum Auctarium Bibliothecae Hagiographicae Graecae* (*SH*, 65), Bruxelles, 1984.

²² See R. F. TAFT – A. WEYL CARR, *Dormition*, in *ODB*, I, coll. 651-653; see also M. JUGIE, *La mort et l'assomption de la sainte Vierge. Étude historico-doctrinale* (*ST*, 114), Città del Vaticano, 1944, pp. 117-126.

²³ For the Byzantine homiletic tradition on the Dormition up to the 9th century, see TH. ANTONOPOULOU, *The Homilies of the Emperor Leo VI (The Medieval Mediterranean*, 14), Leiden – New York, 1997, pp. 171-172, and B. J. DALEY, *On the Dormition of Mary: Early Patristic Homilies*, Crestwood, NY, 1998, pp. 7-35.

²⁴ See C. TISCHENDORF, *Apocalypses apocryphae Mosis, Esdrae, Pauli, Iohannis, item Mariae dormitio, additis Evangeliorum et Actuum apocryphorum supplementis*, Leipzig, 1866, pp. 95-112. See also JUGIE, *La mort et l'assomption* [see n. 22], pp. 117-126.

²⁵ See A. WENGER, *L'Assomption de la T. S. Vierge dans la tradition byzantine du VI^e au Xe s.*, Paris, 1955, pp. 210-240 (text) and 17-67 (commentary).

²⁶ For the text and its different versions, see M. JUGIE, *Homélies mariales byzantines: textes grecs*, II (*PO*, 19), Paris, 1926, pp. 375-438 (text) and 344-374 (commentary); see also JUGIE, *La mort et l'assomption* [see n. 22], pp. 139-150, and WENGER, *L'Assomption* [see n. 25], pp. 31-65 (for its relationship with the apocryphon Wenger). On John of Thessalonica, see *PmbZ* 2858.

²⁷ See Θεοτέκνου ἐπισκόπου Λιβιάδος ἐγκώμιον εἰς τὴν ἀνάληψιν τῆς ἁγίας Θεοτόκου, ed. WENGER, *L'Assomption* [see n. 25], pp. 272-291 (text) and 96-110 (commentary).

²⁸ See *PG* 86/2, coll. 3277-3312.

²⁹ See *PG* 97, coll. 1045-1072, 1072-1089, 1089-1109.

8011, 8012)³⁰ and John of Damascus (*BHG* 1114, 1097, 1089; *CPG* 8061, 8062, 8063);³¹ for the orations of Andrew and John, we know that they were delivered in succession during a vigil service.³² In the late 8th – early 9th century Cosmas Vestitor composed a series of four Homilies on the Dormition, which share some common elements with the Homilies of Germanos I and have survived only in Latin (*CPG* 8155, 8156, 8157, 8158),³³ while a Homily on the feast can be found also among the works of Theodore Studites (*BHG* 1157).³⁴ From the following centuries up to Matthew's times we have texts written by the emperor Leo VI (*BHG* 1113),³⁵ John Geometres (*BHG* 1143c),³⁶ Symeon Metaphrastes (*BHG* 1048a),³⁷ John Mauropous (*BHG* 1094),³⁸ Theophanes Cerameus (*BHG* 1161),³⁹ and Neophytos the Recluse (*BHG* 1085n, 1103v).⁴⁰

Scholars have arranged the texts on the Dormition in two different categories: *i*) those following the tradition of the “Palm of the Tree of Life” and *ii*) those following the so-called “Bethlehem tradition”.⁴¹ To the first category,

³⁰ See *PG* 98, coll. 340-348, 348-357, 360-372.

³¹ See B. KOTTER, *Die Schriften des Johannes von Damaskos*, V, Berlin – New York, 1988, pp. 483-500, 516-540, 548-555.

³² See C. CHEVALIER, *Les trilogies homilétiques dans l'élaboration des fêtes mariales 650-850*, in *Gregorianum*, 18 (1937), pp. 361-378; see also ANTONOPOULOU, *The Homilies of Leo VI* [see n. 23], p. 99, and DALEY, *On the Dormition* [see n. 23], p. 16.

³³ For the edition of the texts, see WENGER, *L'Assomption* [see n. 25], pp. 313-333; see also the commentary on pp. 140-172.

³⁴ See *PG* 99, coll. 720-729. For its possible dating after 821, see DALEY, *On the Dormition* [see n. 23], p. 27.

³⁵ See TH. ANTONOPOULOU, *Leonis VI Sapientis imperatoris Byzantini Homiliae* (CCSG, 63), Turnhout, 2008, pp. 167-179.

³⁶ See WENGER, *L'Assomption* [see n. 25], pp. 364-414 (text) and 185-201 (commentary). See also TH. ANTONOPOULOU, *A Survey of Tenth-Century Homiletic Literature*, in *Parekbolai*, 1 (2011), pp. 25-26.

³⁷ See B. LATYŠEV, *Menologii anonymi byzantini saec. X quae supersunt*, Petropoli, 1912 (repr. Leipzig, 1970), pp. 372-376. This text forms the last part of a narration dealing with the whole life of the Virgin, which probably depends on the above mentioned work of John Geometres; cf. ANTONOPOULOU, *A Survey* [see n. 36], pp. 28-29, and CHR. HOEGEL, *Symeon Metaphrastes: Rewriting and Canonization*, Copenhagen, 2002, p. 204.

³⁸ See P. DE LAGARDE, *Iohannis Euchaitorum metropolitae quae in codice Vaticano Graeco 676 supersunt*, Amsterdam, 1979 (repr. Gottingae, 1882), pp. 147-160.

³⁹ See *PG* 132, coll. 1048-1060. This Homily is of hermeneutical character, focusing on the reading of the day.

⁴⁰ The texts have been edited by A. SAKELLARIDOU-SOTIROUDI, in *Ἁγίου Νεοφύτου τοῦ Ἐγκλείστου Συγγράμματα*, V, Πάφος, 2005, pp. 128-143 (= Hom. V on the Dormition), and B. KATSAROS, in *Ἁγίου Νεοφύτου τοῦ Ἐγκλείστου Συγγράμματα*, II, Πάφος, 1998, pp. 291-294 (= Catechesis XX) respectively.

⁴¹ See M. VAN ESBROECK, *Les textes littéraires sur l'Assomption avant le Xe siècle*, in F. BOVON *e.a.* (éd.), *Les actes apocryphes des apôtres: christianisme et monde païen*, Genève, 1981, pp. 265-285, esp. 165-276 (= M. VAN ESBROECK, *Aux origines de la Dormition de la Vierge. Études historiques sur les traditions orientales* [Variorum Reprints], Aldershot, 1995, no I), and ST. J. SHOEMAKER, *Ancient Traditions of the Virgin Mary's Dormition and Assumption*, Oxford, 2002, pp. 32-57.

named after a certain “palm” that the angel gives to Mary at the announcement of her death, belong the apocryphum edited by Wenger, the narration of John of Thessalonica, the third Homily of Germanos I, as well as the texts of Cosmas Vestitor, John Geometres, and Symeon Metaphrastes. The second category comprises the texts that are more or less related to the apocryphum edited by Tischendorf, such as the Homily of pseudo-Modestos of Jerusalem and those by Andrew of Crete, John of Damascus, and Theodore Studites. Of course, there are texts with a strong rhetorical character and no narrative elements, such as the Homily of Leo VI, which cannot be classified into any of the above categories because they lack any influence from the apocryphal texts.⁴² Matthew’s oration belongs rather to the first category: although it does not make reference to the “palm”, it shares another common narrative element with the texts of this family, viz. the prayer of the Virgin at the Mount of Olives with the participation of the elements of nature.⁴³ Common in the texts of both families is the reference to the Apostles gathering from the ends of the earth and arriving on clouds at Mary’s house,⁴⁴ as well as to Christ descending from Heaven in the company of the angels;⁴⁵ both of these elements reappear in Matthew’s oration, as we have seen in the analysis of its content.

⁴² Cf. ANTONOPOULOU, *The Homilies of Leo VI* [see n. 23], p. 172 and n. 85.

⁴³ This narrative element appears only in the apocryphum Wenger (see WENGER, *L’Assomption* [see n. 25], p. 212.4-8) and in the depending narratives of John of Thessalonica (see JUGIE, *Homélies mariales* [see n. 26], II, pp. 379.18-21 and 407.15-19) and John Geometres (see WENGER, *L’Assomption* [see n. 25], pp. 364.26-366.2). It is difficult to determine which of these texts was Matthew’s source in this case, for there are no strong word reminiscences, but the narration of John of Thessalonica may be the most likely candidate, for it was the text with the largest manuscript tradition among the three; for the manuscript tradition of this text, see JUGIE, *Homélies mariales* [see n. 26], II, pp. 349-357, WENGER, *L’Assomption* [see n. 25], pp. 26-27, and S. C. MIMOUNI, *Dormition et assomption de Marie: histoire des traditions anciennes (Théologie historique, 98)*, Paris, 1995, pp. 140-144.

⁴⁴ Cf. e.g. apocryphum Tischendorf, pp. 97.10-12 and 99.1-100.2; apocryphum Wenger, pp. 218.12-14 and 222.15-23; Theoteknos of Livias, p. 272.10-12; John of Thessalonica, pp. 386.4-16, 388.2-6 and 26-28, 414.26-37 and 417.2-5; pseudo-Modestos of Jerusalem, coll. 3300A10-3308A1; Germanos I, Hom. II, col. 357B6-C3 and Hom. III, col. 365B6-10; Andrew of Crete, Hom. I, coll. 1065B8-1068A5; John of Damascus, Hom. I, § 4.7-8 and 9.19-24, and Hom. II, § 6.2-18; Theodore Studites, col. 724B4-14; John Geometres, pp. 366.10-11 and 370.10-17; Symeon Metaphrastes, p. 373.17-18; John Mauropous, p. 153.28-35; Neophytos the Recluse, Hom. V on the Dormition, p. 137.287-292, and Cat. XX, p. 293.56-57.

⁴⁵ Cf. e.g. apocryphum Tischendorf, pp. 103.2-7 and 107.11-108.6; apocryphum Wenger, pp. 230.17-232.17; John of Thessalonica, pp. 395.33-396.25 and 425.3-18; pseudo-Modestos of Jerusalem, coll. 3296C9-3300A7, 3305C2-8 and 3308A1-10; John of Damascus, Hom. I, § 4.6-18 and 9.18-19, and Hom. II, § 6.27-34 and 10.1-4; Theodore Studites, col. 728A9-B10; John Geometres, pp. 376.27-378.4; Symeon Metaphrastes, p. 373.15-16; John Mauropous, p. 148.24-27; Neophytos the Recluse, Hom. V on the Dormition, pp. 130.63-65, 132.123-134.163, 140.320-142.377, and Cat. XX, p. 293.57-59.

Other themes shared by Matthew's oration and the earlier homiletic tradition on the Dormition⁴⁶ include the author's surprise as to the death of the Virgin and his effort to explore the reasons for it,⁴⁷ as well as the reference to Old-Testament *typoi* of Mary.⁴⁸ The second motive is incorporated into the lament of the Apostles that are gathered around Mary's death-bed; in the earlier oration of Theodore Studites the references to Old-Testament *typoi* form also part of the salutations that the Apostles address to the Virgin: this is an interesting parallel between the two texts, although it cannot serve as proof of any further affiliation.

Matthew of Ephesos

καὶ ὁ <μὲν> „ποῖ δὴ πορεύῃ, κιβωτὲ Θεοῦ“ ἀνωλόλυζεν· ὁ δὲ, „ποῖ μετατίθεσαι, ἐπουράνιε κλίμαξ“ ἔβόα· ἄλλος, „οἷ<μοι>“ μετὰ κραυγῆς ἀνεκώκυνεν, „εἰ σοῦ γε ἀ<πολειφθεῖν> τῆς μεγάλ>ης τοῦ Θεοῦ σκηνῆς ἔρημος“· καὶ ὁ μὲν τις „φεῦ“ <ῶμωζεν> „εἰ ἐξαρθεῖ ἡ τράπεζα τοῦ τῆς ζωῆς ἄρτου“· „καὶ <ῆ στάμ>νος οὐχ' εὐρεθεῖ τὸ νοητοῦ μάννα“ προσανεκλαί<ετο ἔτερο>ς· ὁ δὲ, καὶ τὴν νέαν τοῦ Θεοῦ πλάκα, ἐκ γῆς ἀφηρημένην <ἐθρήνει>· καὶ ἄλλος

Theodore Studites

Ἄλλ' οἶα πρὸς αὐτήν, εἴτε ἀφ' ἑαυτῶν, εἴτε παρὰ τῶν προφητικῶν στομάτων ἐκλεξάμενοι οἱ μακάριοι ἀπόστολοι; Χαίροις, φησί, κλίμαξ ἐστηριγμένη ἀπὸ γῆς εἰς οὐρανόν, δι' ἧς ἡ καθ' ἡμᾶς κάθοδος, καὶ ἡ εἰς οὐρανοῦς ἄνοδος γέγονε τοῦ Κυρίου, κατὰ τὸν μέγαν πατριάρχην Ἰακώβ ... Χαίροις, λυχνία χρυσοειδέστατε καὶ φωτοφόρε, ἐξ ἧς περιέλαμψε τοῖς ἐν σκότει καὶ σκιᾷ θανάτου καθημένοις τὸ ἀπρόσιτον φῶς τῆς θεότητος, κατὰ Ζαχαρίαν τὸν θεσπέσιον. Χαίροις, τὸ

⁴⁶ For some basic themes of the sermons on the Dormition, see ANTONOPOULOU, *The Homilies of Leo VI* [see n. 23], p. 172; these include the reasons for Mary's death, her reception in Heaven, the invitation to David for the use of his prophecies, the correlation with the ark of Moses, the presentation of Mary as "second Eve", and her protection of the Christians.

⁴⁷ See II. 22-63. Cf. Andrew of Crete, Hom. I, coll. 1052C5-1057C6 and Hom. II, coll. 1081B3-1084B4; Germanos I, Hom. I, col. 345CD; John of Damascus, Hom. II, § 2.48-53 and Hom. III, § 3.19-25 and 4.41-43; Leo VI, pp. 168.46-169.56. In most cases Mary's death is presented as a parallel to the death of Jesus, i.e. as proof of her consubstantiality with her Son, both in His human and divine nature; as Matthew puts it, the Virgin had to prove that she was both daughter of the Old Adam and mother of the New one (see. above, p. 173). For a similar approach cf. John of Damascus, Hom. II, § 2.48-53: ἡ γὰρ τοῖς πᾶσι τὴν ὄντως ζωὴν ἀναβλύσασα, πῶς θανάτῳ γένοιτ' ἂν ὑποχείριος; Ἄλλ' εἶκει τῷ τοῦ οἰκεῖου τόκου θεσμοθετήματι καὶ ὡς θυγάτηρ μὲν τοῦ πάλαι Ἀδάμ τὰς πατρικὰς εὐθύνas ὑπέρχεται, ἐπεὶ καὶ ὁ ταύτης υἱός, ἡ αὐτοζωή, ταύτας οὐκ ἀπηνήνατο, ὡς δὲ Θεοῦ ζῶντος μήτηρ ὑπάρξασα πρὸς αὐτὸν ἀξίως ἀνακομίζεται, and Hom. III, § 4.41-43: ἰδοὺ ἡ παρθένος, ἡ θυγάτηρ Ἀδάμ καὶ μήτηρ Θεοῦ, δι' Ἀδάμ τὸ σῶμα παραπέμπει τῇ γῆ, τὴν δὲ ψυχὴν οὐρανόις σκηναῖς διὰ τὸν υἱὸν ἀναδίδωσιν.

⁴⁸ See II. 179-191. Cf. pseudo-Modestos of Jerusalem, col. 3289A1-B8; Andrew of Crete, Hom. I, col. 1069A1-B7 and Hom. III, col. 1105A5-B5; John of Damascus, Hom. I, § 8.24-51 and Hom. III, § 2.1-11; Theodore Studites, coll. 725B1-728A6; John Geometres, p. 412.13-19.

τὴν λυχίαν τοῦ οὐρανοῦ φωτὸς
κατασβεν<νυμένην> ὄρων, ἐστέναζεν·
ἔστι δὲ ὄς, τὸ μέγα τοῦ Θεοῦ ὄρος ἐξ
οὗ <λίθος ἐτμ>ήθη Χριστός, εἰς γῆν
πίπτον ᾠδύρετο· καὶ ἀπεκλαί<ετο
ἕτερος τ>ῆν ῥᾶβδον συντριβομένην, ἧ
Θεὸς συντέτριφε <δυνάμεις
π>ονηροτάτας· καὶ τίς ἂν εἶδεν ἄλλον
διωλύ<γιον ἀνακε>κραγότα, καὶ „μὴ
σύ γε τὸ τοῦ Θεοῦ ἱλαστήριον“
<λέγοντα> „ὦ παρθένε, ἐξ ἀνθρώπων
γένειο ...

παγκόσμιον ἱλαστήριον τῶν βροτῶν,
δι' οὗ ἀπὸ ἀνατολῶν ἡλίου καὶ ἕως
δυσμῶν τὸ ὄνομα Κυρίου δεδόξασται
ἐν τοῖς ἔθνεσι καὶ ἐν παντὶ τόπῳ
θυμίαμα τῷ ὀνόματι αὐτοῦ προσάγεται
κατὰ Μαλαχίαν τὸν ἁγιώτατον.
Χαίροις, ἱερά βίβλος τῶν προσταγμά-
των Κυρίου, καὶ ὁ νεοχάρακτος νόμος
τῆς χάριτος, δι' ἣν τὰ ἄρεστά Θεῶ,
ἡμῖν γνωστά ἐστι, κατὰ Ἰερειμῖαν τὸν
πολυθρηνώτατον ... Χαίροις, τὸ
ἀλάξευτον χειροῦνηλότατον ὄρος ἐξ
οὗ ὁ ἀκρογωνιαίος ἀποτεμνῆται λίθος,
κατὰ Δανιὴλ τὸν θεολογικώτατον.

In terms of style, the oration is quite similar to what we know from the other works of Matthew, especially his letters. There is a balance between narrative and encomium, which gives the impression of a fairly “moderate” use of rhetorical devices; nevertheless, we find quite a few of them, such as anaphora (cf. e.g. l. 30: κεῖται νεκρά, κεῖ<τ>αι δ' ἄνους, κεῖται δ' ἀκί-
νητος, and 46-55: οὐκοῦν ἔδει θανεῖν ... <Ἐδει τὴν> τᾶλλα πάντα
κρείττω πάσης ἀποδεδειγ<μένην φθορᾶς> ... Ἐδει τὴν ἐκ τοῦ παντός
γένους), anastrophe (cf. e.g. l. 48-49: κρείττω πάσης ἀποδεδειγ<μένην
φθορᾶς>, φθορᾶ γε ὑποπεσεῖν, 74-75: μηδὲν ἁμαρτοῦσα ἐν μηδενί,
μηδέ τι φλαῦρον, 114: μητρὶ φίλῃ, φίλον ὀφθῆναι υἱόν, 131: καὶ
διατάγματα τελευταῖα, καὶ ὁ τελ<ευ>ταῖος ἀγών, 207: ὄρᾶν τὴν
μητέρα, εἰ <τὰ τῆς μητρὸς> ἔχοιεν ἀπομνημονεύματα), asyndeton
(cf. e.g. l. 195-197: προσεφύοντο· προσέπιπτον· ἠντιβόλουν· ἐποτνιῶ-
ντο· κρασπέδων μονοῦ καὶ σκίμποδος ἀντελαμβάνοντο), figura ety-
mologica (cf. e.g. l. 86: ἐπὶ τῷ θανάτῳ τοῦ <ἀθανάτου> υἱοῦ, 169:
ἁχωρήτως ἐκεῖνον χωρήσαντα, 178: ἄλλοθεν ἄλλος, 193: ἀβίωτα
βιοῦν), homoioteleuton (cf. e.g. l. 24: <ἦς ἀθαν>ασία οικεία, 111-112:
νῦν μὲν ταῖς ἐξ ἐκείνων ὑγρότησιν ἐξαπα<λυνθ>ῆναι, νῦν δὲ γονάτων
συνεχέσι κλίσεις κατακοιλανθῆναι, 165-166: καὶ ὑ<πε>στέλλοντο>
αὔθις· καὶ προσήεσαν αὔθις), homoiarchon (cf. e.g. l. 68-69: διττὰ δῆπου,
and 156: συνεξελαύνοντος ἐκείνου καὶ συνεκπέμποντος); the text also
acquires liveliness with the use of rhetorical questions (cf. e.g. l. 26-45,
64-70, 72-76, 84-88, 95-99, 115-117, 212) and direct speech (cf. the words
of the Apostles cited above). As for Matthew's sources, the references are
almost exclusively made to the Scriptures – this is, of course, due to the
subject of the oration – and there is only one phrase derived from Homer

(ll. 191-192: ὀρφανικὸν ἤμαρ), in whom the author shows a special interest in his various writings.⁴⁹

In what follows I offer the *editio princeps* of the oration, based on the single codex that has preserved it. The folios on which the text survives are badly damaged by humidity in the inner margins, so that the reading of some passages is possible only with the use of a UV-lamp;⁵⁰ passages that I have restored this way are given in angle brackets. Since we are dealing with the author's autograph, I have tried to keep as close to the original punctuation of the manuscript as possible, according to the modern trend in the editing of Byzantine texts;⁵¹ the same applies to the accentuation of the enclitics and the divided or joint writing of certain words.⁵²

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ZUSAMMENFASSUNG

Der Aufsatz beschäftigt sich mit einer bisher unedierten Rede des Matthaïos von Ephesos (1271/72-1355/60) auf das Fest der *Koimesis*. Der Text wird im Rahmen der diesbezüglichen homiletischen Tradition untersucht, so dass seine möglichen Quellen bzw. Modelle bestimmt werden. Darauf folgt die *editio princeps* der Rede auf der Basis des Kodex *Vindobonensis theologicus gr.* 174, welcher ein Autographon des Autors ist.

⁴⁹ Cf. REINSCH, *Briefe* [see n. 3], pp. 11-17, as well as Matthew's treatises on Homer discussed above.

⁵⁰ I have consulted the manuscript *in situ* in July 2008.

⁵¹ I have analysed the "rules"/peculiarities of Matthew's punctuation in a previous article; see KALTSOGIANNI, *Die Lobrede des Matthaïos von Ephesos* [see n. 11], pp. 115-117. I follow the same principles in the present edition. For the most recent discussion on modern editorial practices, see the articles in the volume *From Manuscripts to Books. Vom Codex zur Edition. Proceedings of the International Workshop on Textual Criticism and Editorial Practice for Byzantine Texts (Vienna, 10-11 December 2009)*, ed. A. GIANNOULI – E. SCHIFFER, Wien, 2011.

⁵² In this vein, I have opted for readings such as προσβραχὺ instead of πρὸς βραχὺ, δεινὰ instead of δειν' ἄττα, παραδόξαν instead of παρὰ δόξαν etc. I have also kept up with the "rule" followed by many Byzantine authors/scribes and adopted by Matthew as well, according to which δὲ with elision is regarded as enclitic. Cf. KALTSOGIANNI, *Die Lobrede des Matthaïos von Ephesos* [see n. 11], pp. 114-115.

Προσφωνητικὸς εἰς τὸν βασιλέα ἐπὶ τῇ κοιμήσει τῆς <Θεο>μήτορος

1. Ἐμοὶ μὲν, ὃ μέγιστε βασιλεῦ, πολλῶν δὴ τῶν πάλαι βασιλέων
 λογιζομένῳ τιμῆν, ὁπόσην εὖ ποιοῦντ<ες> λαμπρῶς δὴ μάλα καὶ
 φιλοτίμως τῇ τοῦ Θεοῦ Λόγου προσῆγον μητρί, οὐδὲν πλέον τὸ κατ'
 ἐκείνους καὶ τὸ <σὸν δὲ> τοῦτο περὶ τὴν παρθένον σέβας παρατιθέντι
 5 ἐ<φαίνε>το, ἀλλ' ἢ ῥανίς γε σμικρὰ πρὸς ἀμήχανον <μονον>ουχὶ
 πέλαγος. Οὐκοῦν καὶ τῶν ἀτοπωτάτων ἐδό<κει οὐ>τω τοι σφόδρα
 βασιλέα τιμῶντα τὴν ὡς ἀληθῶς <τιμᾶσ>θαι ἀξίαν ἀκριβῶς ἐπιστάμε-
 νον, μὴ ἐκ τῶν δυ<νατῶν> ἐμοὶ τρόπων συνεπιλαμβάνεσθαι τοῦ
 πόθου, εἴθ' <ῥσα> μὲν φίλα, τῇ δὲ θεομήτορι γένοιτ' ἂν πάντως
 10 <κεχ>αρισμένα, συνεισφέρειν ἐπὶ τῇ παρούσῃ τῆδε ἡμέρα. Καὶ δὴ
 τοῦτο ποιῶ. Εἴη δ' ἂν, οὐχ' ἄπερ ἂν τις οἰηθείη τῶν ἐκ τῆς ὕλης του-
 τῶνι παρεσχημένων τὴν εἰσφορὰν καὶ ἀνθρωπεῖαν ἐπιθυ<μίαν> ἀνα-
 πιμπλάντων, ἀλλὰ θεῖαν τὲ καὶ ἀθάνατον, καὶ τῇ σῆ φύσει καὶ
 προαιρέσει μάλιστα πρέπουσαν. Ἔστι γ<ὰρ> σμικρόν τι προσφώνημα
 15 κατὰ γοῦν δύναμιν ἐξυμ<νοῦν> τὴν ἐκείνης δηλαδὴ μετάστασιν ἐξ
 ἀνθρώπων, καθόσ<ον> ἐξῆν τῷ λόγῳ συντετημένον, ὡς ἂν, μήτε τῷ
 μήκει παραρριφέν ἀπέλθη λελυπημένον, μήτε δὲ στερχθὲν αἰδοῖ τῆς
 γεννησαμένης τὸν τοῦ Θεοῦ Λόγον, βασιλέως <τηλικού>του λυπή-
 σειεν ἀκοάς. Καὶ οἶδ' ὅτι εὐμενῶς ἂν δέξαιο, <θειό>τατε βασιλεῦ, μὴ
 20 ὅτι τὰ τῆς τιμῆς κἀντεῦθεν συναύξων τῇ θεομήτορι, ἀλλ' ἤδη καὶ
 σεαυτῷ τὸν πόθον, ἡρέμα <προσ>μαρτυρῶν. Ἔχει δέ, ᾧδε.

2. Οἶον δὴ τοῦτο πρᾶγμα <τοῖς> ὀφθαλμοῖς ὄρῳ, κράτιστε βασιλεῦ,
 ὅτι μὴ τῆς θνητῆς <μόνον> ὁ θάνατος κρατεῖν ἐπιέγεται φύσεως,
 ἀλλὰ καὶ <ῆς ἀθαν>ασία οἰκεία, οὐδενὸς τῶν ἐκ μεταβολῆς ἐπιχω-
 25 ρι<άζοντος>! Ἐπιχειρεῖ γὰρ καὶ ταύτη γε παρεισδύναι, τὸ μέγα <του>-
 το κακὸν> καὶ πάντολμον ἐν ἀνθρώποις. Ὅποτε γὰρ ἢ φανείσα <καὶ
 οὐρανῶν> αὐτῶν εὐρυχωρότερα, καὶ πάννυ τοι μικροὺς <αὐτοὺς ἐ>λέγ-
 ξασα τῷ μεγέθει, ἀποκρύψασα δὲ <καὶ τὰς ἀγ>γελικὰς ἀξίας τῇ ἀρετῇ,
 πολλῶ δὲ τῷ διαφέροντι, καὶ τῶν ἀνωτάτω θρόνων ὑπερκαθίσασα,
 30 κεῖται νεκρά, κεῖ<τ>αι δ' ἄπνους, κεῖται δ' ἀκίνητος, πῶς οὐκ ἐπὶ
 τοῦτο συντεῖ<νει> πάντα ἐκπλήττεσθαι λογισμούς, καὶ θνητὰ γε
 ἄντικρυς λογίζεσθαι καὶ τὰθάνατα; Εἰ γὰρ οὐδὲν τοπαράπαν ἀνθρώ-
 πινον <οὐ>δὲ γηγενές τι φρόνημα παρόλον τὸν αὐτῆς ἔχει <δ>εἷξασα

5-6 ῥανίς – πέλαγος: locus communis; cf. e.g. Theod. Stud. *Cat. Magna*, or. 56 (p. 400.14-15 PAPADOPOULOS-KERAMEUS) et Arethas *In Armeniorum litteras* (p. 57.32-33 WESTERINK)

9 ῥσα dubitanter legi: an ἃ σοὶ scribendum?

14 τι V add. supra lineam

βίον, οὐκουν οὐδ' ὅσον ἐνθυμηθῆναι, οὐδέ τινα παρέσχε λαβήν, οὔτε
 35 πρώτοις νόμοις τοῖς ἐκ τῆς φύσεως, <οὔτε τ>οῖς μετ' ἐκείνους ὕστε-
 ρον ἐκφανείσι, καὶ τῶν ὑστάτων δὲ τούτων καὶ τελευταίων, πρώτων
 δ' οὖν ὅμως τῷ ἀξι<ώματι>, αὐτὴ δῆπουθεν ὑπῆρξεν αἰτία εἰς ἡμᾶς
 πολιτεύε<σθαι>, καὶ πλεῖν ἢ πάντες καὶ ἔπραξε καὶ ἐφύλαξε, ἢ τίνα
 λοιπὸν τὸ κατ' αὐτὴν οὕτω θείας μοίρας μετ<εσχηκός> κἂν ὁποσοῦν
 40 τῷ θανάτῳ παρέσχε πρόφασιν, <ἀν>αιδῶς καὶ κατ' αὐτῆς εἰσπηδῆσαι;
 Ἦ ταῖς μὲν τοιαύταις αἰτίαις οὐδαμῶς φανεῖσα ὑπεύθυνος, ὅμως ἄλλ<ον
 γέ> τίνα τρόπον ἐχρῆν τῷ κατὰ βουλὴν ἀπορρήτως ἐξ ἀ<ὐ>τῆς γεν-
 νηθέντι, μὴ ταυτὰ μόνον καὶ ζηλωσαὶ <καὶ> πρᾶξαι, ἀλλὰ ταυτὰ γε
 καὶ κατὰ τὴν φύσιν π<αθεῖν καὶ> τοῖς αὐτοῖς ὅροις στέρξαι, ὁποίοις
 45 ἐκεῖνος ἐκ<ὼν ἐνέμεινεν>;

3. Οὐκοῦν ἔδει θανεῖν, καὶ τὰς αὐτὰς ἐκείνω, καὶ <τῆ κοινῇ δὲ>
 φύσει τοῦ θανάτου πύλας ἰέναι, ἵνα κἂν τού<τω τὸ τη>λικούτου παι-
 δὸς εἶναι μήτηρ, ἐαυτῇ βεβαιώσῃ. <Ἔδει τὴν> τᾶλλα πάντα κρείττω
 πάσης ἀποδεδειγ<μένην φθορᾶς>, φθορᾷ γε ὑποπεσεῖν, εἰ καὶ προσ-
 50 βραχὺ τι <πάνυ καὶ> ὅσον αἴσθησιν θανάτου λαβεῖν, ὅπως ἄρα δεῖξῃ
 πᾶ<σιν> ἀνθρώποις καὶ δυνάμεσι θειοτέραις, ὡς τοῖς ὅλοις ἔχ<κει τῷ>
 παιδί κατακολουθήσασα, καὶ οὔτ' ἀπᾶδον τι βι<οῦσα> τῆς κατ' ἀνθρω-
 πον Θεοῦ πολιτείας δέδειχεν, οὔτ' αὖ ἄλλό <τι> πρὸς τέλος τοῦ ζῆν
 ἤκουσα, πάντα δ' ὅμοια καὶ κοι<νὰ> καὶ ὡς οἶόν τε ἀνθρωπεῖα φύσει
 55 ἐξωμοιωῦσθαι τὰ <ὕπερ> ἀνθρωπον. Ἔδει τὴν ἐκ τοῦ παντὸς γένους,
 μίαν καὶ πρῶ<την> καὶ τελευταίαν ἀξίαν φανεῖσαν Θεοῦ διακονῆσαι
 βουλ<ῆ>, καὶ δὴ καὶ γενέσθαι μέσον δὴ τίνα ὄρον πρὸς <γε τὸ> συνη-
 φθαι θεῖα καὶ ἀνθρώπινα πράγματα, μὴ δὴ <καὶ> μίαν ὡσανεὶ τίνα τῶν
 ἐκ τοῦ γένους, ὄρον ἄλλον <ὕπερβαλλέσθαι> πάλαι κατὰ τῆς φύσεως
 60 δεδογμένον, περὶ τελέ<ως ἔξ>ω φθορᾶς καὶ δουλείας τὸ κτιστὸν δὴ
 τοῦτο γένος <γεν>έσθαι, ἀλλὰ καὶ δειχθῆναι ὡσπερ μήτηρ τοῦ νέου
 Ἀδάμ, <οὔ>τω δὲ καὶ τοῦ παλαιοῦ θυγάτηρ Ἀδάμ, ἐξ οὐπερ ὁ θάνατος
 ὡς ἀπὸ πηγῆς τινός, <καθ'> ἡμῶν ἔρρευσεν.

4. Ἐπεὶ δ' ἔδει πάντα κατὰ τὸν υἱὸν <πεπονθέ>ναι, πότερον καὶ
 65 σταυρὸν ἔδει τὸν αὐτὸν ὑποστῆναι <ὡς ἂν τῷ> δόξειεν ἴσως, καὶ στέ-
 φανον ἐπὶ κεφαλῆς τὸν ἐξ ἀκαν<θῶν, καὶ> ὄξος μετὰ χολῆς, καὶ δὴ

65-66 στέφανον – ἐξ ἀκανθῶν: cf. Matth. 27.29; Marc. 15.17; Ioan. 19.2
 μετὰ χολῆς: cf. Matth. 27.48; Marc. 15.36; Luc. 23.36; Ioan. 19.29

66-67 ὄξος

63 ὡς ἀπὸ πηγῆς τινός V add. in margine

καὶ κάλαμον ὑπὸ χειρῶν παλα<μνα>ιοτάτων, αἱ καὶ δόρυ κατὰ πλευ-
 ρᾶς ἴσασι τείνειν, καὶ <θαυμα>τουργεῖν ἀβουλήτως ἀπὸ νεκροῦ, διττὰ
 70 δῆπου <ρέυματα>, πρὸς δέ, καὶ χλαῖναν διαρρηγνῦναι, καὶ <κληροῦν>, αἶ
 μὴ δ' ἀρχὴν εἰκὸς ἦν κληροῦσθαι; Οὐδ' ἂν εἷς εἴποι, εἰ καὶ ταμάλι-
 στα καὶ τοῦτ' ἄρα τῆ παρθένῳ κατὰ γνώμην ὑπῆρχε, καὶ κατ' οὐδὲν
 τῶν δεινῶν τῷ τοῦ παιδὸς ἐλλείπειν προουθυμεῖτο θανάτῳ. Πῶς γὰρ εἰ
 οὕτω καὶ τὰ κατ' αὐτὴν ἐξεχωρεῖτο γενέσθαι, οὐ δις ἂν ἔμελλε καὶ
 75 ἀμαρτοῦσα ἐν μηδενί, μηδὲ τι φλαῦρον καὶ πρὸς τοιοῦτον θάνατον
 φέρον, παρὰ τὸν αὐτῆς δεῖξασα βίον; Ὡς δὲ δις ἔμελλε ταυτὰ δῆπου
 πείσεσθαι, μαρτύριον ὁ κατὰ προαίρεσιν ἐπινοημένος ταύτῃ <σταυ-
 ρός>, ὅπερ ἑαυτὴν ὀξέσιν ἡλοῖς φιλοσοφίας καὶ μακρᾶς γε ταλαιπω-
 ρίας προσπερονήσασα, ἰ ὄρθιον ἀεὶ καὶ τεταμένον εἶχε τὸ σῶμα
 80 νύκτωρ καὶ μεθημέραν, καὶ χεῖρας, εἰ μὴ ἐπὶ σταυροῦ <ἠπλω>μένας,
 ἀλλ' οὖν, ἄνω που καὶ αὐτὰς τεταμένας, ἐπὶ σωτηρίᾳ τῆ τοῦ παντός·
 ἔτι, καὶ τὸ κερνᾶν πόμα μετὰ κλαυθμοῦ, καὶ συνεχέσι κατερράνθαι
 τοῖς δάκρυσι>, οὐδενὶ λελειμμένοις εἰς γεῦσιν ὄξους καὶ σπο<γγιᾶς>.
 Εἰ δὲ> μὴ καὶ λόγῃς ἀπείρατον ἐχρῆν ἀπολελεῖ<φθαι τὸ παρ>θени-
 85 κὸν αὐτῆς σῶμα, ἄρ' οὐ τὸ ῥομφαίαν <ἐλάσαι τὴν> αὐτῆς πρόσθεν
 καρδίαν ἐπὶ τῷ θανάτῳ τοῦ <ἀθανάτου> υἱοῦ, καὶ τοῦτο διὰ παντός γε
 τοῦ βίου πάσ<χειν ἐνθυμου>μένην, οὐκ ἴσον ἐκεῖνῳ παραπολὺ τίς <ἂν
 κρίνειεν>;

5. Οὐκοῦν, ταῦθ' ἅπαντα τὰ τοῦ πάθους δηλονότι <σύμβολα> τοῦ
 90 Θεοῦ, ἱκανῶς γε προεπεπόνθει γενναίως μάλα <καὶ> καθ' ἡσυχίαν·
 καὶ περιέργον ἐδόκει, δις εἰς πείρ<αν> ἰέναι τῶν οὐδενὶ τῶν πρώτων
 διαφερόντων. Ἐπεὶ δὲ <τὸν κοινῆ> κατὰ τῆς φύσεως θάνατον ἀφειμέ-
 νον, ἀλλ' οὐ τὸν βί<αιον> ἐχρῆν ὑποστῆναι, ἐπανίσταται καὶ κατ'
 αὐτῆς λοι<πὸν> τὰ στοιχεῖα, βουλομένης ὥσπερ καὶ παραχωρού-
 95 σ<ης> καὶ τὴν διάζευξιν προκαλουμένης τοῦ σώματος. <Ἄλλὰ> τίνα
 πρότερον ἀνδρίας ὑπερβολὴν καταλέλοιπε, τοῖς <καὶ> μάλα γενναι-
 οτάτοις; ποίας δὲ μετριοφροσύνης <οὐκ> ἐξήνεγκε δείγματα; ἐπει-
 κὲς δὲ τί τῶν ἀπά<κτων> ὑπῆρχε φρόνημα, ὃ μὴ παρέδειξεν <ἐν τῷ>
 τέλει τοῖς οὕτω ζῆν ἡρημένοις; ἰ Αἰσθημένη γὰρ <σμικρ>ὸν ὄσον

67 κάλαμον – παλαμναιοτάτων: cf. Matth. 27.29; Marc. 15.17-19 67-69 αἱ καὶ δόρυ
 – ρεύματα: cf. Ioan. 19.34 69-70 χλαῖναν – κληροῦσθαι: cf. Matth. 27.35; Marc. 15.24;
 Luc. 23.34; Ioan. 19.23-24 78-79 ἡλοῖς – προσπερονήσασα: cf. Plato *Phaedo* 83d: ὅτι
 ἐκάστη ἡδονὴ καὶ λύπη ὥσπερ ἦλον ἔχουσα προσηλοῖ αὐτὴν πρὸς τὸ σῶμα καὶ προ-
 σπερονᾷ 82 κερνᾶν – κλαυθμοῦ: cf. Ps. 101.10 83 ὄξους καὶ σπογγιᾶς: cf. Ioan.
 Chrys. *Ep. ad Olympiadem* 7, 4.41-42 (p. 150 MALINGREY): τί δὲ ὅτε τῆ σπογγιᾷ χολῆν καὶ
 ὄξος ποτίζοντες ἐνεπαροῖουν αὐτῶ; 85-86 ῥομφαίαν – καρδίαν: cf. Luc. 2.35

- 100 ἐπιόντα τὸν θάνατον, καὶ ἤδη κατα<κλονου>μένη τῇ νόσῳ, οὐκ αὐτίκα οἶον εἰκὸς ἐξυπτιάζει <ἐπὶ> τῆς κλίνης, οὐδέ γε τὰ τῆς θεραπείας ἐπιζητεῖ· ἀλλὰ καὶ τελευταίους ἀγῶνας ἐπιθεῖναι φιλονεικοῦσα τελευταίαις πνοαῖς, καὶ οἶον ἀνταγωνιζομένη τῷ πάθει, <εἰς ὄρος> μεταφοιτᾷ, ἔνθα παννύχιον εἰς γῆν κλίνουσα <γόνυ σὺν> πολλῷ γε
- 105 καὶ θερμότερῳ τῷ πνεύματι, καὶ οἶῳ μηδέπω <πρότερον>, ἐκείνα Θεὸν ἐξιλάσκειται καταδεομένη, ἅπερ <ἂν τις καὶ> τῶν πολλῶν, θανάτου δέει ληφθεῖσα, καὶ δικαστήρια τὰ<εἰσε καὶ δεινάττα φόβητρα καταδείσασα <διὰ πονηρ>ίαν. Ὅμως μέντοι δι' ἐπιείκειαν, εὐχαῖς ταῖς ὑπὲρ <αὐτῆς καὶ> τοῦ παντός, προσανέχει, καὶ δάκρυα πλεῖστα
- 110 <ὄσα γε> ἐπιχει, τοσοῦτῳ γε πλεῖστα, ὡς καὶ αὐτὸ δῆπου <τοῦδαφ>ος, νῦν μὲν ταῖς ἐξ ἐκείνων ὑγρότησιν ἐξαπα<λυνθ>ῆναι, νῦν δὲ γονάτων συνεχέσει κλίσει κατακοιλανθῆναι. Οὐ μὴν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἄνω τὲ αἶρει τὸ ὄμμα μετὰ τῆς ψυχῆς, κάτω Θεὸν αὐτὸν ἐπισπεύδουσα ἤξειν καὶ μητρὶ φίλῃ, φίλον ὀφθῆναι υἱὸν πρὸς τὸ θανεῖν ἐπισπευδομένη.
- 115 6. Ἄλλ' οἷα τάντευθεν συνέβη, θαυμαστὰ οἷα καὶ καθάπαξ εἰπεῖν ἀνθρωπίνους φεύγοντα λογισμούς, τί χρῆ λέγειν; ἢ τίς καὶ ὄψωσθαι ἀξίως ἐρεῖ; Κορυφὰς γὰρ αὐτῇ τὰς σφετέρας, οὕτω δῆπου γονυπετούση, τὰ δένδρα προσέκλινεν ἐπὶ τοῦ ὄρους, ἀντιγονυπετοῦντα | καὶ αὐτὰ ἐν τῷ μέρει, καὶ οἶον μετ' αἰδοῦς τινος ἀν<τιπροσκυ>νοῦντα,
- 120 οὐκουν, οὐδ' αὐτὰ τῆς λογικῆς φύσεως ἀ<ξιούντα> ἀπολελεῖσθαι, ἀλλὰ καὶ νόμος ὡσανεὶ γινόμενα <τῶν> ἀψύχων τοῖς ἄλλοις, ἴν' ὡσπερ Θεὸν τοῦ παντός ὑμνοῦσι <καὶ> βασιλέα ἀλαλήτοις φθόγγοις αἰσθήσεως δαβιδικῶ <κελεύ>σματι πεπεισμένα, οὕτω δὲ καὶ Θεοῦ μητέρα ἐκ <τῶν αὐτῶν> καὶ τὴν βασιλέως τιμὴν ἐκ τῶν δικαίων, καὶ
- 125 <τῆ βασιλίδι> προσφέρωσιν.
7. Ἄλλ' ἐπεὶ μὴ συναπελθεῖν ἐκ<εἶσε ταῖς ἰε>ραῖς λιταῖς εἰκὸς ἦν, μὴ δ' εἰς τοῦτο μόνον προ<οχωρῆσαι> τὰ τέρατα, ἀλλὰ καὶ μείζω τοῖς πᾶσι καὶ περιφ<ανέστερα τὰ> μετὰ ταῦτα δειχθῆναι, ὡσπερ δῆπου καὶ πα<ραπολὸν λαμ>πρότερα ἐξεφάνη, οἷκος λοιπὸν αὐτὴν ἔχει <καὶ κλίνη> καὶ φίλων καὶ θεραπεινίδων, ἢ τῷ καιρῷ προσ<ήκουσα> θεραπεία. Καὶ δὴ, καὶ διατάγματα τελευταῖα, καὶ ὁ τελ<ευ>ταῖος ἀγών, ὁ μέγας καὶ τοῦ παντός μέγιστος, ὁ τῆς <ψυχῆς> καὶ τοῦ σώματος· ἦσαν γὰρ ὡσπερ ἐν πολέμῳ ἀντικ<ατα>στάντα ἀλλήλοις, τὸν βίαιον τῆ

122-123 ὡσπερ Θεὸν – πεπεισμένα: cf. Ps. 68.35, 148.1ff. | ἀλαλήτοις φθόγγοις: cf. Greg. Nys. *Dialogus de anima et resurrectione* (PG 46, 25A13-B1): βοᾷ γὰρ ἄντικρυ τὸν ποιητὴν ἢ κτίσις, αὐτῶν τῶν οὐρανῶν, καθὼς φησιν ὁ Προφήτης, ταῖς ἀλαλήτοις φωναῖς τὴν δόξαν τοῦ Θεοῦ διηγούμενων

φύσει παραλῦσαι <σύν>δεσμον, καὶ πρὸς τοὺς ἰδίους ἐκάτερον δια-
 135 στήναι τόπ<ους>. Ἔνθα γίνεται τι τῶν ἀπορρήτων, φρικτὸν δὲ ταμά-
 λι<στα> καὶ εἰπεῖν καὶ ἀκοῦσαι, καὶ ταυτὸ μονονουχί τῷ κα<θόλου>
 τοῦ παντὸς κλόνῳ, ὃν ἐπ' ἐσχάτων δηλαδὴ τῶν αἰ<ώνων> χρησμοί
 τινες παλαιοὶ τε καὶ νέοι, ἐκ τῶν ἀδύτων εἰλ<η>φότες τοῦ Θεοῦ
 μυστηρίων, διαρρήδην φασὶν ἔσε<σθαι> μόνον τῇ κοινῇ κτίσει, καὶ
 140 οὐκ ἄλλῳ τῷ <τῶν πάντων | μεταστοι>χειουμένη ἐπὶ τὸ θεϊότερον
 πρέποντα· ὃν οὐδὲν <ἔλαττον> κὰν τῷ παρόντι καὶ τῇ μητρὶ
 μεταστοιχειουμένη <πρέ>πειν Θεὸς ἡγησάμενος, ἅτε καὶ αὐτῇ νέγα
 γενομένη <κτίσει> τῶν εἰς ἡμᾶς γε καταπραχθέντων, πολλῶ κρείττο-
 145 νότων, ὁμοῦ δὲ κάκεινον ἐκ τῶν τῆδε πρ<οοιμια>ζόμενος, πάντα
 δήπου παρὰ μικρὸν τὰ <τῆς μεγάλ>ης ἐκείνης καὶ φρικτῆς αὐτοῦ
 παρουσίας, κὰν<θάδε συ>γχωρεῖ γίγνεσθαι.

8. Καὶ δὴ λοιπὸν ἐπὶ τῷ τηλι<κούτῳ ἀγῶ>νι τῆς θεομήτορος,
 ὥσπερ σάλπιγγος διάτορον κεκραγίας εἰς κοινήν τινα <θέαν ἢ κ>τί-
 150 σις ἀπανταχόθεν ἐγείρεται πᾶσα, καὶ ἀμιλλᾷ<ται καθ' ἐ>αυτήν, τί ἂν
 τῶν τοῦ παντὸς μερῶν, ἀπαντή<σειε π>ρῶτον, καὶ τὴν βασιλίδα δορυ-
 φορήσειεν ἐπὶ <τούς> οὐρανίους θαλάμους. Γῆ μὲν οὖν κάτωθεν
 ἐκπέμπει τοὺς ἀποστόλους, ὀχήματα δανεισαμένους τὰς ὑποπτέρους
 νεφέλ<ας>, αἷς ἐπικαθεσθέντες οἱ τῆς οἰκουμένης τρισαραιστεῖς, πτη-
 155 νοὶ τινες ἐξ ἀνθρώπων γίνονται· καὶ ἀκαρῆ τέμνουσι λοιπὸν τὸ τοῦ
 ἀέρος διάστημα συνεξελαύνοντος ἐκείνους καὶ συνεκπέμποντος οἷά
 τινος γραμμᾶς ἐκ τῶν περάτων τῆς γῆς, ὡς ἐπὶ κέντρον τὸν παρθενι-
 κὸν οἶκον, τοῦ ἐν αὐτοῖς πνεύματος. Καὶ οὐδ' οὐρανὸς αὐτὸς οὔμε-
 νον ἀπελείπετο τῆς μεγάλης ταυτησὶ τοῦ παντὸς συνόδου, μὴ ἀπορ-
 160 ρήτως <τάς> ἀγγελικὰς δυνάμεις ἄνωθεν καταπέμψαι· ἠδίικει γὰρ ἄν.
 Ἄλλὰ τὸν ἔμψυχον τουτονὶ καὶ μέ<γιστον καὶ> μόνον χωρητικὸν τῆς
 θεότητος τιμῶν οὐρανόν, ὅλας παρατάξεις, ἐκεῖ καθήσιν. Αἱ δέ,
 θᾶττον ἰοῦσαι, <καὶ τὸ> μέγα χρῆμα θεώμεναι τὴν παρθένον, ἐθαύ-
 μαζ<ον>· ἐξε>πλήττοντο· εὐλαβῶς μάλα καὶ σὺν πολλῶ δέει, ἐξ<η-
 165 ρεύ>νων ὡς εἶχε σχήματος καὶ μορφῆς· καὶ ὑ<πεστε>λλοντο> αὐθις·
 καὶ προσήεσαν αὐθις, διχῆ μεριζόμεν<αι θάρσει τὲ καὶ> δειλία· τὸ
 μὲν, τῇ φύσει τολμῶσαι· τὸ δ<ὲ πά>σχουσαι> τῷ μεγέθει τοῦ ἀξιώ-
 ματος· οὐδὲ γὰρ εἶχον <μὴ φρίττειν> τὸν ἐπὶ γῆς κατασκευασθέντα
 τοῦ Θεοῦ Λόγ<ου> θρόνον, καὶ> ἀχωρήτως ἐκείνον χωρήσαντα, προ-
 170 σορῶσ<αι>. Ἄλλο τούτων> ἀπορρητότερον, καὶ πολλῶ δὴ μέγιστον,

149 ὥσπερ σάλπιγγος διάτορον κεκραγίας V add. in margine
 ter legi: an ἄλλ' ὁ scribendum?

170 ἄλλο dubitan-

συ<γκάτεισι ταῖς> οὐρανίαις ταύταις ἀξίαις, καὶ Θεὸς αὐτός, ὀψόμενος <τὴν μητέρα> καὶ τὸ τοῦ θανάτου πικρὸν παραμυθησόμενος· καὶ γίνεταί > ὁ ταύτης οἶκος, ἀπάσης νοεῤῥᾶς καὶ αἰσθητῆς <κτίσεως> οἰκητήριον, ὥσπερ δῆτα καὶ αὐτὴ πρότερον Θεοῦ οἰκη<τήριον>.

- 175 9. Ἐπεὶ δ' οὕτω πάνυ κοσμίως εἶχε καὶ μεγαλοπρεπ<ῶς> τάκεισε τελούμενα, καὶ ὡς οὐκ ἂν τις πλέον ἐνθυμηθεῖ<η>, μέ>γιστος ἦρτο τοῖς ἀποστόλοις κλαυθμός, τὸ μέγα τοῦ <Θεοῦ σκευ<ος> > ἐκ γῆς αἰρόμενον βλέπουσιν. Οὐκοῦν καὶ ἐκόπτον<το> ἄλλοθεν ἄλλος κύκλω τὴν κλίνην διαλαβόντες· καὶ ὁ <μὲν> „ποῖ δὴ πορεύῃ, κιβωτὲ Θεοῦ“ ἀνωλό-
- 180 λυζεν· ὁ δέ, „ποῖ μετατίθεσαι, ἐπουράνιε κλίμαξ“ ἐβόα· ἄλλος, „οἴ<μοι>“ μετὰ κραυγῆς ἀνεκώκυνεν, „εἰ σοῦ γε ἀ<πολειφθεῖν | τῆς μεγάλ>ης τοῦ Θεοῦ σκηνῆς ἔρημος“· καὶ ὁ μὲν τις „φεῦ“ <ᾤμωζεν> „εἰ ἐξαρθείῃ ἢ τράπεζα τοῦ τῆς ζωῆς ἄρτου“· „καὶ <ἢ στάμ>νος οὐχ' εὐρεθείῃ τοῦ νοητοῦ μάννα“ προσανεκλαί<ετο ἕτερος>· ὁ δέ, καὶ τὴν
- 185 νέαν τοῦ Θεοῦ πλάκα, ἐκ γῆς ἀφηρημένην <ἐθρήνει>· καὶ ἄλλος τὴν λυχνίαν τοῦ οὐρανοῦ φωτὸς κατασβεν<νυμένην> ὀρῶν, ἐστέναζεν· ἔστι δὲ ὅς, τὸ μέγα τοῦ Θεοῦ ὄρος ἐξ οὗ <λίθος ἐτμ>ήθη Χριστός, εἰς γῆν πίπτον ὠδύρετο· καὶ ἀπεκλαί<ετο ἕτερος τ>ὴν ῥάβδον συντριβομένην, ἧ Θεὸς συντέτριφε <δυνάμεις π>ονηροτάτας· καὶ τίς ἂν εἶδεν
- 190 ἄλλον διωλύ<γιον ἀνακε>κραγότα, καὶ „μὴ σύ γε τὸ τοῦ Θεοῦ ἰλαστήριον“ <λέγοντα> „ὦ παρθένε, ἐξ ἀνθρώπων γένοιο, μὴ δ' ὀρφανικὸν ἡμᾶς <ἡμαρ ἄγειν> ἀνάσχοιο· συνεκκόμιζε δὲ τοὺς σοὺς παῖδας, εἰ <οἷόν τε>, οὐκέτ' ἀνεχομένους ἀβίωτα βιοῦν ἐπὶ τῷ σῶ <χωρισμ>ῶ“· Ταῦτ' ἀνακλαίοντες οἱ ἀπόστολοι, καὶ συχνοῖς <δάκρυ>σι τὴν
- 195 κλίνην βάλλοντες, ὥσπερ παῖδες μητρὸς <τε>λευτώσης προσεφύοντο· προσέπιπτον· ἠντιβόλουν· ἐποτιῶντο· κρασπέδων μονοῦ καὶ σκίμπος ἀντελαμβάνοντο· πάνθ' ὅσα τοσοῦτου θησαυροῦ ζημίαν ἀποδυρομένους εἰκός, ἃ μὲν ἔλεγον ἅ δ' ἐποίουν, καὶ οὐδὲν μέλος θρήνου, ὃ μὴ νῦν μὲν καθ' αὐτοῦς, νῦν δ' ἀ<θρ>οοὶ καὶ κατὰ χορείαν,
- 200 ἠρμόζοντο ἕκαστοι.

179-186 κιβωτὲ – φωτὸς: cf. e.g. Hebr. 9.2-4 180 ἐπουράνιε κλίμαξ: cf. Gen. 28.12-15 187 τὸ μέγα – Χριστός: cf. Dan. 2.45 188-189 τὴν ῥάβδον – πονηροτάτας: cf. Exod. 7.9-12, 19-20; 8.1-2, 12-13 191-192 ὀρφανικὸν – ἡμαρ: cf. II. 22.490 193 ἀβίωτα βιοῦν: locus communis; cf. e.g. Aristoph. *Plutus* 969 et Eurip. *Hippolytus* 821

10. Ἐπεὶ δ' οὐκ αἰεὶ <θ>ρηνεῖν ἦν, ἐπὶ ξυροῦ γὰρ εἰστήκει τὰ τοῦ θανάτου, καὶ ἄλλο τι <τοῦ> καιροῦ προσαναγκάζοντος δρᾶν, ὠπέποτε πεπαυμένοι τελευταίων ἀξιοῦσιν ἐπακοῦσαι ῥημάτων, ἐκ τῶν ἱερῶν ἢ ἐκείνων χειλέων, ἃ δὴ συνήδεσαν εἰς τὸν <ἐξῆς αὐτοῖς> συντε-
 205 λέσοντα βίον, καὶ ἅμα δ' ὅπως ἂν ταῦτ' <ἔχοιεν ἀντί> κλήρων πολυταλάντων, ὅποι γῆς εἰσιν ἢ θαλάτ<της περι>φέροντες, αὐτὴν δὴ νομίζοντες ὄρᾶν τὴν μητέρα, εἰ <τὰ τῆς μητρὸς> ἔχοιεν ἀπομνημονεύματα. Ἦ δ' αὖ, καὶ μάλα <δὴ πρό>θυμος καὶ ὠσανεὶ μήτηρ φιλόπαις πάντα πα<σι γνησίοις> εἰδυῖα χαρίζεσθαι, ὅσα τὲ αὐτῇ προσῆκεν εἰ<πεῖν
 210 κἀκείνοις> ἀκοῦσαι, ἐπέσκηψε καὶ κατενουθέτησ<ε καὶ περὶ τοῦ> μέλλοντος, χρηστὰς ὑπέτεινε τὰς ἐλπίδας.

11. <Τὸ δὲ μετὰ> τοῦτο, τί; Οὐκ ἀλλοτριῶν οὐδαμῶς γε κατα<δεη-
 θεῖσα χειρῶν> εἶ στείλασθαι καὶ κατὰ κόσμον διαταθῆναι, κ<ἀν
 215 τοῦτω δὲ> καὶ μάλα τὸ μέτριον φυλάξασα καὶ σεμνὸν <ὥσπερ ἐκ
 προ>νοίας μελετηθέν, αὐτὴ πρὸς τὰ ἀναγκαῖα ἑαυτῇ διη<κόνησε>·
 καὶ δὴ τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς μύσασα, συμπτύξασα δὲ <καὶ τὰ> θεωρηήμονα
 χεῖλη, τὰς δὲ χεῖρας ἐπιθεῖσα τῷ στή<θει δι>' ἀλλήλων ἠγμένας καὶ
 πόδας δὲ τοὺς ἀχράντους <διατεῖ>νασα εὐσθενῶς, ταῖς τοῦ μονογε-
 220 νουῦς ἀγκάλας, <ὡ Θεοῦ μυ>στηρίων, ψυχὴν τὴν ἀγίαν ἐντίθησι, καὶ
 πέρας τοῦτο τῷ <κατ' αὐ>τὴν τίθησι βίῳ. Τότε δὴ συμμιγῆς τις ἐγγεί-
 ρετ<αι> θροῦς ἔνθεν μὲν ἀγγέλων ἁδόντων τὰ ἐπιτάφια, καὶ <τὴν> εἰς
 οὐρανοὺς πομπὴν τῆς βασιλίδος διαπονουμένων, μετ<ὰ λαμ>πρῶν γε
 πάνυ τῶν φώτων, ἔνθεν δὲ τῶν ἀποστόλ<ων καί> τῶν ἄλλως ἐκεῖσε
 225 συνειλεγμένων πόθῳ τῆς θεομήτο<ρος>, θρῆνος καὶ μέλος ἕτερον καὶ
 κλαυθμὸς τις ἀ<παράμιλλος ἢ τῷ παντί>.

12. Καὶ τὰ μὲν κατὰ τὴν παρθένον, οὕτω πως <εἶχε καὶ τοι>αύτης
 τετύχηκε τελευτῆς· ἦν εἰ προσῆκεν <ἐν τῷ παρό>ντι τῆς ἡμέρας
 ἐκείνης καὶ τῶν τότε γενομένων πρ<αγμ>άτων, ὡς εἰκός, ἀπομνημο-
 230 νεύοντας, στένειν τὲ καὶ <δακρύ>ειν, καὶ τὴν νῦν ταύτην ἡμέραν, πέν-
 θους ὑπόθεσιν <τίθεσθαι>, καὶ ἁσμάτων μᾶλλον ἐπιταφίων, ἢ ἠδονῆς,
 <οὐδὲν ἴσως> χεῖρον τῶν ἀποστόλων ἐργαζομένων, εἰδεῖεν <ἂν οἱ

201 ἐπὶ ξυροῦ: proverbium; cf. Zenob. prov. III 47 (vol. I, p. 69 LEUTSCH – SCHNEIDEWIN); Diogen. prov. coll. cod. Mazar. IV 41 (vol. I, p. 238 LEUTSCH – SCHNEIDEWIN) et coll. cod. Vind. II 63 (vol. II, p. 28 LEUTSCH – SCHNEIDEWIN); Mantis. prov. I 56 (vol. II, p. 753 LEUTSCH – SCHNEIDEWIN); Greg. Cypr. prov. II 50 (vol. I, p. 362 LEUTSCH – SCHNEIDEWIN) et coll. cod. Mosq. III 23 (vol. II, p. 112 LEUTSCH – SCHNEIDEWIN); Mac. Chrys. prov. IV 7 (vol. II, p. 166 LEUTSCH – SCHNEIDEWIN); Mich. Apost. prov. VI 100 (vol. II, p. 392 LEUTSCH – SCHNEIDEWIN); Matth. Eph. *Laudatio Andronici II Palaeologi* 122 (p. 121 KALTSOGIANNI) 205-206 κλήρων – πολυταλάντων: cf. Lucian. *De mercede conductis potentium familiaribus* 27.14-17 (vol. III, p. 460 HARMON): εἰ καὶ μάγον ἢ μάντιν ὑποκρίνασθαι δέοι τῶν κλήρους πολυταλάντους καὶ ἀρχῆς καὶ ἀθρόους τοὺς πλοῦτους ὑπισχνουμένων

μᾶλλον> ἔμοῦ κατὰ τοὺς ἀποστόλους ζῆν ἡρημένοι <καὶ πάντα τὰ>
 τῶν ἀνδρῶν ἐκείνων ἀντὶ νόμων προστησάμενοι. <Κἀγὼ δ' οὐχ' ἦ>τ-
 235 τον τῇ γνώμῃ ταύτῃ τιθέμενος ἀλλ' οὐδαμῶς γε <ἀποστατῶν>, θρηνῶ
 μὲν (καὶ πῶς γὰρ οὐ;) τὰ τελευταῖα <νῦν ἄντικ>ρυς ὑπνοῦσαν ὄρων,
 τὴν αἰεὶ ζῆν οὖσαν ἀξίαν, <καὶ τὸν πάν>τα δὲ χρόνον, οὐδὲν δέον ἐξ
 ἡμῶν οἴχεσθαι. <Ὅμως μέ>ντοι, ἄνω που τὸν νοῦν εἰς οὐρανοὺς ἀπε-
 ρείσας, <καὶ κατα>θρήσας, ταύτην δὴ τὴν παρ' ἡμῶν θρηνουμένην,
 <κύ>κλω δορυφορουμένην ὑπὸ ταγμάτων ἀπειρων, <καὶ> μέντοι καὶ
 240 παρισταμένην τῷ μονογενοῦς θρόνῳ καὶ αἰεὶ γ' ἐντυγχάνουσαν, ὥσπερ
 ἐξ ἀπάσης τῆς κτίσεως <εἰς> κοινήν τινα πρεσβείαν ἀπεσταλμένην,
 ὅσα φέρει πειρασμῶν τινων λύσιν καὶ χρηστῶν χορηγίαν ἡμῖν <ἐ>ξ-
 αιτεῖσθαι, τούτῳ γε αὐθις τῷ τρόπῳ, αἰεὶ δὴ χαίρω· καὶ μάλα δὴ χαίρω·
 καὶ χαίρων, πάντ' ἐκεῖθεν εἰς ἡμᾶς <ἤξιν> τὰ χρηστὰ κατελπίζω, κἂν
 245 εἰ πλείστας ἐτῶν <περιό>δους <τὰ τῆς> ταφῆς τῆς παρθένου πανηγυ-
 ρίσαιμι, | τοῦτ' ἔχων τοῖς λογισμοῖς, ἡδονῆς ἔσομαι <πλήρης καὶ>
 θάρσους ὑποπλησθήσομαι, οὐδὲν ἕτερον ἔσσεσθαι δοκῶν> τὰ τῆς
 ἐορτῆς, ἀλλ' ἢ λύσιν ὀργῆς, καὶ κακῶν παρισταμ<ένων> ἀπαλλαγῆν.
 Καὶ σὲ δὲ βούλομαι, βασιλεῦ ἅγιε, τὸν ἐμ<οῦ> καὶ πάντων ἀνθρώπων
 250 πλέον ἐπὶ τῇ παρθένῳ καὶ ζῶντα <καὶ> πνέοντα, καὶ σὺν αὐτῇ καὶ
 βουλευόμενον καὶ ποι<οῦντα καὶ> οὐδὲν ὅτιπερ εἶη τῶν ἀπάντων καὶ
 εἰς χεῖρας <ἠκόντων> ἢ ὡς ἐκείνη βούλεται πάντα διατιθέντα, αὐτὰ
 <δὴ ταῦτα διανο>εῖσθαι τῆς ἡμέρας εἵνεκα. Οὐκοῦν καὶ χαί<ρειν
 εἴπερ ποτὲ> νῦν· καὶ ᾠδὰς τε καὶ κρότους τοὺς θειοτέρους <ἀντὶ θρη-
 255 νων> ἀλλάττεσθαι τῶν ἐπιταφίων, ἐκεῖνα τῆς <παρθένου> τῇ νῦν ἡμέ-
 ρα, εὖ ἴσθι, διαπραττομένης, <οἷα δὴ πάντως> ἔσται πικρίας μετα-
 βολή, καὶ δεινῶν τῶν ἐπι<κειμένων> ἐλευθερία. Εἴθε δὲ καὶ τῷ σῶ
 βίῳ καὶ κρά<τει προσθή>κη χρόνων σὺν εὐθυμίᾳ, ὁπόσῃν ἂν τις τὰ
 σὰ <φιλῶν> εὐξαιτο· καὶ ναὶ δὴ τοῦτο γένοιτο θαῦμα πρὸς το<ῖς
 260 ἄλλοις> τῇ θεομήτορι, ὡς ἂν δήπου καὶ θανοῦσα τὸ ζῆ<ν χαρί>ζηται
 παραδόξαν, καὶ τὸν αἰῶνα σοὶ τόνδε μ<ετὰ> τῆς βασιλείας συμ-
 παρατείνειη.

... AND MSTISLAV WAS GIVEN THE CITY OF ASCALON.
COULD THE RUSSIAN PRINCE HAVE BEEN
THE VICEROY OF THE BYZANTINE EMPEROR MANUEL I
IN THE HOLY LAND?

THE EVIDENCE OF THE IPAT'EV CHRONICLE

Under the year 1163 the Ipat'ev Chronicle (Hypatian Codex) reports that the prince of Vladimir-Suzdal, Andrej Bogoljubskij, exiled to Byzantium his stepmother, the second wife of Jurij Dolgorukij and probably the relative of Manuel I Komnenos.¹ Her three sons were exiled with her. The emperor granted lands to two of them. Prince Mstislav Jur'evič received control over the Palestinian city of Ascalon (“O(т)скалана”).²

However, at the time under consideration the Byzantine emperor did not rule Palestine. Nikolaj M. Karamzin doubted this account of the Ipat'ev Chronicle. Manuel could not grant the region of Ascalon to the Russian prince as it belonged to the kings of Jerusalem at that time.³ Elena Č. Skržinskaja held a similar opinion. She could not agree that the chronicle name *O(т)скалана* meant the city of Ascalon on the Syro-Palestinian coast and interpreted it as the “volost of Skalana”, which could indicate a mountainous or seaside territory in Byzantium.⁴ Other authors share her skepticism

¹ The origin of the second wife of Jurij Dolgorukij (Yuri Dolgoruky) is subject of debate. A. P. Kazhdan rejects the theory of her Byzantine origin supported by other scholars (see A. KAZHDAN, *Rus'-Byzantine Princely Marriages in the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries*, in *Harvard Ukrainian Studies* 12/13 [1988-1989], pp. 423-424). However, Kazhdan does not take into account all the facts known to scholarship. More in particular, he ignored iconographic material presented by N. P. Syčev (see N. SYČEV, *Predpolagaemoe izobraženie ženy Jurija Dolgorukogo* [Supposed Images of the Wife of Jurij Dolgorukij], in *Soobščeniija Instituta istorii iskusstv Akademii Nauk SSSR* [Reports from the Institute of Art History of the Academy of Sciences of the USSR], vol. 1, Moskva, 1951, pp. 51-62).

² *Ipat'evskaja letopis'* [The Hypatian Chronicle], ed. A. A. ŠACHMATOV, in *Polnoe Sobranie Russkikh Letopisej* [Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles], vol. 2, Moskva, 1998, col. 521.

³ N. M. KARAMZIN, *Istorija Gosudarstva Rossijskogo* [History of the Russian State] (12 vols), vol. 2-3, Moskva, 1991, p. 345, n. 405 (first edition – vol. 2, Sankt-Peterburg, 1816, p. 234 [sec. pag.], n. 405).

⁴ See A. N. VASIL'EV, L. G. KLIMANOV, E. Č. Skržinskaja: *žizn' i trudy (po materialam ličnogo fonda)* [E. Č. Skržinskaja: Life and Works (Based on Materials from her Personal Archive)], in I. P. MEDVEDEV (ed.), *Mir russoj vizantinistiki: Materialy arhivov Sankt-Peterburga* [The World of Russian Byzantine Studies: Materials from the Archives of St Petersburg], Sankt-Peterburg, 2004, p. 476.

concerning the possibility of seeing in the report of the Russian chronicle a reference to Palestinian Ascalon.⁵ Nevertheless, the issue of the possible Russian rule over a city in the Holy Land cannot be considered closed. Recently, Olga E. Etinhof tentatively assumed that “Mstislav Jur’evič in 1163 could have received lands in Palestinian Ascalon due to numerous family connections. Or he could have had the possibility to stay there comfortably”, as Emperor Manuel I “was extremely active in the Holy Land precisely at that time, and his powers ... in the Kingdom of Jerusalem extended far”.⁶

The issue of *O(m)skalana* (Ascalon) attracted the attention of Alexej A. Gippius in connection with the reconstruction of the “Ascalon episode” in the biography of the Novgorod artist Olisej Grečin. One hypothesis holds that in 1199 Olisei headed the association of icon-painters that was working on the frescoes in the Church of the Saviour on Neredica. He is also credited with the authorship of the well-known Novgorodian icon of Vernicle (*Spas Nerukotvornyj*) (second half of the 12th century, State Tret’jakov Gallery, inv. nr. 14245).⁷ Many objects of Palestinian origin were found on the territory of Grečin’s estate and in the icon-painting workshop in Novgorod.⁸

On the basis of the Novgorod birchbark documents and other sources A. A. Gippius suggests that Olisej was a son of the Novgorodian boyar Pëtr Mihalkovič.⁹ In 1156 his daughter Anastasija was married to Mstislav Jur’evič when he ruled Novgorod.¹⁰ Together with her husband and brother she was exiled to Byzantium, which she later left for Palestine.¹¹ According to Gippius, by the early 1160s the Greek emperor reestablished “a certain sovereignty” over the Kingdom of Jerusalem. Under these conditions “the

⁵ P. MUTAFČIEV, *Izbrani proizvedenija* [Selected works] (2 vols), Sofija, 1973, vol. 2, p. 185.

⁶ O. E. ETINHOF, *Vizantijskaja ikona VI – pervoj poloviny XIII veka v Rossii* [The Byzantine Icon from the 6th to the First Half of the 13th Centuries in Russia], Moskva, 2005, pp. 175-176.

⁷ A. A. GIPPIUS, *K biografii Oliseja Grečina* [On the Biography of Olisei Grečin], in *Cerkov’ Spasa na Neredice: ot Vizantii k Rusi. K 800-letiju pamjatnika* [The Church of the Saviour on Neredica: from Byzantium to Russia. On the 800th Anniversary of the Monument], ed. O. E. ETINHOF, Moskva, 2005, pp. 99-114.

⁸ See B. A. KOLČIN – A. S. HOROŠEV – V. L. JANIN, *Usad’ba novgorodskogo hudozhnika XII v.* [The Estate of a 12th-c. Novgorod Artist], Moskva, 1981.

⁹ For more details, see A. A. GIPPIUS, *Petr i Jakša: K identifikacii personažej novgorodskih berestjanyh gramot XII v.* [Petr and Jaksha: Towards an Identification of the Persons Behind the Novgorod Birchbark Documents of the 12th Century], in *Novgorodskij istoričeskij sbornik*, 9 (2003), pp. 66-76.

¹⁰ *Lavrent’evskaja letopis’* [The Laurentian Chronicle], ed. E. F. KARSKIJ, in *Polnoe Sobranie Russkikh Letopisej* [Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles], vol. 1, Moskva, 1997, col. 346; *Ipat’evskaja letopis’* [see n. 2], col. 482.

¹¹ GIPPIUS, *K biografii Oliseja Grečina* [see n. 7], pp. 104-106.

granting of Ascalon to his Russian relative (even if formal) was not impossible".¹²

In our opinion, the most vulnerable point in Gippius' construct is the suggestion that in the early 1160s Emperor Manuel had established sovereignty over the Kingdom of Jerusalem. The historian has not provided any facts to prove such a possibility. This drawback is justly pointed out by Valerij P. Stepanenko. "In no way could Manuel grant it (Ascalon – A. M.) or any land near it to a Russian prince, as he did not own the territories in the domain of the king of Jerusalem. The king could not grant Ascalon to the prince either, as not a single case is known when a feud was passed on to an Orthodox schismatic or an Armenian, all the more so on the recommendation of an emperor."¹³

Gippius' argument concerning the formal granting of Ascalon to Mstislav is also not clear. Is the author intending to say that in reality nothing was granted? Clearly, the situation around the "Ascalon issue" in contemporary literature requires a more careful consideration.

THE FOREIGN POLICY OF THE LATIN KINGDOM OF JERUSALEM IN THE 1150s - 60s

THE ALLIANCE WITH BYZANTIUM AND THE PLANS TO DIVIDE EGYPT

The counties of Jaffa and Ascalon were two of the four main vassals of the Kingdom of Jerusalem. Apparently they came into being during the time of Godfrey of Bouillon, who was the first to rule Jerusalem after it was captured by the crusaders. In 1100 Godfrey built a fortress in Jaffa. While it was one of the first citadels of the crusaders in Palestine, Ascalon, on the contrary, remained in the hands of the Muslim rulers of Egypt for more than another 50 years and served as their naval base. From Ascalon the enemies attacked the seaside settlements and the southern part of the Kingdom of Jerusalem. The Russian hegumen Daniel, who visited the Holy Land at that

¹² "В этой ситуации пожалование им Аскалона своему русскому родичу (пусть и формальное) было не столь уж невозможным", *ibidem*, pp. 105, 111-112, п. 6.

¹³ "Что же до Отскалана-Аскалона (?), то Мануил никак не мог дать его или землю в его окрестностях русскому князю, как не владел данными территориями, входившими в домен короля Иерусалима. Не мог дать князю Аскалон и сам король, так как не известно ни одного случая передачи феода православному схизматику или армянину и тем более по рекомендации императора", V. P. STEPANENKO, *Olisej Grečin: meždu Novgorodom i Askalomom* [*Olisej Grečin: Between Novgorod and Ascalon*], in B. B. OVCINNIKOVA (ed.), *Novgorodskaja Zemlja – Ural – Zapadnaja Sibir' v istoriko-kul'turnom i duhovnom nasledii* [*The Novgorod Land – Ural – Western Siberia in the Historical, Cultural and Spiritual Heritage*], vol. I, Ekaterinburg, 2009, pp. 5-19.

time, testified that in the early 12th century the city was under the power of the Muslims. They posed a serious danger for Christian pilgrims: “and nearby there is a city of Ascalon. Saracens came from there and attacked the pilgrims on those routes. And there is great fear to go into the mountains from there”.¹⁴

The leaders of the crusaders tried to seize Ascalon many times in various ways. To block access to the city, king Fulk began to build fortified castles around it. This tactic proved successful and King Baldwin III was unable to capture Ascalon until 1153 after a long siege. Then the city was granted to the king’s younger brother Amalric, a future king, who had been the count of Jaffa since 1151. After coming to power, Amalric added the counties of Jaffa and Ascalon to the royal domain.¹⁵

The taking of Ascalon – a large sea port and a fortress near the delta of the Nile – opened for the crusaders the opportunities to expand into Egypt, which at that time was weakened by inner conflicts. Baldwin III, however, could not take advantage of the results of his victory, as he began an exhausting struggle with Nur ad-Din, the emir of Aleppo and Damascus. Nur ad-Din tried persistently to bring to power his protégés in Egypt, in order to encircle the crusaders’ Palestinian possessions with hostile states.¹⁶

Baldwin III and his successor Amalric I repeatedly asked for military assistance from the West but could not obtain proper support. Therefore, the rulers of Jerusalem placed their hopes on their union with Byzantium. In the anticipation of receiving the empire’s help, in 1158 Baldwin III assured his marriage with Theodora Komnene, Manuel I’s niece. According to Paul Magdalino, Baldwin III acknowledged his political dependence on Manuel and entered into a “foedus iniquum” relationship with him in expectation of receiving Byzantine support.¹⁷ This form of international legal relations had existed since the Roman Empire and was recognized in Roman law. “Foedera iniqua” treaties placed the minor partner in a dependent position

¹⁴ “и близь есть Асколонь град, выходять бо оттуду Срацини и избивають страннныя на путехъ техъ, да ту есть боязнь велика, отъ места того входя въ горы”, М. А. ВЕНЕВИТНОВ (ed.), *Žit’e i hožen’e Daniila, Rus’skyja zemli igumena. 1106–1107 gg.* [*Life and Pilgrimage of Daniel, a Hegumen of the Russian Land, 1106–1107*], Sankt-Peterburg, 1885, p. 13.

¹⁵ On the history of the counties, see J. L. LA MONTE, *Feudal Monarchy in the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem. 1100–1291*, New York, 1970; S. TIBBLE, *Monarchy and Lordships in the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem. 1099–1291*, Oxford, 1989.

¹⁶ J. RICHARD, *Le Royaume latin de Jérusalem*, Paris, 1953, p. 67 sq.; see also L. A. SEMENOVA, *Iz istorii fatimidskogo Egipta. Očerki i materialy* [*From the History of Fatimid Egypt. Essays and Materials*], Moskva, 1974, pp. 142–144.

¹⁷ P. MAGDALINO, *The Empire of Manuel I Komnenos, 1143–1180*, Cambridge – New York, 2002, pp. 73–74.

when he had to acknowledge the superiority of Rome and was obliged to provide unilateral help.

Besides, Byzantium had its own designs on the Palestinian lands. In 1150 Manuel I acquired the rights to the County of Edessa – the first Crusader state in the Holy Land. In 1158 he occupied Armenian Cilicia and forced Raynald of Châtillon, the ruler of Antioch, to acknowledge the sovereignty of Byzantium over the County of Antioch – another Crusader state in the Middle East that came into being during the First Crusade.¹⁸

The main goal of the foreign policy of Amalric I, king of Jerusalem, was to conquer Egypt and to prevent Nur ad-Din from seizing power there. In 1163-1169 Amalric led at least five campaigns into Egypt, which exhausted his forces. Nevertheless, he could not attain a final victory. The Muslims' threat to the Christian settlers in the Holy Land grew stronger.¹⁹ Amalric repeatedly appealed to the French and English kings Louis VII and Henry II to start a new crusade, but just a few small detachments arrived to help him. Having given up hope of obtaining assistance from the West, Amalric, similarly to his predecessor, had to turn to Byzantium. In 1167 he married Maria Komnene, the grandniece of Manuel I and, like Baldwin, had to declare himself a junior partner of the basileus in international affairs.²⁰

The conclusion of the marriage was preceded by two-year negotiations conducted in Constantinople by the king's envoys Odo de St Amand and Hernessius, Archbishop of Caesarea. The negotiations continued in Tyre. There in the summer of 1167 Amalric's bride arrived escorted by two of the emperor's ambassadors – his cousin Sebastos Manuel Komnenos and George Palaiologos. In early 1168 the second Byzantine embassy arrived in Tyre headed by *Alexander of Gravina* and Michael of Otranto. Finally, in the fall of 1168 William of Tyre arrived in Constantinople with a reciprocal embassy.²¹

¹⁸ V. P. STEPANENKO, *Vizantija i gibel' grafstva Jedesskogo (1150 g.)* [Byzantium and the End of the County of Edessa (1150)], in *VV*, 50 (1989), pp. 85-92; V. P. STEPANENKO, *Kilikijjskij vopros v mezhdunarodnyh otnošenijah v 50-70-h godah XII v.* [The Cilician Question in International Relations in the 50-70s of the 12th Century], in *VV*, 52 (1991), pp. 127-135. See also A. A. BOZOJIAN, *Vostočnaja politika Vizantii i Kilikijskaja Armenija v 30-70-e gody XII v.* [Eastern Policy of Byzantium and Cilician Armenia in the 30-70s of the 12th Century], Erevan, 1988.

¹⁹ See H. E. MAYER, *Latins, Muslims and Greeks in the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem*, in *History*, 63 (1978), pp. 175-192; Ch. TYERMAN, *God's War: A new history of the Crusades*, Cambridge, 2006, pp. 347-350.

²⁰ MAGDALINO, *The empire* [see n. 17], pp. 74-75.

²¹ V. P. STEPANENKO, *Vizantija v mezhdunarodnyh otnošenijah na Bližnem Vostoke (1071-1176)* [Byzantium in International Relations in the Middle East (1071-1176)], Sverdlovsk, 1988, pp. 167-168.

One of the main issues of the negotiations that lasted for several years were the conditions of the joint actions aimed at the conquest of Egypt. According to the provisions of the Franco-Byzantine Treaty of 1168, the Byzantine emperor would provide military assistance for the king of Jerusalem, should the latter go to war with Egypt. As William of Tyre reports, Manuel required that the part of the country yet to be conquered should be transferred to him (i.e. a part of Egypt, should it be conquered), as well as a part of the lands that had already been conquered by the crusaders. It is evident from the Chronicle of William of Tyre that the Byzantines had put forward such conditions from the very beginning of the negotiations. In particular, they were stated by the embassy of Alexander of Gravina in Tyre.²²

William of Tyre did not specify the lands conquered by the crusaders that Amalric promised to cede to Manuel. Various suggestions have been made in this regard. Some historians believe that Amalric agreed to cede to Manuel the territory of the Principality of Antioch.²³ However, as V. P. Stepanenko rightly observes, the king of Jerusalem was not entitled to decide on the destiny of that principality with the Byzantine emperor.²⁴ Undoubtedly, since 1158, Manuel already believed himself to be the suzerain of the rulers of Antioch. If he had demanded a renewed homage, he would have requested it from them, rather than from the king of Jerusalem.

It is very likely that the part of the Palestinian lands that the crusaders had conquered and the Byzantine emperor required to be ceded to him was Ascalon with the adjacent territories. This is indicated by several factors, primarily, by the terms of the agreement with Amalric concerning the division of Egypt. According to William of Tyre and John Kinnamos, Manuel was to obtain the coastland of the Mediterranean, while the king of Jerusalem would receive the country's inner regions.²⁵ Ascalon became the base for the Byzantine navy and army sent by the emperor to conquer Egypt. In the fall of 1169 two hundred ships of war arrived there from Byzantium, and from there the Byzantine army began its attack.²⁶

²² R. B. C. HUYGENS (ed.), *Willemi Tyrensis Archiepiscopi Chronicon* (2 vols), Turnhout, 1986, vol. 1 (= *Corpus Christianorum Continuatio Medievalis*, 63), pp. 915-916.

²³ R. GROUSSET, *Histoire des croisades et du royaume franc de Jérusalem*, vol. 2, Paris, 1935, p. 509; RICHARD, *Le Royaume latin* [see n. 16], p. 72.

²⁴ STEPANENKO, *Vizantija v međunarodnyh otnošenijah* [see n. 21], p. 168.

²⁵ *Willemi Tyrensis Archiepiscopi Chronicon* [see n. 22], pp. 891-892; A. MEINEKE (ed.), *Ioannis Cinnami epitome rerum ab Ioanne et Alexio Comnenis gestare*, Bonnæ, 1836, p. 279. See also M.-L. FAVREAU-LILIE, *Die Italiener im Heiligen Land vom ersten Kreuzzug bis zum Tode Heinrichs von Champagne (1008-1197)*, Amsterdam, 1989, pp. 201-205, nr. 145.

²⁶ *Ioannis Cinnami epitome* [see n. 25], pp. 279-280; I. A. VAN DIETEN (ed.), *Nicetae Choniatae Historia*, Berlin - New York, 1975 (CFHB 11), pp. 159-168; *Willemi Tyrensis Archiepiscopi Chronicon* [see n. 22], pp. 899-905.

The Byzantine army, and especially the navy, was supposed to play a very important role in the conquest of Egypt. Unfortunately for them, the crusaders' fleet was too weak and could not compete with the Fatimids' navy. This to a large extent had predetermined the failures of the previous attempts to conquer Egypt.²⁷ There was no other suitable harbor that was simultaneously a military fortress near the border of the country at that time. Logically, if the Byzantine emperor had indeed required territorial concessions from the king of Jerusalem in connection with the planned invasion into Egypt, it should have been Ascalon and the surrounding territories. Moreover, in the 1160s, the Counties of Jaffa and Ascalon were within the domain of the king of Jerusalem, and therefore Amalric could decide on their fate.²⁸

Our assumption can also be supported by the fact that the kings of Jerusalem had often given the Counties of Jaffa and Ascalon into the possession of their relatives and allies whose support they needed. In the early 12th century it was granted to the cousin of King Baldwin II, Hugh de Puisieux, then to Count Albert de Namur.²⁹ Also noteworthy is the fact that royal relatives from the female side usually became the owners of the counties. Thus, in 1176 Baldwin IV granted Jaffa and Ascalon to marquis William of Montferrat, who had married princess Sibylla. In 1180 her second husband Guy of Lusignan received the county.³⁰

Negotiations between the Byzantine emperor and the king of Jerusalem concerning the conclusion of the dynastic marriage and the military alliance aimed at the conquest of Egypt had already begun in 1165. At that time King Amalric's first embassy arrived in Constantinople. It is possible that it was then or soon afterwards that the intention arose to transfer that part of the crusaders' Palestinian possessions to which the basileus laid claims – the Ascalon area (“волости О(т)скалана”) – to the Russian prince Mstislav Jur'evič. He, after all, was in the emperor's service and was related to the Komnenos.

TRACES OF BYZANTINE PRESENCE IN ASCALON AND ON THE PALESTINIAN COAST OF SOUTHERN CAESAREA IN THE LATE 12TH CENTURY

We can state with confidence that after Ascalon was conquered by the crusaders in 1153 and until it was seized by the troops of Saladin in 1187,

²⁷ H. E. MAYER, *The Crusades*, Oxford – New York, 1990, pp. 117-120.

²⁸ TIBBLE, *Monarchy and Lordships* [see n. 15], p. 39.

²⁹ *Ibidem*, pp. 36-37.

³⁰ *Ibidem*, p. 39. See also J. S. Ch. RILEY-SMITH, *The Feudal Nobility and the Kingdom of Jerusalem. 1174–1277*, Hamden, 1973, pp. 104, 106, 310-311 (chronological table).

it was within the orbit of the Byzantine cultural influence. Significantly, its Christian population belonged to the Orthodox (Eastern Christian) Church.

Near the eastern wall of medieval Ascalon the foundations and the remains of the three-nave one-apse basilica of late antiquity were excavated. The basilica was 11 × 12,9 m. and was built around the beginning of the 5th century. During Arab rule it was turned into a mosque, but in the late 12th century, i.e. after the city was conquered by the crusaders, it was rebuilt as a Christian cross-in-square church. After the Muslims took control of Ascalon again, the church was ruined beyond repair.³¹

In the early Byzantine period several Christian churches were built in Ascalon. However, after the Arab rule only one was restored by the crusaders. Most researchers believe that this church was dedicated to the Virgin Mary and had the Latin name of St Maria Viridis (St Mary the Green). In 939 the church was burnt by a crowd of Muslim and Judaic religious fanatics. Soon it was turned into a mosque, also known as the Green Mosque.³² The colour identification of the church was apparently related to the old Byzantine tradition of denoting with the colours blue and green the participants of public competitions in the hippodrome, where religion and politics mixed and which dates back to pagan times.³³

Notably, after 1153 of all ancient Christian churches only the church of St Mary the Green was restored. This probably indicated the particular significance of this church. All researchers observe a paradoxical fact. The church that was built anew during the crusaders' rule had the appearance of a typical Byzantine church rather than a Latin one. This four-columned cross-in-square church differed noticeably from the churches of the Latin congregation erected in the Kingdom of Jerusalem at that time. The Orthodox character of the church in Ascalon is even more underscored by the frescoes painted in a typical Byzantine manner. Fragments have survived in the central part of the apse and in the two side niches. They give an idea of the wall paintings that were created in the church after its restoration in the mid-12th century.³⁴

Best preserved is the fragment of the painting over the bishop's pulpit in the central apse. It depicts four bishops reading the Greek scrolls that

³¹ E. STERN – A. LEVINZON-GILBO'A – J. AVIRAM, *The New Encyclopedia of archaeological excavations in the Holy Land*, vol. 1, Jerusalem – New York, 1993, p. 112; A. LEWIN, *The archaeology of Ancient Palestine and Judea*, Los Angeles, 2004, p. 161.

³² D. PRINGLE, *The Churches of the Crusader Kingdom of Jerusalem*, vol. 1, Cambridge, 1993, nr. 15, pp. 63-64.

³³ L. E. STAGER, *Eroticism and Infanticide at Ashkelon*, in *Biblical archaeology Review*, 17 (1991), p. 51.

³⁴ M. BENVENISTI, *The Crusaders in the Holy Land*, Jerusalem, 1970, pp. 129-130; Ch. H. MACEVITT, *The Crusades and the Christian World of the East: Rough Tolerance*, Philadelphia, 2007, pp. 124-125.

they hold in their hands. Vassilios Tzaferis, the expert in Greek and Latin epigraphics of the Israel Antiquities Authority, established that each scroll depicted in the fresco contains extracts from John Chrysostom's homilies.³⁵

The surviving Latin documents of the Kingdom of Jerusalem allow us to state that immediately after Ascalon was conquered by Baldwin III, the Green Mosque was given to the Latin canons of the church of the Holy Sepulcher in Jerusalem, probably with the goal of turning it into a Latin church. Then, however, the church of St Mary the Green was handed over to Amalric who began to restore it. Scholars wonder why the Latin king restored the main church of Ascalon as an Orthodox church. Various assumptions have been made, essentially, that Amalric preferred the local Orthodox community to the Catholic one.³⁶

Significantly, by the time Ascalon was liberated from Muslim rule, no Christian population remained there. As a result of the destruction of the old church of St Mary the Green and the Muslim authorities' prohibition to restore it, the bishop of Ascalon left the city and moved to Ramla. The Fatimids' government committed itself to pursuing the policy of driving Christians out of Ascalon because of its strategic position on the border with Palestine as a key line of defending Egypt from the crusaders. As a result, the Christian citizens had left Ascalon by the late 11th century.³⁷

According to this information, after Ascalon was liberated by the crusaders, it was necessary to repopulate it with Christians. Otherwise the city could not be used as a secure base for the planned attack against Egypt. For the crusaders, Ascalon had the same strategic importance as for the Muslims. Therefore the restored church of St Mary in Ascalon was intended for the new Christian population of the city. This population had to be mostly (if not exclusively) Orthodox as there are no data that between 1153 and 1187 any other Christian churches were built or restored in Ascalon.³⁸

Christopher H. MacEvitt believes that the restoration of the Church of St Maria the Green as the center of the Orthodox religion can be explained by the closer Franco-Byzantine relations. These were strengthened in the 1160s and were manifested by the marriage of King Amalric with the Byzantine princess Maria Komnene. "The restored church must have been a striking sign of the new Christian Ascalon of the Franks. Its explicit

³⁵ STAGER, *Eroticism* [see n. 33], p. 52.

³⁶ MACEVITT, *The Crusades* [see n. 34], p. 124.

³⁷ *Ibidem*, pp. 124-125.

³⁸ See PRINGLE, *The Churches*, vol. 1 [see n. 32], nr. 14-24, pp. 61-69.

Byzantine character announced to locals and Latins alike the Franco-Byzantine amity and the emphasis that Ascalon's Frankish rulers placed on the revived Melkite community".³⁹

We are willing to accept the historian's conclusion with the following necessary clarification. It was not the Frankish rulers of the Kingdom of Jerusalem who would have relied upon the restored Orthodox (Eastern Christian) community of Ascalon. Rather, it was the Byzantine emperor Manuel who received this city with the surrounding areas from King Amalric under the conditions of the Franco-Byzantine treaty concerning the joined attack against Egypt. It was only under the Byzantine aegis that the Christian population, consisting of Orthodox adherents, could have been restored in Ascalon as swiftly as possible. Moreover, the Orthodox Church of St Mary restored by the Greek craftsmen could have become "a striking sign of the new Christian Ascalon".

In the 1160-1170s the Orthodox population seemed to be dominant on the Palestinian coast of Southern Caesarea, both in Ascalon and in neighboring Gaza and Bethgibelin.⁴⁰ Gaza was seized by the crusaders ca. 1150, when the king of Jerusalem Baldwin III undertook a large military campaign into the Ascalon region. At the same time a fortress was built in Gaza, and the Knights Templars were ordered to protect it.⁴¹ Bethgibelin (today's Beit Guvrin) became another crusader base near Ascalon. This ancient city, which has been known since antiquity as Beth Gabra or Eleutheropolis, was retaken from the Muslims by King Fulk. He built a fortress there in 1136 and then transferred it to the Order of Hospitallers.⁴²

A document of 1173 that mentions the Orthodox Archbishop *Meletius* (Μελέτιος) of Gaza and Eleutheropolis has survived. The document in two languages – Greek and Latin – cites the agreement made by the Orthodox hierarch and Josbert the Grand Master of the Knights Hospitallers. Under this agreement Meletius obtained St George's Monastery in Bethgibelin that used to be owned by the Hospitallers.⁴³

It is noteworthy that in the late 12th century there was no Latin bishop either in Gaza, or in Bethgibelin, or in Ascalon. That is, practically the entire Palestinian coast of Southern Caesarea did not have a bishop. At that time

³⁹ Ch. H. MACEVITT, *Crusaders and local Christian Communities in the Holy Land, 1097–1187 A. D.*, in *Albright News. The W. F. Albright Institute of Archaeological Research* [Jerusalem], 8 (2003), p. 16.

⁴⁰ MACEVITT, *The Crusades* [see n. 34], p. 114.

⁴¹ H. E. MAYER, *Probleme des lateinischen Königreichs Jerusalem*, London, 1983, pp. 143, 151, 181.

⁴² PRINGLE, *The Churches*, vol. 1 [see n. 32], pp. 96-101.

⁴³ J. DELAVILLE LE ROULX (ed.), *Cartulaire général de l'Ordre des Hospitaliers de Saint Jean de Jérusalem (1100–1311)*, vol. 1, Paris, 1894, pp. 305-306, nr. 443.

the Latin episcopal see was moved from Ascalon to Bethlehem. Historians find this situation unnatural, as the appointment of Latin bishops into the newly conquered areas by the crusaders played the key role in the integration of these areas into the Kingdom of Jerusalem.⁴⁴

According to William of Tyre, when Gaza was given to the Templars, it was uninhabited. However, under the protection of the castle built by the knights, the city grew rapidly until it was burned and devastated by Saladin in 1170 and finally captured by him in 1187. Under the Templars a large Latin church was built in Gaza; now it is the Friday Mosque. Simultaneously, a smaller one-nave church was built. Now it is located in the traditionally Christian quarter of the city and is dedicated to St Porphyrius. It is the center of the Melkite community in Gaza, as it probably was in the 12th century.⁴⁵

Apparently, the Templars' active work that aimed at the Latinization of Gaza was stopped and, so to say, overlapped by a more powerful wave of Orthodox colonization. Supposedly, something similar happened in Bethgibelin. In 1173, after Gaza was burnt by Saladin's troops, the Orthodox Archbishop Meletius moved out of the town; he was the only Christian hierarch in this area. A decisive turn toward Orthodox colonization of the area of Gaza, Bethgibelin and Ascalon must have happened before 1167. That year Pope Alexander III granted to the Latin Patriarch of Jerusalem the rights to collect all the revenues from all Palestinian areas abandoned by Orthodox bishops. These were now included into the Latin diocese of the Patriarchate of Jerusalem. However, neither Gaza, nor Bethgibelin/Eleutheropolis, nor Ascalon were listed among the sees transferred by the Pope to the Patriarchate of Jerusalem. This was so even though they were consistent with the criteria established by the Pope and therefore were to be subject to the Latin Patriarchate of Jerusalem.⁴⁶

Under the terms of the above-mentioned agreement with the Hospitallers, Archbishop Meletius received St George's Monastery with all its churches built by the knights in Bethgibelin. In 1982, on the territory of the modern Jewish kibbutz Beit Guvrin a three-nave basilican church with three semi-circular apses was excavated that had been erected by the crusaders in the 1130s. Two rows of square pillars with typical cruciform projections and columns adjoining on the four sides emphasize its Roman-Gothic appearance. This church was dedicated to St Anne, the mother of the Virgin Mary. There is a hypothesis that she lived in Eleutheropolis and was buried there.

⁴⁴ MACEVITT, *The Crusades* [see n. 34], pp. 112-113.

⁴⁵ *Ibidem*, p. 113.

⁴⁶ *Ibidem*, p. 114.

The Crusaders built the church on the ruins of the ancient basilica of St Anne, which was erected in Late Antiquity. They used its foundations and the remains of the walls.

As we see, in the 1130-60s both in Gaza and Bethgibelin the crusaders worked hard and invested significant financial means in order to Latinize and incorporate these newly conquered-areas into the kingdom of Jerusalem. When Latin knights erected monasteries and churches there, they, of course, did not do this for the Orthodox Archbishop and his flock. Important political changes must have happened that brought about the change in the balance of forces in the area of the Palestinian-Egyptian frontier in favor of the strong predominance of Greek Orthodoxy.

Evidently, these changes were explained by the new Franco-Byzantine alliance. The joint offensive in Egypt, undertaken in the fall of 1169, failed due to the permanent disagreement and apparent distrust between the parties. However, the subsequent defeats that the Crusaders suffered from the Muslims forced King Amalric, in 1171, to pay a personal visit to Constantinople. During this visit he agreed to acknowledge himself as a vassal of the Byzantine Emperor Manuel and to obey him entirely in the matters of foreign policy.⁴⁷

At that time, in the early 1170s, the star of Archbishop Meletius rose. Meletius was a monk and then the abbot of the Monastery of St Sabbas the Sanctified (Σάββα τοῦ Ἁγιασμένου) in the Judean Desert near Jerusalem. This monastery, which survives until today, for centuries has been one of the main centers of Byzantine and the Greek Orthodox presence in Palestine. As the Archbishop of Gaza and Eleutheropolis, the abbot of this monastery remained a loyal servant of the Byzantine emperor. It is no coincidence that under the terms of the agreement with the Hospitallers, even after the death of Meletius and even when the monastery came under control of the Latin Church, the monks of the monastery of St George were to remember eternally in their prayers His Grace Meletius and the Byzantine Emperor Manuel.⁴⁸

RUSSIAN-PALESTINIAN TIES IN THE MONUMENTS OF HISTORY AND CULTURE

Byzantine and Latin written sources do not mention the Russian viceroy of Emperor Manuel I in Ascalon. However, the following two circumstances

⁴⁷ See S. RUNCIMAN, *The visit of King Amalric I to Jerusalem in 1171*, in B. Z. KEDAR – H. E. MAYER – R. C. SMAIL (eds), *Outremer: Studies in the History of the Crusading Kingdom of Jerusalem presented to Joshua Prawer*, Jerusalem, 1982, pp. 153-158.

⁴⁸ *Cartulaire général*, vol. 1 [see n. 43], pp. 305-306, nr. 443.

suggest that prince Mstislav Jur'evič did visit the Middle East, and that his stay there was connected with Ascalon (“волость О(т)скалана”) as evidenced by the Ipat'ev Chronicle. First, there is the grammatical form of the name Ascalon, used in the Ipatiev chronicle, *O(m)скалана*. O. E. Etinhof fairly observes that this form is much closer to the Arab *'Asqalan* than the Hebrew *Ashkelon*, to which the pilgrim Daniel's *Асколонь* goes back.⁴⁹ These two forms of the same name were borrowed by the Rus' people from different linguistic environments. The form in the Ipatiev Chronicle was used mainly in the Arab lands not controlled by the crusaders. In particular, it was used by the Arab population of Ascalon.

The available material suggests that the revival of both Orthodox Ascalon and its main sanctuary – the Church of St Mary the Green – must have involved the Russian prince Mstislav as the viceroy of the Byzantine emperor. Researchers have established with high probability that Mstislav Jur'evič's baptismal name was Fëdor.⁵⁰ To him they relate the reference to “Theodore (Fëdor) Ros from the Basileus' family” (*Θεόδωρος Ρώς ἐκ φυλῆς βασιλέων*) in the 13th-century Greek manuscript that is now kept in St Mark's Library in Venice.⁵¹

Along with the works of well-known Byzantine authors, this manuscript contains anonymous epigrams and “poems for an occasion”. It is reminiscent of the historical poems of the 12th-century Byzantine poet Theodore Prodromos, which were devoted mainly to the events during the reign of Emperors John II and Manuel I Komnenos.⁵² One of these poems is an epigram to the precious encolpion with a sacred stone from the Holy Sepulcher that belonged to *Fëdor Ros*.⁵³

Mstislav Jur'evič stayed in the East, apparently, for more than one decade. Most likely, Mstislav returned to Rus' on the eve of the capture of Jerusalem by Saladin, i.e., about 1187. However, N. M. Karamzin, followed by other historians, believed that the prince did not remain for a long time

⁴⁹ O. E. ETINHOFF, *Vizantijskaja ikona* [see n. 6], p. 175.

⁵⁰ A. F. LITVINA – F. B. USPENSKIJ, *Vybor imeni u russkikh knjazej v X–XVI vv. Dinastičeskaja istorija skvoz' prizmu antroponimiki* [Name Choice among Russian Princes in the 10th-16th Centuries. Dynastic History through the Prism of Anthroponimics], Moskva, 2006, p. 588.

⁵¹ GY. MORAVCSIK, *Byzantinoturcica*, Bd. 2, Berlin, 1983, p. 225.

⁵² S. ŠESTAKOV, *Zametki k stihotvorenijam Codicis Marciani gr. 524* [Notes on the Poems of the Codex Marcianus gr. 524], VV, 24 (1923-1926), pp. 45-52; H. GRALA, “Fëdor ros” vizantijskogo kodeksa seređiny XIII v. [“Fëdor ros” in a Mid-13th-Century Byzantine Codex], in Ju. N. AFANAS'EV – A. P. NOVOSEL'CEV (eds), *Spornye voprosy otečestvennoj istorii XI-XVIII vekov* [Controversial Issues of Russian History of the 11th-18th Centuries], vol. 1, Moskva, 1990, pp. 58-60.

⁵³ M. V. BIBIKOV, *Byzantinorossica. Svod vizantijskikh svidetel'stv o Rusi* [Byzantinorossica. Corpus of Byzantine Evidence on Russia], vol. 1, Moskva, 2004, pp. 212, 650.

either in Byzantium or in the Holy Land. A few years after his exile he showed up again in Rus': "Mstislav, according to parchment chronicles, retired to Zavoloč'e in 1166".⁵⁴ Undoubtedly, Karamzin had in mind the report of the Laurentian Chronicle informing us under 1166: "The same winter Mstislav went beyond Volok."⁵⁵ However, this report referred to another prince – Mstislav Andreevič, the son of Andrej Bogoljubskij.⁵⁶

Together with Prince Mstislav, his wife's brother, Olisej Grečin returned to Rus'. He had spent his younger years in the Holy Land and learnt the skill of a painter there. Grečin landed in his home town of Novgorod and quickly became famous as an outstanding painter. His name is often mentioned in the Novgorod birch bark writings of the late 12th – early 13th centuries (cf. a complex of forty birch-bark letters, five of which mention the name of *(Olisej) Grečin*).⁵⁷ In 1193, according to some historians, he even aspired to the position of Archbishop of Novgorod.⁵⁸

Valentin L. Janin identifies Olisej Grečin as Grečin Petrovič, who, according to a chronicle report under the year 1196, painted the no longer extant church of the Deposition of the Robe and the Belt of the Virgin Mary in the Novgorod Kremlin. It was a gateway church over the Prečistenskie gate facing the Volchov.⁵⁹ Many contemporary scholars consider Olisej Grečin to be one of the main artists who painted frescoes in the Church of the Saviour on Neredica near Novgorod.⁶⁰

In the altar part of the Church of the Saviour on Neredica there were two rows of Hierarchs of a huge size. This is not typical of the Old Rus' tradition

⁵⁴ "Мстислав, по харатейным летописям, в 1166 г. удалился в Заволочье", KARAMZIN, *Istorija*, vol. 2-3 [see n. 3], p. 345, n. 405.

⁵⁵ *Lavrent'evskaja letopis'* [see n. 10], col. 353.

⁵⁶ A. N. NASONOV, "Russkaja zemlja" i obrazovanie territorii Drevnerusskogo gosudarstva. *Mongoly i Rus'* [*"The Russian Land" and the Formation of the Territory of the Ancient Russian State. The Mongols and Russia*], Sankt-Peterburg, 2002, p. 171.

⁵⁷ See A. V. ARCIHOVSKIJ – V. L. JANIN, *Novgorodskie gramoty na bereste (Iz raskopok 1962–1976 gg.)* [*The Novgorod Letters on Birch Bark (From the Excavations of 1962–1976)*], Moskva, 1978, no 502; V. L. JANIN – A. A. ZALIZNJAK, *Novgorodskie gramoty na bereste (Iz raskopok 1977–1983 gg.)* [*The Novgorod Letters on Birch Bark (From the excavations of 1977–1983)*], Moskva, 1986, no 546, 549, 558, 603.

⁵⁸ A. N. NASONOV (ed.), *Novgorodskaja Pervaja letopis' staršego i mladšego izvodov* [*The Novgorod First Chronicle of Senior and Junior Recensions*], in *Polnoe Sobranie Russkikh Letopisej* [*Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles*], vol. 3, Moskva, 2000, p. 42. See also GIPPIUS, *K biografii Oliseja Grečina* [see n. 7], pp. 99-100.

⁵⁹ See V. L. JANIN – B. A. KOLČIN – V. G. MIRONOVA – E. A. RYBINA – A. S. HOROŠEV, *Novgorodskaja ekspedicija* [*The Novgorod Expedition*], *Arheologičeskie otkrytija* [*Archaeological Discoveries*], 1977, Moskva, 1978, pp. 42-45.

⁶⁰ V. L. JANIN, *K probleme avtorstva neredickih fresok* [*On the Problem of the Authorship of the Frescoes of Neredica*], *Pamjatniki kul'tury. Novye otkrytija* [*Cultural Monuments. New Discoveries*], 1987, Leningrad, 1988, pp. 178-183; GIPPIUS, *K biografii Oliseja Grečina* [see n. 7], pp. 106-110.

of church murals. In the middle part of the upper register of the central apse of the Church on Neredica one can see the frontally standing figures of three hierarchs in crossed robes of complex ornamental pattern. They symmetrically hold gospels with their covered hands in vertical position in front of their chests. In Olga E. Etinhof's opinion, this image has clear parallels in the Eastern Christian art of the 12th century. More in particular, it closely resembles the depiction of four bishops in the same attitudes and vestments in the middle register of the left fold of the tetrptych of the Monastery of St Catherine at Mount Sinai, dating to the late 12th century.⁶¹

We may conclude then to the possible presence of the Russian prince Mstislav Jur'evič (son of Jurij Dolgorukij) in Ascalon as a vicegerent of the Byzantine emperor Manuel I Komnenos. Prince Mstislav may have been in Ascalon from the late 1160s until the capture of the city by Muslims in 1187, after which he returned to Novgorod.

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SUMMARY

The author points to the possible presence of the Russian prince Mstislav Jur'evič (son of Jurij Dolgorukij) in Ascalon as a vicegerent of the Byzantine emperor Manuel I Komnenos. Prince Mstislav may have been in Ascalon from the late 1160s until the capture of the city by Muslims in 1187, after which he returned to Novgorod.

⁶¹ O. E. ETINHOF, *Zametki o greko-russkoj ikonopisnoj masterskoj v Novgorode i rospisjah Spaso-Preobraženskoj cerkvi na Neredice* [Notes on the Greek-Russian Icon Painting Workshop in Novgorod and on the Paintings of the Transfiguration Church on Neredica], in *Cerkov' Spasa na Neredice* [The Church of the Saviour on Neredica] [see n. 7], p. 129.

THE ECONOMIC INSTITUTIONS OF THE BYZANTINE STATE

INTRODUCTION

Economies at all stages of economic development are embedded in economic and non-economic institutions. Interlinked institutions integrate action within the economy itself and at its external boundaries, and their fundamental function is to regulate economic and social relations. In this capacity, they guide human interaction and exchange by establishing the rules of engagement in economic activities, and by ensuring compliance by the parties to the terms of the exchange. Institutions are pivotal in determining the feasibility and profitability of economic exchange, and by extension the performance of the economy, by providing a stable structure to human endeavor, by reducing uncertainty, and by shaping the economic behavior and decision-making process of individuals, enterprises and organizations. The set of interconnected institutional arrangements and their adaptability to changing economic, social and political conditions over time defines the parameters within which economic activity takes place and determines the course of and potential for economic growth and development. The upshot is that institutions matter.

This study attempts to ascertain the nature of the economic institutions that were fashioned diachronically to ensure the orderly operation of the Byzantine economy, to analyze their role and evolution over time, to examine their ability to make rational use of the available human and financial resources, and ultimately to assess their contribution in ensuring the effective functioning of the marketplace and the economy. Cutting through the complex nexus of interrelationships and causations, the focus will be on the state as a political/economic entity, private property ownership and its derivative rights, the organization of the marketplace, the price mechanism, the regulatory rules, the place of the guild system in the economy, and the legal framework which provided the substructure of all economic activity. It is hoped that the thematic exposition, probing examination, and *assessment* of the range of issues emanating from the design and operation of the array of institutional arrangements put into effect will provide valuable insights as to their genesis, adaptation over time, and likely performance in the light of the Byzantine economic, social and political realities. Collaterally, the study addresses unsettled issues providing more cogent answers; identifies misread

or misinterpreted sources; refutes unsubstantiated assertions; ascertains the compass of state control and intervention; and puts in proper perspective the state's industrial and commercial policies.

NATURE, ROLE AND EVOLUTION OF INSTITUTIONS

Institutions are purposeful constraints devised to guide the behavior of individuals in everyday life and to provide the requisite framework within which human interaction and exchange take place. Institutional constraints define both the prohibited and permissible actions that individuals can undertake, and set out the broad conditions that balance performance and sanction. They comprise formal rules (economic, legal, judicial, political),¹ contracts,² and enforcement regulations, as well as informal constraints (customs, conventions, codes of conduct) which supplement the formal rules. Formal rules, informal norms, and contracts are sometimes transgressed necessitating enactment of punishment on wrongdoers (restitutive sanctions). However, enforcement is constrained by the costliness (in terms of required resources) of ascertaining the characteristics or attributes of what constitutes rule compliance or violation, measuring the attributes of the exchanged goods and services, determining the terms of the exchange, assessing the performance of the contracting parties in the face of asymmetric information, protecting property rights,³ policing and enforcing agreements, and deciding on the

¹ The ultimate purpose of establishing rules is to facilitate economic exchange. Political rules define broadly the hierarchical structure of the state and its decision and control centers, while economic rules define, *inter alia*, key property rights, i.e. the bundle of rights derived from the institution of property ownership (see n. 3 below). The structure of the enforcement mechanism devised by the political authorities ensures that, in transfers of rights, the parties to an exchange comply with their respective obligations. D. C. NORTH, *Institutions, Institutional Change and Economic Performance*, Cambridge, 1990, pp. 47-49, 54.

² Contracts contain provisions specific to a particular agreement. For a thoughtful analysis of the contract as the central economic institution providing the framework for the economic process of exchange, see T. PARSONS – N. J. SMELSER, *Economy and Society*, New York, 1956, pp. 104-113. On the conditions for contract enforceability and legitimate instances of breaching a contract, see D. W. BARNES – L. A. STOUT, *The Economics of Contract Law*, St. Paul Minnesota, 1992, pp. 21, 30-31, 58, 68, 112-113, 116, 119-123.

³ Property rights embody the individual's prerogative to own, use, obtain income, and alienate an asset, including the power to permit or exclude its use by others. Fully specified and enforceable property rights are at the center of the incentive structure of market economies, as they reward effort and good judgment and thereby foster economic growth and wealth creation. The exclusiveness of property rights is governed by legal rules, organizational forms, enforcement mechanisms, and norms of behavior. Derivation of income from assets and their alienation require exchange, which in effect results in mutual ceding or acquisition of rights. People's property rights are also affected by their own efforts of protection, other people's capture attempts, and the degree of government protection exercised primarily through the

appropriate penalty. Since the measurement and assessment of the dimensions of an exchange is difficult and costly, the enforcement mechanism typically is imperfect. Enforcement also suffers because rules are enforced and penalties are enacted by agents (judges, bureaucrats, policemen, foremen, etc.), and the interests of principals (the government and the owners of property rights) and agents (persons engaged by the principals to perform services on their behalf) may well differ.⁴ Furthermore, enforcement is affected by the perceived legitimacy of the rules: when the parties to an exchange sense that the rules are unfair or imperfectly enforced, they become concerned that their counterpart(s) may be prone to disobey the rules or violate their property rights. Such a perception impels them to take a self-defensive posture, which tends to raise contracting costs.⁵

A distinction should be made between institutions and organizations, which, like the former, also provide structure to human interaction and exchange and help shape the path of institutional change. Organizations include political entities (the state and its apparatus, senate, communities), economic bodies (enterprises, guilds, landowners, peasant farmers), and social entities (the Church, charities, the military), which comprise groups of individuals bound by some common purpose who aim to achieve set objectives. The kind of organizations that emerge and their evolution are fundamentally influenced by the prevailing institutional framework; they in turn influence osmotically the evolution of institutional structures because of their constant interaction, mutual sway, and symbiotic relationship.⁶ Significantly, enforcing rules of conduct enacted by organizations also entail societal costs.

police and the courts. Y. BARZEL, *Economic Analysis of Property Rights*, Cambridge, 1989, p. 2; H. DEMSETZ, *Toward a Theory of Property Rights*, in *American Economic Review*, 57 (1967), pp. 347-359; NORTH, *Institutional Change* [see n. 1], pp. 33, 48; *The World Bank, World Development Report 1996*, Washington DC, 1996, pp. 48-49. On the economic difference between property and contract rights, see R. A. POSNER, *Economic Analysis of Law*, New York, 1998⁵ (1973), p. 74.

⁴ M. JENSEN and W. MECKLING, *Theory of the Firm: Managerial Behavior, Agency Costs, and Capital Structure*, in *Journal of Financial Economics*, 3 (1976), p. 308.

⁵ NORTH, *Institutional Change* [see n. 1], pp. 3-4, 27-33, 46-47, 60, 76, 108; IDEM, *Institutions and Economic Growth: An Historical Introduction*, in *World Development*, 17 (1989), p. 1321; BARZEL, *Property Rights* [see n. 3], pp. 3-4; PARSONS – SMELSER, *Economy and Society* [see n. 2], pp. 102-103; J. RAWLS, *A Theory of Justice*, Cambridge, 1999, pp. 47-65.

⁶ On the institutionalization of authority, coercive power, forms, constituent elements, and operational principles, see M. WEBER, *The Theory of Social and Economic Organization* (ed. and transl. from the German *Wirtschaft und Gesellschaft* by A. M. Henderson and T. Parsons), London, 1947, pp. 56-77, 324-392. On the mutual influence of informal institutions, formal institutions, institutions of governance (executive, legislative, judicial, bureaucracy), and economic performance, see NORTH, *Institutional Change* [see n. 1], pp. 5, 7, 73; R. C. O. MATTHEWS, *The Economics of Institutions and the Sources of Economic Growth*, in *Economic Journal*, 96 (1986), pp. 903-918; O. E. WILLIAMSON, *The New Institutional Economics: Taking Stock, Looking Forward*, in *Journal of Economic Literature*, 38 (2000), pp. 593-613.

Institutions play a major role in the society by reducing uncertainty as they establish a stable structure to human interactions and exchanges, thereby determining the feasibility and profitability of engaging in economic activity. Uncertainties arise as a result of the complexity of the problems encountered in commercial transactions, and are compounded by the intricate motivations and shortcomings of individuals: maximization of survival potential or wealth, post-contractual opportunism,⁷ free riding,⁸ cheating, shirking,⁹ unstable preferences, incomplete information concerning the standing and behavior of counterparts, difficulties in deciphering the complexity of the environment,¹⁰ preconceived beliefs and ideologies,¹¹ imperfect delineation of property rights in contracts,¹² and the individuals' inherently limited problem-solving capability (bounded rationality). Hence the need to develop regularized patterns of human interaction – institutionalized rules and procedures to simplify the decision-making process by specifying behavior in defined recurrent situations and thereby make choices and actions routine.¹³ In a world of impersonal exchange¹⁴ and conflicting views

⁷ Opportunism has been aptly defined as “the ability of one party to an exchange to benefit at the expense of the other party by violating the agreement in his or her post-contractual behavior”, e.g., reneging a contract, deliberately delaying delivery, committing fraud, adulteration or sizing. D. C. NORTH, *Structure and Change in Economic History*, New York, 1981, p. 36.

⁸ Free riding is a benefit gained at another's expense or without cost or effort by the one benefiting.

⁹ Shirking is an attempt to evade the performance of an obligation.

¹⁰ R. A. HEINER, *The Origin of Predictable Behavior*, in *American Economic Review*, 73 (1983), pp. 560-585.

¹¹ Ideology reflects the individuals' perceptions, doctrines, opinions, or way of thinking which serve to explain the world around them. Perceptions frequently are shaped by organized ideologies, e.g., religious beliefs, or economic, social and political values. Evolving ideological perspectives contribute to institutional and economic change.

¹² BARZEL, *Property Rights* [see n. 3], pp. 64-71, 74-75.

¹³ NORTH, *Institutional Change* [see n. 1], pp. 17, 20, 22-25, 118; A. SCHOTTER, *The Economic Theory of Social Institutions*, Cambridge, 1981, p. 9.

¹⁴ Contracts tend to be self-enforced when the parties to an exchange have a great deal of knowledge about each other and are involved in repeated dealings – in *personal* exchanges, usually involving small-scale production and narrow local trade. Under these conditions, transaction costs are very low because of a dense social network of interaction. Opportunism, cheating, shirking are limited, if not absent, because they do not pay. There are few formal rules in personal exchanges as typically prevailing norms of behavior shape and enforce transactions. By contrast, in *impersonal* exchanges, taking place in wider local and regional markets or involving interdependent economic activities and contractual obligations extending through time and space, effective third-party enforcement of contracts is imperative in order to keep watch, safeguard, and punish transgressors. The involvement of a coercive third party becomes necessary because information is incomplete, complex, or one-time, because of the inherent problems in measuring the attributes of what is being exchanged, and because of the costs in enforcing the terms of the contract. In such an environment, cooperative solutions break down and mitigating circumstances by which the parties may attempt to assure compliance (e.g., ostracism, reputation, kinship ties, loyalty, integrity, honesty) are impractical.

of the fairness and impartiality of institutional arrangements, an impersonal body of law, impartial courts, and coercive power to enforce judgments are crucial elements that facilitate complex contracting.¹⁵ *Competition* is an important complementary constraining factor of the players' market behavior in impersonal exchanges, and the weaker the competitive forces the greater the need for establishing prudential and circumspect formal rules and monitoring devices to ascertain market behavior and counteract emerging anti-competitive conduct, e.g., monopolistic tendencies.

Institutions evolve over time as the underlying statute laws, contracts between individuals, conventions, norms of behavior, and the enforcement procedures and their effectiveness change. Factors leading to institutional change include: emergence of new economic opportunities; changes in the prices of the factors of production reflecting their relative scarcity or abundance (e.g., changes in the ratio of land to labor, labor to capital, capital to land); changes in technology, population and its demographics, consumer tastes and preferences; gain of bargaining strength or political power by the group that favors reforms; the interface and interplay between government authorities, the economy, and the economic actors; and the cost of information, all affecting the incentives and the behavioral pattern of individuals. Typically, institutions change incrementally rather than discontinuously, e.g., due to revolution, natural disaster, military defeat, conquest, as changes are glacial in character and occur at the margin. For in deciding whether to alter the existing institutional framework, political and economic organizations may find that such change is against their best interests or that the cost of such action is prohibitive. But even when formal rules change suddenly as a result of political or judicial decisions, informal constraints embodied in customs, traditions, and codes of conduct are much more impervious to deliberate policies because they are deeply embedded in a society's culture in its various manifestations.¹⁶ Vestiges of deeply ingrained institutions tend

Secure property rights require some form of coercive political order, and political and judicial organizations that effectively and impartially enforce contracts across space and time. Confidence in the execution of contracts and effective protection of property rights tend to check opportunistic behavior. NORTH, *Institutional Change* [see n. 1], pp. 34-35, 55-58, 121; IDEM, *Institutions and Economic Growth* [see n. 5], p. 1320.

¹⁵ See n. 13 above.

¹⁶ Culture embraces the ideas, values, knowledge, beliefs, customs, practices, skills, arts, technology, political practices, religion, ethics, philosophies, and intimate habits of everyday life of a people that influence human behavior. These constituent elements are transferred, communicated, or passed along to succeeding generations by practice, imitation and teaching. M. MEAD (ed.), *Cultural Patterns and Technical Change*, U.N. Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization, New York, 1955, pp. 12-14; R. BOYD – P. J. RECHERSON, *Culture and the Evolutionary Process*, Chicago, 1985, p. 2. On the importance of cultural beliefs and value systems and their evolution in the development of industrial and commercial structures and behavioral patterns,

to linger on and coexist with the emerging new institutions and customs. When institutional change does occur, it usually reflects the fact that a formal rule has changed, was ignored, or remained unenforced; a norm of behavior, custom, convention, or tradition has been eroded, has been replaced by a different one, or has been superseded by a formal rule; legal delimitations of rights have been modified; agreements and contracts have been renegotiated with a view to obtaining more equitable or favorable terms in light of changed circumstances; enforcement rules have been altered; an accident has occurred (e.g., natural disaster); or beliefs, ideologies, and the cultural characteristics of a society have changed.¹⁷

Institutions are the underlying determinants of an economy's performance by virtue of their effect on savings, investment, production, distribution, and consumption, including transaction costs, i.e. costs associated with the transfer, capture, and protection of property rights, as formal constraints such as the tax structure, statute law, regulations, and judicial decisions, shape the action plans devised by individuals, enterprises and organizations. Thus, property rights tend to influence individuals' incentives and economic behavior, in the sense that property right assignments specify the norms of conduct that every person must observe in his interactions with other persons or bear the cost of nonobservance.¹⁸ Moreover, the set of institutional constraints defines the exchange relationships between the state and the economy and thereby determines the way the political/economic system works.¹⁹ Increased occupational specialization and division of labor as markets expand and exchanges become nationwide and worldwide necessitate the development of institutional structures that permit individuals to take actions involving complex impersonal relationships with other individuals over space and time.²⁰ Impersonal exchange in turn entails the development of serviceable factor and product markets, a sound medium of exchange, and a set of enforceable property rights, such that would enable individuals to

see A. GRIEF, *Cultural Beliefs and the Organization of Society: An Historical and Theoretical Reflection on Collectivist and Individualist Societies*, in *Journal of Political Economy*, 102 (1994), pp. 912-950; D. LAL, *Unintended Consequences: The Impact of Factor Endowments, Culture, and Politics on Long-Run Economic Performance*, Cambridge, 2001, pp. 5-18, 71-73.

¹⁷ NORTH, *Institutional Change* [see n. 1], pp. 6, 8, 36-43, 47, 83-91, 103-104; R. COASE, *The Problem of Social Costs*, in *Journal of Law and Economics*, 3 (1960), pp. 32-34; W. Arthur LEWIS, *The Theory of Economic Growth*, London, 1963, pp. 142-156.

¹⁸ E. G. FURUBOTN – S. PEJOVICH, *Property Rights and Economic Theory: A Survey of Recent Literature*, in *Journal of Economic Literature*, 10 (1972), pp. 1137, 1139.

¹⁹ NORTH, *Institutional Change* [see n. 1], pp. 5-6, 107, 111-112; O. E. WILLIAMSON, *The Mechanisms of Governance*, Oxford, 1996, pp. 145-170.

²⁰ The growth of exchange transactions tends to eliminate custom-dominated personal contacts as relationships become increasingly impersonal, economic values become dominant, and economic individualism grows.

have confidence in their dealings with counterparts of whom they have no personal knowledge and with whom they may have no reciprocal and ongoing relationships. In such anonymous, distant, and at times sporadic economic interactions, institutional reliability is essential in order to reduce the associated uncertainties. This can be achieved, first, with the participation of a third party to the exchange – the *state*, which specifies property rights and enforces contracts by virtue of an impartial judicial system, dispassionate procedures, and the coercive power it possesses; and, second, with the development of binding norms of behavior that constrain the contracting parties.²¹ The interposition of the state is imperative because, as already indicated, it takes resources to define and enforce exchange agreements, and because the costs of creating the supporting structure and enforcing property rights far exceed the benefits to any private group or individual, while the state has the capacity to define, police, and enforce property rights at a much lower cost because it can realize immense *scale economies*. Hence, it is advantageous to the beneficiaries to accept the incubus of a tax payment in return for the rigorous definition and vigorous enforcement of agreements. The undeniable economies of large scale associated with devising a system of impartial rule of law, justice, equality of opportunity, and defense, i.e. the state's comparative advantage in providing these public goods, attest to the absolute necessity of involving the state in establishing political stability, instituting economic order, and facilitating economic development.²² For their part, operating within a hospitable political and economic environment and driven by their own self-interest, the participants in market-mediated transactions are prompted to foster norms of behavior that improve further the efficiency of their interactions and exchanges.

In a politically organized society, there are clearly tasks that unavoidably devolve on the government because institutions suitable for the coordination of economic activity and the efficient operation of the economic system do not emerge as a matter of course from the operation of the system itself or the actions of individuals operating through the market system. There are no compelling reasons to assume that societies will innately fashion the requisite institutional framework. Nor can the market always be expected to reshape property rights on its own or enact suitable laws to control

²¹ NORTH, *Institutions and Economic Growth* [see n. 5], pp. 1320-1322; J. HICKS, *A Theory of Economic History*, Oxford, 1969, pp. 33-37.

²² D. C. NORTH and R. P. THOMAS, *The Rise of the Western World: A New Economic History*, Cambridge, 1973, pp. 1-8, 97-100; NORTH, *Institutional Change* [see n. 1], p. 58; IDEM, *Structure and Change* [see n. 7], p. 24; IDEM, *Institutions*, in *Journal of Economic Perspectives*, 5 (1991), pp. 97-98; M. OLSON, *The Logic of Collective Action: Public Goods and the Theory of Groups* (*Harvard Economic Studies*, 124), Cambridge, 1971, pp. 13-15. See also n. 14 above.

monopolies or underhanded deals. The functioning of the economic system is profoundly influenced by the institutional framework and particularly by the *quality* of the operative institutions,²³ which inescapably are shaped by government action regardless whether the direction and the parameters of economic activity are determined by the market mechanism or by government directives. Economic progress equally requires institutional underpinning and influences a society's institutional structure.

Formal rules may not always be socially efficient because often they are devised or maintained to further the interests of those who possess bargaining power and are satisfied with the *status quo*, or are unwilling to engage in institutional changes that challenge their economic or political might. The evolution to impersonal contracts and the consequent rise of the state has resulted in an unequal distribution of coercive power, a development that provided an opportunity to influential individuals or a ruling class commanding superior coercive strength to shape and enforce rules to their advantage. For their part, rulers tolerated the enforcement of inefficient property rights to avoid offending powerful constituencies on whose support they rely to remain in power.²⁴ Correlatively, to the extent that institutional arrangements or at least the formal rules are not impartial or socially efficient, they can foster disserviceable incentives giving rise to onerous transaction costs; they can be unresponsive to changes in relative prices and preferences which could have been conducive to changes in rules, ideas and values; or they can adversely influence the derivative perceptions of the economic actors in the face of asymmetric or incomplete information and a wanting feedback process. Such tendencies may result in the adoption of policies that can lead to choices

²³ Recent studies based on developed and developing countries show that, although factor endowment, physical resource constraints, geography, technology, and economic policies matter, the *quality* of institutions appears to be the most significant determinant of income level and overall economic performance in a society. The quality of institutions can be judged by the soundness of governance and the rule of law in effect as reflected in political stability and absence of domestic violence; the degree of personal and property rights protection; the norms of contract enforcement; the existence of an independent and effective judiciary; the extent to which laws and regulations are fairly applied and enforced; the absence of government price controls over goods and services; and the competence and extent of corruption of the civil service. D. RODRIK – A. SUBRAMANIAN, *The Primacy of Institutions*, in *Finance and Development*, 40 (2003), pp. 31-33; H. EDISON, *Testing the Links*, *ibidem*, pp. 35-37; J. D. SACHS, *Institutions Matter, but not for Everything: The Role of Geography and Resource Endowments in Development Should't be Underestimated*, *ibidem*, pp. 38-41; D. ACEMOGLU, *Root Causes: An Historical Approach to Assessing the Role of Institutions in Economic Development*, *ibidem*, pp. 27-30. Moreover, institutions not only affect the economic prospects of a nation but are also central to the distribution of income among individuals and groups in the society. ACEMOGLU, *ibidem*, p. 29.

²⁴ NORTH, *Institutions and Economic Growth* [see n. 5], pp. 1321-1322; IDEM, *Institutional Change* [see n. 1], pp. 7-9, 16-17, 22-25; IDEM, *Structure and Change* [see n. 7], p. 28; LEWIS, *Theory of Economic Growth* [see n. 17], pp. 154-156, 160-62.

which may not be optimal or unidirectional toward desired socio-economic goals, such as increased productivity or improved economic welfare, or they may even have unintended consequences (e.g., creation of monopolistic rather than competitive conditions, restriction rather than expansion of economic opportunities, increase of the gap between effort and reward, inequitable distribution of the tax burden, limitation of economic freedom), thereby perpetuating inefficient institutional structures and inadequate property rights protection. In short, it cannot be held confidently that institutions inevitably evolve cumulatively in directions favorable to attaining sought after desiderata. Suboptimal paths can persist because the economic and political transaction costs along with the perceptions of the agents do not necessarily provide the impetus to alter the existing institutional framework.

THE STATE AS A POLITICAL/ECONOMIC ENTITY

The Byzantine economy was enmeshed in a nexus of economic and non-economic institutions. Though not an economic institution *stricto sensu*, the state (and its apparatus) is vital for the structure and functioning of the economy because it provides a vast integrating framework by maintaining the law (the handmaiden of justice),²⁵ public order,²⁶ and national security; finances the nation's physical and institutional infrastructure; possesses the requisite coercive power to protect property rights; and, through judicial, fiscal, monetary, and other institutional arrangements, impacts on economic relations and creates the conditions for their workability. The government also impacts on the economy by voluntary exchanges that operate within the price system, as when it purchases goods and services. But the government exerts

²⁵ "Law" is the solemn expression of the will of the supreme power of the state, and is broadly defined as a binding and enforceable set of commands backed up by the coercive power of the state. The more specific notion of "the rule of law", i.e. adherence to the due process of law, implies that a command must be feasible and that it can be complied with by those to whom it is addressed; it must treat equally (in the same way) those who face similar circumstances; it must be known, expressly promulgated, and clear in what it enjoins and forbids; and it must be applied consistently and impartially. Moreover, the supreme sovereign power not only must act in good faith, but its good faith must be recognized by those subject to the command, and must preserve the integrity of the judicial process. *CJ*, 1. 14. 9; *Epitome*, in *JG*, IV: 1. 32; RAWLS, *Theory of Justice* [see n. 5], pp. 206-213; POSNER, *Economic Analysis of Law* [see n. 3], pp. 287-289.

²⁶ Maintaining public order (*taxis*), to be assured at all costs, implies (a) securing freedom from upheavals, sedition, violence, criminal activities, political uncertainty, usurpation of the power by the mob; and (b) preserving the political, social and economic *status quo*, the rule of law, and the welfare of the people. *Constantini Porphyrogeniti Imperatoris De Ceremoniis Aulae Byzantinae*, ed. J. J. REISKE (*CSHB*), Bonn, 1829, pp. 3-5; H. AHRWEILER, *L'idéologie politique de l'Empire byzantine (Collection SUP, l'historien, 20)*, Paris, 1975, pp. 143-144.

weighty influence on the economy by collecting taxes levied on individuals, private property, and businesses by means of involuntary exchanges that take place outside the price system and in a coercive manner. Fiscal policies affect the disposable incomes, spending, savings and investment decisions of individuals and enterprises, as formal constraints such as the tax structure and incidence, along with statute law and regulations, shape the action plans devised by individuals and businesses. Moreover, a well-functioning economy requires political unity and stability to allow for the integration and coordination of disparate and interdependent personal and impersonal exchanges at all levels of the economic process. What is more, for economic exchanges to perform their integrative function, the behavior of the parties to the exchange must be oriented toward arriving at a negotiated price that is as favorable to each party as they can make it. This implies an antagonistic relationship in transactions, the existence of a self-regulated system of price-making markets and, ideally, the absence of state interference with the players' decision-making and the market mechanism. The array of these building blocks provides the foundation for the effectual operation of the economy.

As a state entity, Byzantium never promulgated a written constitution.²⁷ Nevertheless, a system based on custom, which expresses formally and practically the will of the state by assigning strictly defined legal power (authority) to designated state organs and governs the status of the people within the state and vis-à-vis the state, may be presumed as being tantamount to a constitution (unwritten law).²⁸ A credible analogue of a Byzantine Constitution would be “un ensemble de conceptions et de coutumes amorphes au plus haut point et pour la plupart non écrites”, as these concepts and customs, expressing the will of the ruling class, define the social organization and structure of the imperial state, the fundamental principles that establish and govern the emperor's authority, the state administrative apparatus and its functions, the legal power of the state's organs, the form of the people's representation, and the role of the army and the Church.²⁹ Indeed, despite

²⁷ L. BRÉHIER, *Les institutions de l'empire byzantine (L'évolution de l'Humanité, 32 bis)*, Paris, 1949, p. 144; M. McCORMICK, *Political Structure*, in *ODB* III, pp. 1692-1694 and *Emperor* in *ODB* I, pp. 692-693; I. MEDVEDEV, *Y avait-il une constitution à Byzance ? Quelques considerations*, in A. AVRAMEA – A. LAIOU – E. CHRYSOS (eds), *Byzantium: State and Society. In Memory of Nikos Oikonomides*, Athens, 2003, p. 383.

²⁸ P. E. PIELER, *Zum Problem der byzantinischen Verfassung*, in *JÖB*, 19 (1970), pp. 51-58; IDEM, *Verfassung und Rechtsgrundlagen des byzantinischen Staates*, in *JÖB*, 31 (1981), pp. 213-231; J. de MALAFOSSE, *La monocratie Byzantine*, in *Recueil de la société Jean Bodin pour l'histoire comparative des institutions*, 21 (1969), II, p. 48.

²⁹ MEDVEDEV, *Constitution* [see n. 27], p. 386. On a working definition of the state and the existence of fundamental elements that qualify Byzantium as a functioning state, see J. HALDON, *The Byzantine State in the Ninth Century: An Introduction*, in L. BRUBAKER (ed.), *Byzantium in the Ninth Century: Dead or Alive? Papers from the Thirtieth Spring Symposium*

the absence of a legal foundation, it is plausible to presume that the lack of a formal constitution did not impede *governance*, as is attested by the long history of the Byzantine state, as well as by the system employed in the United Kingdom where the will of the state (and the people) is expressed by parliamentary laws, judicial precedents, and long-standing customs.

The primordial epicenter of the political and economic structure in Byzantium was the monarchy, an absolute autocracy in the sense that the tripartite legislative, judicial, and executive powers of the state were vested in the monarch, who ostensibly possessed unlimited authority to intervene in temporal and ecclesiastic matters.³⁰ The *Lex Regia* affirmed that popular sovereignty had been transferred to the emperor;³¹ but the idea lingered

of Byzantine Studies, Birmingham, March, 1996 (Society for the Promotion of Byzantine Studies, Publications, 5), Aldershot, 1998, pp. 5-10.

³⁰ In the mind of the subjects the emperor was identified with the state. H. AHRWEILER, *L'Empire byzantin*, in M. DUVERGER (dir.), *Le concept d'empire*, Paris, 1980, pp. 132, 134. The substance of the imperial authority encompassed the concepts of one empire, territorial integrity, and unity of political authority. Despite external and domestic challenges, the triptych of imperial authority remained unaltered until 1204. S. VRYONIS, Jr., *Byzantine Imperial Authority: Theory and Practice in the Eleventh Century*, in G. MAKDISI et al. (eds), *La notion d'autorité au Moyen Âge: Islam, Byzance, Occident*, Paris, 1982, pp. 141-161. "Autokrator" was the epitome of the emperor's absolute power, which, however, was tempered by the perception of an unspoken legal right of insurrection in an autocratic regime with no formal constitution and no law of hereditary succession. AHRWEILER, *Empire* [see n. 26], p. 140. Correlatively, although there was no limit to the number of emperors that might co-reign (συνβασιλεῖς), consistently only one exercised sovereign power and governed the state – the *autocrator basileus*. G. OSTROGORSKY, *History of the Byzantine State*, Oxford, 1968² (transl. from the 1963 *Geschichte des byzantinischen Staats* by J. HUSSEY) pp. 113 n. 3, 128-129; S. RUNCIMAN, *Byzantine Civilisation*, London, 1933, p. 64; BRÉHIER, *Institutions* [see n. 27], pp. 43-44; MALAFOSSE, *Monocratie* [see n. 28], pp. 41-44. The necessity for imperial autocracy has been explained by the fact that external and internal challenges rarely allowed the empire any considerable period of peace. The imperial power was not questioned by the subjects because it met the requirements of the time. W. ENSSLIN, *The Emperor and the Imperial Administration*, in N. H. BAYNES – H. St. L. B. MOSS (eds), *Byzantium: An Introduction to East Roman Civilization*, Oxford, 1961, pp. 268-269, 271-273, 280. In a similar vein, imperial autocracy worked better under the circumstances than any other system that could have been devised. J. B. BURY, *The Constitution of the Later Roman Empire* (1910), in H. TEMBERLEY (ed.), *Selected Essays of J. B. Bury*, Cambridge, 1930, pp. 121-122. Realistically, it is very difficult to determine definitively what *form* of political structure would be most conducive to *good* governance in the long and eventful history of the Byzantine state.

³¹ A. WATSON (ed.), *The Digest of Justinian*, Philadelphia, 2009, 1. 2. 6; *Basilica*, ed. I. D. ZEPOS, *Βασιλικά*, Athens, 1896-1900, I-V, 60. 46. 1 scholium. Fourth century legislation already points to Byzantine absolutist tendencies. M. T. FOEGEN, *Legislation in Byzantium: A Political and Bureaucratic Technique*, in A. E. LAIOU – D. SIMON (eds), *Law and Society in Byzantium: Ninth-Twelfth Centuries*, Washington DC, 1994, p. 60. *Codex Theodosianus* (fifth century) was a powerful body of administrative laws reflecting the forceful efforts of a Byzantine emperor to form an absolutist state and secure the emperor's absolute administrative authority. Justinian I (527-565) also entertained a concept of an autocratic but paternalistic state concerned with the well-being of the people. He proclaimed that the emperor is the living law, has absolute authority to change existing and promulgate new laws, and that

on that sovereignty actually emanated from the people and was only delegated to the emperor, finding expression in his election to the throne and particularly in the unspoken legal right of insurrection to remove him from office.³² Narrative sources provide constituent elements of the people's sovereignty coexisting with the idea of absolute imperial power,³³ and it is reasonable to expect that, in an autocratic state where revolts were not

it is the emperor's prerogative and responsibility to correct the inadequacies of prior laws and to interpret the law – notions that prevailed throughout the Byzantine era. Novels 6; 49; 10. 5. 2. 4. Leo VI (886-912) declared that “the imperial authority extends over everyone and everything”. Novel 47, in P. NOAILLES – A. DAIN, *Les Nouvelles de Léon VI le Sage*, Paris, 1944, p. 187. In principle, the rule was that whatever the emperor commanded, no matter how it was communicated, it became law. *Basilica*, 2. 6. 2; *Synopsis Basilicorum*, in *JG*, V, B. 3. 2; *Epitome* [see n. 25], 1. 28; *Synopsis Minor*, in *JG*, VI, B. 53; *Hexabiblos* (Ἑξάβιβλος), ed. C. G. PITSAKIS, Athens, 1971, 1. 1. 28. Nevertheless, in reality the imperial power progressively attenuated with the ascendancy of a powerful provincial landholding class and an array of military families after the tenth century, alongside of the growing influence of the Church. Their advent and countervailing power challenged the emperor's omnipotence and fostered particular relationships with the emperor, as the latter was forced to make concessions to powerful individuals and the clergy to secure their allegiance. G. OSTROGORSKY, *Pour l'histoire de la féodalité byzantine* (trad. H. Grégoire, publ. avec la collaboration de P. Lemerle) (*Corpus Bruxellense Historiae Byzantinae. Subsidia*, I), Brussels, 1954, pp. 92-186; A. LAIOU, *Le débat sur les droits du fisc et les droits régaliens au début du 14^e siècle*, in *REB*, 58 (2000), pp. 120-121; A. CHRISTOFILOPOULOU, *Πολιτειακά ὄργανα καὶ κράτος δικαίου στὴ Βυζαντινὴ Ἀυτοκρατορία*, in *Ἀφιέρωμα στὸν Νίκο Σβορώνο*, I, Rethymno, 1986, pp. 192-194, 209-210. According to a contrarian viewpoint, the continued confiscations of monastic properties during the Palaiologan period suggest that the state may have been less weak than is often accepted: K. SMYRLIS, *The State, the Land, and Private Property: Confiscating Monastic and Church Properties in the Palaiologan Period*, in D. ANGELOV (ed.), *Church and Society in Late Byzantium* (*Studies in Medieval Culture*, 49), Kalamazoo, 2009, pp. 58-87, esp. 78. On the notion that Byzantium devolved osmotically from empire into royalty with convincing rationale, see G. DAGRON, *Empires royaux, royautés imperiales*, in R. M. KIESOW – R. OGOREK – S. SIMITIS (eds), *Summa: Dieter Simon zum 70. Geburtstag* (*Studien zur europäischen Rechtsgeschichte*, 193), Frankfurt am Main, 2005, pp. 81-97.

³² *Nicolai Archiepiscopi Constantinopolitani, Epistolae*, PG 111, cols. 209, 212, 213, 304; *Leonis Diaconi Historiae*, ed. C. B. HASE (*CSHB*), Bonn, 1828, II, p. 12; BURY, *Constitution* [see n. 30], pp. 102-103; RUNCIMAN, *Byzantine Civilisation* [see n. 30], pp. 62-63, 67; ENSSLIN, *Emperor* [see n. 30], pp. 269-272; M. McCORMICK, *Emperors*, in G. CAVALLO (ed.), *The Byzantines*, Chicago, 1997, pp. 238-239; P. CHARANIS, *Internal Strife in Byzantium During the Fourteenth Century*, in *Byz*, 15 (1941), pp. 219-221, 227; A. KAZHDAN – A. CUTLER, *Continuity and Discontinuity in Byzantine History*, in *Byz*, 52 (1982), p. 472. On the tradition of accession to the throne by means of imperial association reflecting the absolute power of the emperor, see VRYONIS, *Byzantine Imperial Authority* [see n. 30], pp. 144-151; N. SVORONOS, *Le serment de fidélité à l'empereur byzantin et sa signification constitutionnelle*, in *REB*, 9 (1951), pp. 116-125; P. LEMERLE, *Cinq études sur le XI^e siècle byzantin*, Paris, 1977, pp. 253-257.

³³ The monarchy, also referred to as βασιλεία (kingdom, empire), was viewed as superior to non-monarchical constitutions and as the foundation and protector of the people's rights (βάσις οὐσα λαοῦ καὶ στήριγμα). Βασιλεία = βάσις (foundation) + λεώς = λαός (people). Theophylact Archbishop of Bulgaria, *Institutio Regia*, PG 126, col. 269 B; D. ANGELOV, *Imperial Ideology and Political Thought in Byzantium, 1204-1330*, Cambridge, 2007, pp. 200, 202.

unknown, ideas could emerge opposing the emperor's tyrannic animus (τυραννικὸν φρόνημα), absolutist pretensions, and abuse of power.³⁴ Significantly, though the emperor was formally above the law³⁵ and his power was theoretically unlimited, the imperial authority was expected to be exercised within the scope of the law (Εἰ καὶ ὁ βασιλεὺς οὐχ ὑπόκειται νόμῳ, ἀλλ' οὖν κατὰ νόμους πολιτεύεται), in the sense that the emperor was bound in the exercise of his power by his and his predecessors' extant laws.³⁶ For their part, the emperors proclaimed the supremacy of the law as the foundation of their authority: "kings reign by virtue of the law and in accordance with the law (ἐκ νόμου καὶ διὰ νόμου, δι' οὗ βασιλεῖς βασιλεύουσι)";³⁷ "Any decree issued by My Majesty throughout Our reign that is contrary to justice and the righteousness of the laws, whether in writing or in an unwritten form, will be invalid and unenforceable";³⁸ a verdict by a court of law contrary to imperial decrees does not constitute a crime of high treason;³⁹ imperial commands are valid only when they do not violate any laws.⁴⁰ Evidently, the emperors appreciated the need of achieving a balance between authority and responsibility to those who carry out their decisions. Political power was self-limiting,⁴¹ or so it appeared. Yet, despite their commitment, emperors did not always appreciate the public perception that imperial power was conditional and circumscribed,⁴² and that failure to comply with the law or code of conduct

³⁴ M. Psellos, *Chronographie*, ed. E. RENAULT, Paris, 1967, 1, pp. 100-105; H. G. BECK, *Res Publica Romana. Vom Staatsdenken der Byzantiner*, in H. HUNGER (ed.), *Das byzantinische Herrscherbild (Wege der Forschung, 341)*, Darmstadt, 1975, pp. 381, 385, 388-389. See also n. 45 below.

³⁵ *Digest* [see n. 31], 1. 3. 31; *Basilica* [see n. 31], 2. 6. 1; *Synopsis Basilicorum* [see n. 31], B. 3. 1; *Synopsis Minor* [see n. 31], B. 42; *Epitome* [see n. 25], 1. 19; Attaleiates, *Ponema*, in *JG*, VII, II, p. 43; *Hexabiblos* [see n. 31], 1. 1. 39.

³⁶ *Basilica* [see n. 31], 2. 6. 9; *Epitome* [see n. 25], 1. 29; Attaleiates, *Ponema* [see n. 35], II.46; *Hexabiblos* [see n. 31], 1. 1. 27 and scholium. As the legally constituted steward of the laws, public order, and the well-being of the subjects, the emperor was expected to conduct himself in accordance with the laws exercising "lawful sovereignty" (βασιλεὺς ἔστιν ἔννομος ἐπιστασία). *CJ*, 1. 14. 4; Constantini VII Porphyrogeniti, *Delectus Legum Compendarius*, in *PG* 113, tit. B. 1-4 (pp. 460-461); Novel 5 (1044) of Constantine IX Monomachus in *JG*, I, p. 619; *Basilica* [see n. 31], 2. 6. 9; 9. 1. 1; *Epanagoge*, in *JG*, II, 2. 1-4; *Epitome* [see n. 25], 1. 20; *Synopsis Minor* [see n. 31], B. 21, 24, 43; *Epanagoge Aucta*, in *JG*, VI, 1. 1-4; Novel 66 (p. 1166) of emperor Manuel I Comnenos, in *JG*, I, p. 389; Attaleiates, *Ponema* [see n. 35], II, 46; *Hexabiblos* [see n. 31], 1. 1. 32; ANGELOV, *Imperial Ideology* [see n. 33], p. 194.

³⁷ Novel of Constantine Monomachus (1044) in *JG*, I, p. 619.

³⁸ Novel 68 (1159) of Manuel I Comnenos, in *JG*, I, p. 386.

³⁹ *CJ*, 9. 8. 1; *Basilica* [see n. 31], 60. 36. 14; *Synopsis Minor* [see n. 31], B. 43, 50.

⁴⁰ *Synopsis Minor* [see n. 31], B. 33, 50.

⁴¹ H. G. BECK, *Das byzantinische Jahrtausend*, Munich, 1994, pp. 33-86.

⁴² Theodore II Laskaris (1254-1258) reasoned that the ruler could disregard the letter of the law if the general welfare of the polity required him to do so. ANGELOV, *Imperial Ideology* [see n. 33], pp. 141, 420. In the same vein, Andronicus II in 1296 (*JG*, I, p. 560) proclaimed

by engaging in acts resulting in abuse of power, disrespect for his subjects' liberties (individual and property rights),⁴³ mismanagement of state wealth and affairs, incompetence, heavy and inequitable taxation, favoritism, venality of public officials, injustice, abrogation of consistent customs and traditions, popular discontent with the social or political regime, political instability, adoption of unjustified and unpopular policies, reversal of long-standing traditions, and military defeat could lead to conspiracies and revolts that could (and often did) topple them, reflecting the precariousness of the imperial power.⁴⁴ Still, the people's power was *nominal* and subdued (*contrarius consensus*) while that of the emperors was *real* and exercisable – people were the emperor's subjects, not the nation's citizens. Especially after 1204, this political setting aroused anti-absolutist sentiments and criticism of the emperors' autocratic conduct and policies, fiscal in particular. Even notions of governance being a reciprocal and contractual relationship between ruler and subjects were put forward.⁴⁵ However,

that, for his part, he was above every law and every compulsion (καὶ γὰρ ἔγωγε νόμου παντὸς ὑπερκείμενος καὶ βίας ἀπάσης). See also, ANGELOV, *Imperial Ideology* [see n. 33], pp. 141, 148, 154, 254, 260, 417-418, 420, 423; LAIOU, *Droits du fisc* [see n. 31], p. 121. In both instances, the claim served to justify ideologically the fiscal policies of the imperial government which were challenged, and to stress the emperor's supreme priority over the taxable territory of the empire.

⁴³ D. G. ANGELOV, *Three kinds of Liberty as Political Ideals in Byzantium, Twelfth to Fifteenth Centuries*, in *Proceedings of the 22nd International Congress of Byzantine Studies*, Sofia, 2011, I, pp. 311-316, 322-327. "(L)iberty was never ... an idea describing operational aspects of government": *ibidem*, p. 331. On the fiscal connotation of liberty, see A. KAZHDAN, *The concepts of freedom (eleutheria) and slavery (douleia) in Byzantium*, in G. MAKDISI *et al.* (ed.), *La notion de liberté au Moyen Âge: Islam, Byzance, Occident (Penn-Paris-Dumbarton Oaks Colloquia. IV: session des 12-15 octobre 1982)*, Paris, 1985, pp. 215-226.

⁴⁴ Psellos, *Chronographie* [see n. 34], pp. 100-105. BRÉHIER, *Institutions* [see n. 27], pp. 143-144; M. McCORMICK, *Emperor*, in *ODB* I, pp. 692-693 and *Political Structure*, in *ODB* III, pp. 1692-1694; H. G. BECK, *Senat und Volk von Konstantinopel: Probleme der byzantinischen Verfassungsgeschichte* (Bayerische Akademie der Wissenschaften, Philosophisch-historische Klasse, Sitzungsberichte, 1966, Heft 6), in IDEM, *Ideen und Realitäten in Byzanz (Variorum Reprints)*, London, 1972, XII, pp. 22-47; ENSSLIN, *Emperor* [see n. 30], pp. 271-272; M. F. HENDY, *Studies in the Byzantine Monetary Economy c. 300-1450*, Cambridge, 1985, pp. 137, 570-590; OSTROGORSKY, *History* [see n. 30], pp. 333, 338, 344-345, 347-350, 397-400; A. KAZHDAN – G. CONSTABLE, *People and Power in Byzantium. An Introduction to Modern Byzantine Studies*, Washington DC, 1982, pp. 145-146; H. AHRWEILER, *Recherches sur la société byzantine au XI^e siècle: Nouvelles hiérarchies et nouvelles solidarités*, in *TM*, 6 (1976), p. 115. On the role of the public (δημος, πλῆθος) in conspiracy, sedition, rebellion, usurpation, and the imperativeness for emperors to be mindful of the will of the people, see A. KALDELLIS, *How to usurp the throne in Byzantium: the role of public opinion in sedition and rebellion*, in D. ANGELOV – M. SAXBY (eds), *Power and Subversion*, Farnham, Surrey, 2013, pp. 43-56.

⁴⁵ P. MAGDALINO, *Aspects of Twelfth-Century Byzantine Kaiserkritik*, in *Speculum*, 58 (1983), pp. 326-346, and the sources cited therein; Michael of Ephesus, ed. and transl. E. BARKER, *Social and Political Thought in Byzantium from Justinian I to the Last Palaeologus*, Oxford, 1957, pp. 140-141; *Theophylacte d'Achrida, Lettres*, ed. P. GAUTIER (CFHB, 16.2), Thessaloniki, 1986, Lettre no. 45; ANGELOV, *Imperial Ideology* [see n. 33], pp. 269-280.

the monarchic principle and the emperor's rights were seldom seriously contested in Byzantium.⁴⁶

PRIVATE PROPERTY OWNERSHIP

The Legal Regime of Private Property

The institution of private property ownership (lay and ecclesiastic) and the derivative rights thereof were the foundation of the empire's civil society and market economy. Their constituent elements, enforcement, and influence on economic behavior, as already described,⁴⁷ extended to immobile property, land being the predominant asset, tradable goods, and exchanges, such rights and contractual obligations being protected by an array of legal provisions.⁴⁸ Property ownership in Byzantium remained embedded in Roman law because of the uninterrupted continuation of the Roman Empire in the East and the fact that the *Basilica* preserved the relevant provisions of the *Codex Justinianus*. Thus, landholdings were always under the complete and absolute dominion of the owner (*dominium directum et utile*), reflecting the union of title ownership and exclusive use of the property. The proprietor had the unrestricted right to sell, bequeath, lease, exchange, or otherwise convey his property, and he could not be deprived of his ownership without cause.⁴⁹ Private property remained the dominant form of

⁴⁶ *Theodori Metochitae Miscellanea philosophica et historica*, ed. C. G. MUELLER – M. T. KIESLING, Leipzig, 1821, pp. 538-544, 625-642; MALAFOSSE, *Monocratie* [see n. 28], p. 46; ANGELOV, *Imperial Ideology* [see n. 33], pp. 193, 420; LAIOU, *Droits du fisc* [see n. 31], pp. 120-121.

⁴⁷ See pp. 206-213 and n. 3 above.

⁴⁸ See pp. 211-212 and ns. 153, 154, 156-158 below. To safeguard private property rights, prevent breach of contracts and losses, and avoid frivolous litigation which would encumber the courts, the contracting parties were enjoined to be fair and honest in their dealings. At the same time, legally constituted agreements and business deals were valid in perpetuity and those who failed to observe the terms of an agreement were subject to a fine. See pp. 234-238 and n. 105 below.

⁴⁹ *Basilica* [see n. 31], 50. 1. 1, 6; 50. 2. 1, 2, 7, 11, 59, 61; 50. 3. 3; Attaleiates, *Ponema* [see n. 35], 30. 7, 8; *Synopsis Minor* [see n. 31], N. 13, 14; *Hexabiblos* [see n. 31], 2. 1. 2, 3 and scholium, 4, 5; K. E. ZACHARIAE VON LINGENTHAL, *Geschichte des griechisch-romischen Rechts*, Berlin, 1892, rp. Aalen, 1973, pp. 249-258; M. J. SJUZUMOV, *Ėkonomičeskie vozrenija L'va VI*, in *VV*, 15 (1959), pp. 35-40; IDEM, *Suverenitet, nalog i zemel'naja renta v Vizantii*, in *Antičnaja drevnost' i srednie veka*, 9 (1973), pp. 57-65; G. G. LITAVRIN, *Problema gosudarstvennoj sobstvennosti v Vizantii X-XI vv*, in *VV*, 35 (1973), pp. 51-74; IDEM, *Le problème de la propriété d'état en Byzance aux Xe-XIe siècles*, in *Βυζαντικά*, 9 (1989), pp. 11-46; IDEM, *Vizantijskoe občestvo i gosudarstvo v X-XI vv*, Moskva, 1977, pp. 27-28, 36, 39, 41; P. LEMERLE, *The Agrarian History of Byzantium from the Origins to the Twelfth Century: the Sources and Problems* (transl. G. Mac Neocail), Galway, 1979, p. 57.

ownership throughout the life of the Eastern Roman Empire, as small, medium and large landed properties coexisted albeit with changing proportional interrelationships over the centuries.

The view has been expressed by several scholars that *de facto* the emperor, and by extension the state, had supreme right over all landed property in the empire regardless of how it was acquired by virtue of his imperial *dominium directum*.⁵⁰ Although the owner typically had the right to alienate his property, the situation was “ambivalent” because the state tacitly “controlled” private ownership including all derivative transactions: the state had the right to establish the just price on sales of private property; to restrict the right of a peasant to sell his land to the buyer of his preference because of the neighbors’ right of preemption; or to outrightly confiscate property by means of administrative rulings. As long as the state had control over private property, praedial property had the character of conditional ownership.⁵¹ The belief that state supreme ownership and private property ownership coexisted without negating each other and invalidating the power and prerogatives of private ownership is odd as the two principles are incompatible – the implied dual ownership would have resulted in behavioral patterns contrary to ones actually observed, and would be inconsistent with the prevailing institutional setup and the social, economic, and political realities of the Byzantine state. Significantly, the notion that the owner of the property had only *possession* (νομή) would have eroded private ownership rights embedded in the law with far-reaching implications for the institution of private ownership, the productive utilization of the property, the derivative property rights, private initiative, and the market price of the land. Evidence affirms an insatiable demand for land by lay and monastic landlords,⁵² substantial

⁵⁰ See n. 51 below.

⁵¹ M. G. PLATON, *Observations sur le droit de Hypothèques en droit byzantine*, Paris, 1906, pp. 87-89; J. DANSTRUP, *The State and Landed Property in Byzantium to c. 1250*, in *Classica et Mediaevalia*, 8 (1947), pp. 240-244; F. DOELGER, *Die Frage des Grundeigentums in Byzanz*, in *Bulletin of the International Committee of Historical Sciences*, 5 (1933), pp. 5-15; IDEM, *Beitraege zur Geschichte der byzantinischen Finanzverwaltung besonders des 10. und 11. Jahrhunderts*, Leipzig, 1927, rp. Hildesheim 1960, p. 41 n. 5; A. GUILLOU, *Civilisation byzantine (Les grandes civilisations)*, Paris, 1974, pp. 243-444; A. KAZHDAN, *Derevnja i gorod v Vizantij IX-X vv*, Moskva, 1960, pp. 137-143; IDEM, *Socialnyj sostav gosподstvujuščego klassa Vizantii XI-XII vv*, Moskva, 1974, pp. 228-235; IDEM, *State, Feudal, and Private Economy in Byzantium*, in *DOP*, 47 (1993), pp. 84 and n. 4, 85-86, 88-98; IDEM, *Do we Need a New History of Byzantine Law ?* in *JÖB*, 39 (1989), pp. 14-21; KAZHDAN – CONSTABLE, *People and Power* [see n. 44], pp. 135, 145; A. P. KAZHDAN – A. WHARTON EPSTEIN, *Change in Byzantine Culture in the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries*, Berkeley, 1985, pp. 59-60.

⁵² The stipulation that “the monastery’s surplus funds should be invested in land” is indicative of the advantages of owning landed property. P. GAUTIER, *Le Typikon du Sébaste Grégoire Pakourianos*, in *REB*, 42 (1984), p. 109. Numerous deeds attesting to purchases of landed properties

expansion of the cultivated land, intensive tilling of landholdings, rise in agricultural production, and determined efforts of property owners to defend their rights against transgressors, developments that would not have occurred had the institution of private property ownership not been deeply entrenched and legally safeguarded. Conditional ownership would have ushered in a climate of uncertainty as the quasi-owner would not have had the ability to use his land undistractedly, since his title *de facto* would not have had uncontested legal force as long as the emperor or the state were the supreme owners and their intentions unpredictable. Sales of escheated lands by the fisc to private individuals conveying legal title would have been unthinkable if the buyers were not assured of inviolable ownership rights; and so would have been sales between individual landholders. The fact remains that private property ownership was viewed as a highly valued asset by the people; property rights were deeply entrenched in the Byzantine economy and law;⁵³ and there was no legal foundation or latitude for imperial/state ownership of the empire's landed properties.

The right of the farmer to sell his land to the buyer of his choice was restricted by the right of preemption (*προτίμησις*), which obliged him to offer his property successively and in a prescribed order to five categories of preferred potential buyers. Only after the preferred villagers had exercised

(ἐξ ἀγορασίας) by monasteries include: *Actes de Lavra*, II, ed. P. LEMERLE – A. GUILLOU – N. SVORONOS – D. PAPACHRYSSANTHOU (*ArchAth*, 8), Paris, 1977, nos. 83 (p. 60), 84 (p. 61), 85 (pp. 62-63), 86 (pp. 64-65), 87 (p. 66), 88 (p. 68), 89 (p. 74); III, nos. 118 (p. 5), 143 (pp. 91-92); *Actes de Docheiariou*, ed. N. ΟΙΚΟΝΟΜΙΔΗΣ (*ArchAth*, 13), Paris, 1984, nos. 3 (p. 67), 40 (p. 229); *Actes de Chilandar*, ed. R. P. PETIT – B. KORABLEV, Amsterdam, 1975, pp. 45, 146, 156, 199; *Actes d'Iviron*, I, ed. J. LEFORT – N. ΟΙΚΟΝΟΜΙΔΗΣ – D. PAPACHRYSSANTHOU (*ArchAth*, 14), Paris, 1985, nos. 12 (p. 178), 16 (pp. 191-192), 26 (p. 242); *Actes d'Esphigménou*, ed. J. LEFORT (*ArchAth*, 6), Paris, 1973, no. 10 (p. 79); *Actes de Xénophon*, ed. D. PAPACHRYSSANTHOU (*ArchAth*, 15), Paris, 1986, no. 25 (p. 192); *Les archives de Saint-Jean-Prodrôme sur le mont Ménécée*, ed. A. GUILLOU, Paris, 1955, no. 9 (p. 55); *MM*, 4, pp. 8, 9, 20, 25, 60-61, 78, 93-95, 114, 124, 130, 132-137, 164, 191-193, 195, 226, 227, 269, 270, 320, 398, 400-411; *MM*, 5, p. 13; *MM*, 6, p. 88; K. SMYRLIS, *La fortune des grands Monastères byzantins*, Paris, 2006, pp. 146-150, 238-244. In the tenth century and beyond, land offered the best investment opportunity in terms of value, safety, and financial return. J. L. TEALL, *Byzantine Agricultural Tradition*, in *DOP*, 25 (1971), p. 56; *Kekaumenos*, *Στρατηγικόν*, ed. D. TSOUGARAKIS, Athens, 1993, p. 132; P. GAUTIER, *La Diataxis de Michel Ataliate*, in *REB* 39 (1981), pp. 19, 23, 25; LEMERLE, *Cinq études* [see n. 32], pp. 58-60; S. VRYONIS, JR., *The Will of a Provincial Magnate, Eustathius Boilas (1059)*, in *DOP*, 11 (1957), pp. 265-266, 276; P. CHARANIS, *The Monastic Properties and the State in the Byzantine Empire*, in *DOP*, 4 (1948), p. 118; A. HARVEY, *Economic expansion in the Byzantine empire 900-1200*, Cambridge, 1989, pp. 42-45; G. OSTROGORSKY, *The Peasant's Pre-emption Right: An Abortive Reform of the Macedonian Emperors*, in *JRS*, 37 (1947), pp. 117-126; *Peira*, in *JG*, IV, 36. 18; 42. 17, 19; 69. 5; M. KAPLAN, *Les hommes et la terre à Byzance du VIe au XIe siècle. Propriété et exploitation du sol (Byzantina sorbonensia)*, 10), Paris, 1992, pp. 302-304.

⁵³ "Public properties belong to the community and nobody else; private properties belong exclusively to the owner (ὅπὸ τῆν τοῦ καθ' ἕκαστον δεσποτεῖαν)." *Basilica* [see n. 31], 46. 3. 1; *Synopsis Basilicorum* [see n. 31], II. 25. 1.

their right of first refusal and no sale materialized could the seller turn to outsiders. Those to whom an offer was made each had thirty days to pay the just price, four months if there were disputes over ownership or boundaries, or forfeit their right. The powerful were forbidden to buy land in the territory of the village community unless they owned contiguous land.⁵⁴ The seriatim exercise of the right of first refusal narrowed down the circle of potential buyers and could adversely affect the selling price, as the seller was deprived of the opportunity to deal concurrently with a wider circle of prospective buyers, a circumstance that effectively weakened his bargaining power. Yet, the measure had explicit and implicit social objectives: to prevent powerful and avid landlords from acquiring the land of the small landholders; to maintain the integrity of the village community as a fiscal unit; and to curb the rising economic and political power of the landowning aristocracy. But despite the repeated pronouncements of the Macedonian emperors, the right of preemption, a worthy socio-economic policy objective, failed to protect freeholders against the land-grabbing propensities of the big lay and monastic landowners, who often resorted to underhanded deals or acted in collusion with public officials and judges to circumvent the law.⁵⁵

⁵⁴ *Basilica* [see n. 31], 11. 1. 60; Novels 2 (922) and 5 (935) of Romanus I Lecapenus; 6 (947) and 8 (945-959) of Constantine VII Porphyrogenitus; 16 (962) of Romanus II; 20 (967) of Nicephorus II Phocas; 26 (988) and 29 (996) of Basil II, all in *JG*, I, pp. 198-204, 205-214, 214-217, 222-226, 243-244, 253-255, 259, 262-272, respectively; PLATON, *Observations* [see n. 51], pp. 104-123; LEMERLE, *Agrarian history* [see n. 49], pp. 85-114; OSTROGORSKY, *Pre-emption Right* [see n. 52], pp. 117-126; IDEM, *History* [see n. 30], pp. 272-276; E. PAPA-
GIANNI, *Protimesis (Preemption) in Byzantium*, in A. E. LAIOU *et al.* (ed.), *The Economic History of Byzantium* (hereafter *EHB*), Washington DC, 2002, 3, pp. 1071-1082.

⁵⁵ Novel 6 (947) of Constantine VII Porphyrogenetus, Novel 29 (996) of Basil II, Novels 58 (1153) and 61 (1158) of Manuel I Comnenus, in *JG*, I, pp. 214-217, 262-272, 376-380, 382, respectively; *Peira* [see n. 52], 9. 2, 3; 15. 4, 9, 14; 23. 3, 7; 40. 12; *MM*, 4, pp. 93-94, 183-197, 217-219; *MM*, 6, p. 10; *Actes de Chilandar* [see n. 52], nos. 81; 86; 95; 112; *Actes d'Iviron* [see n. 52], II, nos. 45, 52; *Actes de Docheiariou* [see n. 52], nos. 2, 18, 27; *Peira* [see n. 52], 36.18; 42.17, 19; 69.5; G. A. RHALLIS – M. POTLES, *Συναγμα των Θειων και Ιερων Κανωνων (Syntagma)*, Athens, 1852, II, p. 603; HARVEY, *Economic expansion* [see n. 52], pp. 42-45, 55-56, 62; IDEM, *The Monastic Economy and Imperial Patronage from the Tenth to the Twelfth Century*, in A. BRYER – M. CUNNINGHAM (eds), *Mount Athos and Byzantine Monasticism (Variorum Reprints)*, Aldershot, 1996, Part VIII, pp. 91, 92; N. WILSON – J. DARROUZÈS, *Restes du cartulaire de Hiéra-Xérochoraphion*, in *REB*, 26 (1968), pp. 13-15, 19-20; *The Correspondence of Ignatios the Deacon*, ed. C. MANGO – S. EFTHYMIADIS (*CFHB*, 39), Washington DC, 1997, Letter no. 17; DOELGER, *Frage* [see n. 51], p. 12; CHARANIS, *Monastic Properties* [see n. 52], pp. 64, 68, 85-87, 98, 102-108; N. SVORONOS, *Les privilèges de l'Église à l'époque des Comnènes: Un rescrit inédit de Manuel Ier Comnène*, in *TM*, 1 (1965), pp. 356, 360-361, 378; A. E. LAIOU-TOMADAKIS, *Peasant Society in the Late Byzantine Empire*, Princeton, 1977, pp. 212-213; LEMERLE, *Agrarian history* [see n. 49], pp. 91-98, 216-217; G. OSTROGORSKY, *Quelques problèmes d'histoire de la paysannerie Byzantine (Corpus Bruxellense historiae byzantinae, Subsidia, II)*, Brussels, 1956, pp. 48-49; IDEM, *Pre-emption Right* [see n. 52], pp. 117-126; J. LEFORT, *Une grande fortune foncière aux Xe-XIIIe s.: les biens du Monastère d'Iviron*, in *Structures féodales et féodalisme dans l'Occident Méditerranéen (Xe-XIIIe siècles). Bilan et*

Confiscations Viewed in Perspective

Confiscations of lay and monastic properties were not rare in Byzantium and certainly not every such act was legitimate.⁵⁶ Byzantine chroniclers held that confiscations were an infringement on the right of property owners and not an exercise of the emperor's lawful right;⁵⁷ in fact, the emperors usurped the right of ownership (*despoteia*) which did not belong to them.⁵⁸ Nevertheless, the term "confiscation" has been used indiscriminately and mostly with a sinister attribute, obfuscating the motive and true nature of many lawful acts of appropriation. Indeed, the issue needs to be put in proper perspective. In the first place, it is a mistake to derive a general imperial right to confiscate landed properties from

perspectives de recherches. Colloque international organisé par le Centre national de la Recherche scientifique et l'Ecole française de Rome (Rome, 10-13 octobre 1978) (Collection de l'Ecole française de Rome, 44), Rome, 1980, pp. 729, 730, 734, 740.

⁵⁶ "Roman emperors treat common property as their own": *Nicetae Choniatae Historia*, ed. J. A. VAN DIETEN (CFHB, 11), Berlin, 1975, p. 143; *Ioannis Zonarae Epitomae Historiarum*, ed. M. PINDER (CSHB), Bonn, 1897, 3, pp. 733, 766; *Georgius Cedrenus, Historiarum Compendium*, ed. I. BEKKER (CSHB), Bonn, 1839, 2, pp. 37, 39; *Ioannis Scylitzae Synopsis Historiarum*, ed. I. THURN (CFHB, 5), Berlin, 1973, p. 396; *Attaleiates, Ἰστορία*, ed. I. D. POLEMIS, Athens, 1997, pp. 120, 122; I. ŠEVČENKO, *Nicolas Cavasilas' "Anti-Zealot" Discourse in Parisinus Graecus 1276*, in *DOP*, 11 (1957), pp. 153, 154, 159-161, 165, 169; *Actes d'Iviron* [see n. 52], I, Introduction, pp. 27-31; II, nos. 45, 50, 52; *Actes de Xénophon* [see n. 52], nos. 2, 25; *Actes de Lavra* [see n. 52], II, no. 75; *Actes de Docheiariou* [see n. 52], no. 18; M. GOUDAS, *Βυζαντινὰ Ἐγγραφα τῆς Ἱερᾶς Μονῆς Βατοπεδίου*, in *EEBS*, 3 (1926), pp. 128, 133-134; G. R. MONKS, *The Administration of the Private Purse*, in *Speculum*, 32 (1957), pp. 749-753, 755-756, 778; N. OIKONOMIDÈS, *Fiscalité et exemption fiscale à Byzance (IXe-XIe s.)*, Athens, 1996, pp. 143-145; J. F. HALDON, *Byzantium in the Seventh Century*, Cambridge, 1997, pp. 96-97; CHARANIS, *Monastic Properties* [see n. 52], pp. 54, 67, 70, 72, 118; OSTROGORSKY, *Féodalité* [see n. 31], pp. 155-163; A. HARVEY, *Financial crisis and the rural economy*, in M. MULLETT – D. SMYTHE (eds), *Alexios I Komnenos (Belfast Byzantine Texts and Translations, 4.1)*, Belfast, 1996, p. 172; IDEM, *The Land and Taxation in the Reign of Alexios I Komnenos: The Evidence of Theophylact of Ochrid*, in *REB*, 51 (1993), pp. 141-143; H. GLYKATZI-AHRWEILER, *La politique agraire des empereurs de Nicée*, in *Byz*, 28 (1958), pp. 56-57; P. MAGDALINO, *The Empire of Manuel I Komnenos 1143-1180*, Cambridge, 1997, p. 161; A. J. CAPPEL, *Confiscation*, in *ODB* I, p. 494; SMYRLIS, *State* [see n. 31], pp. 58-87. On the other hand, there are instances of landed properties owned by monasteries which were acquired by reprehensible means. SVORONOS, *Privilèges de l'Église* [see n. 55], pp. 325-333, 356, 361; Novels 53 (1146), 56 (1148), 58 (1153) and 61 (1158) of Manuel I Comnenos, in *JG*, I, pp. 367, 376-378, 379, 381-385, respectively. See also Novel 81 (1181) of Alexios II Comnenos, in *JG*, I, pp. 427-428; Novel 31 (1285) of Andronicus II, in *JG*, I, pp. 666-667; *MM*, 5, pp. 116, 328-329; C. ASTRUC, *Un document inédit de 1163 sur l'évêché thessalien de Stagi*, in *Bulletin de correspondance hellénique*, 83 (1959), pp. 214-216; L. PETIT, *Le monastère de Notre-Dame de Pitié en Macédoine*, in *Izvestija*, 6 (1900), p. 71.27-34. For a similar case see E. SARGOLOGOS, *La vie de Saint Cyrille le Philéote moine byzantine*, Brussels, 1964, p. 231; *MM*, 6, p. 10; *Peira* [see n. 52], 7. 6. See also n. 55 above.

⁵⁷ Ioannes Mauropous, Letters: *Johannis Euchaitarum Metropolitae quae in Codice Vaticano Graeco 676 supersunt*, ed. P. DE LAGARDE – J. BOLLIG (*Abhandlungen der historisch-philologischen Klasse der königlichen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen*, 28), Göttingen, 1882, pp. 170-171.

⁵⁸ MAGDALINO, *Kaiserkritik* [see n. 45], p. 339.

the frequency of such occurrences for which the legal grounds are at best dubious and then justify it on the basis of ownership of all land.⁵⁹ Second, *klasmatic* lands⁶⁰ and escheated properties taken away by the fisc are not confiscations. These properties were claimed by the state legally and acquired in accordance with prescribed procedures because they were either abandoned uncultivated lands, or arable lands whose owners had fled, never claimed their land, or had died heirless, and hence they belonged to no one (*res nullius*). In effect, the owners of these properties had *relinquished* their ownership rights. The very fact that there was a thirty-year waiting period before land could legally be taken away is indicative of the state's respect for private ownership. Third, also within the purview of the law were: takeovers of land in return for canceling tax obligations;⁶¹ repossession of usurped state land, seizure of unregistered fields paying no tax, or appropriation of properties paying less than the due tax (*hikanosis*), provided the landholder refused or was unable to pay the assessed price or the additional tax;⁶² conviction for venality or dereliction of duty;⁶³ inexcusable absence of three years or desertion by the military;⁶⁴ bequest of property to disowned persons;⁶⁵ nonexistence of eligible heirs;⁶⁶ aiding and abetting egregiously the issue of a chrysobull;⁶⁷ sentence of individuals for criminal acts including exile imposed for embezzlement of public funds or commitment of abhorrent crimes;⁶⁸ conversion of a Christian to Judaism or attempt by a Jew to

⁵⁹ H. G. BECK, *Res Publica Romana*, in *Bayerische Akademie der Wissenschaften*, 2 (1970), p. 39.

⁶⁰ *Klasma* was land escheated to the fisc because of the disappearance of its tax-paying owner and remained unclaimed after thirty years. *Klasmata* could be donated, rented, or sold, usually at a reduced price, and were initially taxed at a lower rate; the tax was raised to the normal assessment level after 15 years. *Treatise on Taxation*, in DOELGER, *Beitraege* [see n. 51], p. 116. 8-17; M. C. BARTUSIS, *Klasma*, in *ODB* II, p. 1132.

⁶¹ P. MAGDALINO, *Justice and Finance in the Byzantine State, Ninth to Twelfth Centuries*, in LAIOU – SIMON, *Law and Society in Byzantium* [see n. 31], p. 109 n. 68 and the sources cited therein; LITAVRIN, *Vizantijskoe obščestvo* [see n. 49], p. 26.

⁶² See G. C. MANIATIS, *On the Validity of the Theory of Supreme State Ownership of All Land in Byzantium*, in *Byz*, 77 (2007), pp. 605-607.

⁶³ I. ŠEVČENKO, *Léon Bardalès et les juges généraux: Ou la corruption des incorruptible*, in *Byz*, 19 (1949), p. 251; P. LEMERLE, *Documents et problèmes nouveaux concernant les juges généraux* (1966), in IDEM, *Le monde de Byzance: histoire et institutions (Variorum Reprints)*, London, 1978, Part XIV, pp. 32-33; *Epanagoge* [see n. 36], 7. 4; Attaleiates, *Ponema* [see n. 35], 35. 82, 159; *Epanagoge Aucta* [see n. 36], 5. 15; *Synopsis Minor* [see n. 31], A. 60; Φ. 27.

⁶⁴ Novel 18 (963-969) of Nicephorus II Phocas, in *JG*, I, pp. 247-248.

⁶⁵ *Peira* [see n. 52], 60. 1.

⁶⁶ Novel 12 (945-959) of Constantine Porphyrogenetus, in *JG*, I, p. 237; Novel 26 (1306) of Andronicus II, in *JG*, I, p. 534; *Hexabiblos* [see n. 31], 5. 8. 95; D. SIMON, *Intasted Succession*, in *ODB* II, p. 1004.

⁶⁷ Kekaumenos, *Στρατηγικόν* [see n. 52], 35.

⁶⁸ Forgery: *Basilica* [see n. 31], 60. 41. 1; 60. 45. 7; *Synopsis Basilicorum* [see n. 31], M. 18. 2; Π. 17. 1, 4; *Synopsis Minor* [see n. 31], M. 125; Attaleiates, *Ponema* [see n. 35], 35. 248; Murder: *Basilica* [see n. 31], 60. 39. 3; *Synopsis Minor*, Φ. 15, 25; Attaleiates, *Ponema*, 35.

proselytize or circumcise a Christian;⁶⁹ sites used to make counterfeit coins;⁷⁰ sale of forbidden medicines, amulets, etc., or involvement in prostitution, sorcery or soothsaying;⁷¹ high treason, or attempt to usurp imperial authority;⁷² actions of *ultra vires*;⁷³ confiscation of land belonging to dignitaries convicted for conspiracy, revolt or plot against the life of the emperor (*lèse majesté*).⁷⁴

142, 171; *Prochiron Auctum*, in *JG*, VII, 39, 218; *Hexabiblos* [see n. 31], 6. 6. 6; Embezzlement of public funds: *Basilica* [see n. 31], 60. 45. 1, 2, 7, 8, 10; 60. 43. 1; *Synopsis Basilicorum*, I. 2. 1; Attaleiates, *Ponema*, 35. 172-174; Sentence to hard labor: *Synopsis Basilicorum*, Δ. 13. 7; Arson: *Basilica* [see n. 31], 60. 39. 2, 6; Attaleiates, *Ponema*, 35. 146; Forced seizure of immobile property: *Basilica* [see n. 31], 60. 17. 7, 10, 12, 18; Attaleiates, *Ponema*, 35. 56; Exile: *Basilica* [see n. 31], 60. 39. 3; 60. 43. 7, 9-11; 60. 52. 7, 13; 60. 54. 7; *Synopsis Basilicorum*, M. 18. 2; Π. 17. 1, 4; Φ. 6. 33; *Prochiros Nomos*, in *JG*, II, 39, 58; *Epitome* [see n. 25], 45. 38; Attaleiates, *Ponema*, 35. 159, 221, 223, 228, 255, 256; *Synopsis Minor*, Φ. 15. 25; *Ecloga ad Prochiron Mutata*, in *JG*, VI, 35. 11; *Hexabiblos* [see n. 31], 1. 3. 27; 6. 5. 15; 6. 9. 1.

⁶⁹ *Basilica* [see n. 31], 60. 54. 22, 29, 30; 60. 39. 7; *Synopsis Basilicorum* [see n. 31], I, 1, 4, 6, 8; 11; Attaleiates, *Ponema* [see n. 35], 35. 148, 235, 237; *Epitome* [see n. 25], 45. 62; *Ecloga ad Prochiron Mutata* [see n. 68], 36. 2, 9; *Hexabiblos* [see n. 31], 6. 11. 1, 2, 5.

⁷⁰ *Basilica* [see n. 31], 60. 60. 1, 2; *Synopsis Basilicorum* [see n. 31], Π. 8. 3; Attaleiates, *Ponema* [see n. 35], 35. 248; *Synopsis Minor* [see n. 31], Φ. 76.

⁷¹ *Basilica* [see n. 31], 60. 39. 3, 4; *Synopsis Basilicorum* [see n. 31], Φ. 2. 1, 2; *Epanagoge* [see n. 36], 40. 84; *Ecloga Legum*, in *JG*, II, 17. 43; *Prochiros Nomos* [see n. 68], 39. 29, 78; Attaleiates, *Ponema* [see n. 35], 35. 235; *Epitome* [see n. 25], 45. 20, 21, 35, 38, 59; *Epanagoge Aucta* [see n. 36], 52. 25, 26, 30, 71; *Synopsis Minor* [see n. 31], Φ. 14; *Prochiron Auctum* [see n. 68], 39. 197; *Hexabiblos* [see n. 31], 6. 10. 3-5, 7; Novel 26 (1306) of Andronicus II in *JG*, I, p. 536.

⁷² *Ecloga Legum* [see n. 71], 17. 3; *Georgii Akropolitae Opera*, ed. A. HEISENBERG, Stuttgart, 1978, I, p. 105; P. LEMERLE, *Un Praktikon inédit des Archives de Karakala (Janvier 1342) et la situation en Macédoine orientale au moment de l'usurpation de Cantacuzène* (1965), in IDEM, *Le monde de Byzance: histoire et institutions (Variorum Reprints)*, London, 1978, Part XVIII, p. 293; *Actes de Lavra* [see n. 52], I, no. 45; DOELGER, *Frage* [see n. 51], p. 6; CHARANIS, *Monastic Properties* [see n. 52], p. 71; G. ROUILLARD, *La vie rurale dans l'empire byzantine*, Paris, 1953, pp. 115, 116; HARVEY, *Monastic Economy* [see n. 55], p. 91.

⁷³ Exile and confiscation of property of Basil the Nothos: Novel 29 (996) of Basil II, in *JG*, I, pp. 270-271; A. KAZHDAN – A. CUTLER, *Basil the Nothos*, in *ODB* I, p. 270.

⁷⁴ "Plotters against the emperor shall be executed and their property confiscated": *Epanagoge* [see n. 36], 40. 12; *Ecloga Legum* [see n. 71], 17. 3; *Prochiros Nomos* [see n. 68], 39. 10; Attaleiates, *Ponema* [see n. 35], 35. 100, 103, 104; *Epitome* [see n. 25], 45. 30; *Epanagoge Aucta* [see n. 36], 52. 9; *Prochiron Auctum* [see n. 68], 39. 15; *Hexabiblos* [see n. 31], 6. 14. 2. Emperor Theophilos, after the rebellion of Thomas the Slav, seized the estates of the mutineers and gave them to the supporters of the regime. A. KAZHDAN, *Hagiographical Notes*, in *Byz*, 56 (1986), p. 161. Similar was the fate of Romanos Stabromanos under Alexius I Comnenus: P. GAUTIER, *Le dossier d'un haut fonctionnaire d'Alexius I Comnène, Manuel Stabromanos*, in *REB*, 23 (1965), pp. 178-204. Theodore Metochites under Andronicus III: GUILLLOU, *Civilisation byzantine* [see n. 51], p. 259; E. TRAPA, *Th. Metochites*, in *ODB* II, pp. 1357-1358. Eustathios Maleinos under Basil II: *Scylitzae Synopsis Historiarum* [see n. 56], p. 340; A. KAZHDAN – A. CUTLER, *Maleinos*, in *ODB* II, p. 1276. A. Achouchos under Manuel I Comnenus: *Nicetae Choniatae, Historia* [see n. 56], pp. 146-147; J.-C. CHEYNET, *Fortune et puissance de l'aristocratie (Xe-XIIIe siècle)*, in V. KRAVARI – J. LEFORT – C. MORRISON (eds), *Hommes et richesses dans l'empire byzantine*, Paris, 1989-1991, II, p. 209; IDEM, *Pouvoir et Contestations à Byzance (963-1210) (Byzantina Sorbonensia, 9)*, Paris, 1990, p. 201. M. Kamytzes under Alexius III Angelus: *Nicetae Choniatae Historia* [see n. 56],

Finally, recall of *pronoiai* by the reigning emperor or his successors are incorrectly viewed as confiscations. The grant of land per se did not create a property ownership right but only conferred a *temporary* and *conditional* right of *use* on the beneficiary; the concession was based on practice and not on law; and the principle of revocation and transfer was never abandoned, suggesting that the fisc retained full ownership of the property.⁷⁵

Reprehensible appropriations generally affected innocent high-ranking state officials who were vindictively relieved of their duties following a change of the administration and were deprived of properties the emperor had granted to them during their tenure as a reward for their services;⁷⁶ guiltless military or political figures indicted on trumped-up charges of conspiracy or plotting against the emperor's life; or dignitaries and monasteries in disregard of chrysobulls that had confirmed their ownership to the granted properties. Unquestionably, these appropriations were whimsical and unjustified, but, viewed in a time frame of centuries, they were exceptional, intermittent, and the result of abuse of imperial power; they were mostly acts of desperation prompted by budgetary crises and situations associated with military emergencies involving grants to military in return for services or to lay landlords in return for equipping a contingent of soldiers,⁷⁷ and involved privileged and large, lay and monastic, landowners. Nevertheless, the possibility of taking away legally owned property introduced a sense of injustice within the potentially affected owners, even if it was sporadic, and

p. 533; CEYNET, *Fortune et puissance*, II, p. 203; A. KAZHDAN, *Kamytzes*, in *ODB* II, pp. 1099-1100. A. Strategopoulos, Th. Philes, D. Tornikios under Theodore II Laskaris, and many others: *Akropolitae Opera*, I [see n. 72], pp. 154-55; A. A. VASILIEV, *History of the Byzantine Empire*, Madison, 1958, 2, pp. 479, 546-547; GLYKATZI-AHRWEILER, *Politique agraire* [see n. 53], p. 65. Other instances of property seizures are cited in *Actes de Lavra* [see n. 52], I, no. 45; *Georgius Cedrenus, Historiarum Compendium* [see n. 56], 2, p. 736; Attaleiates, *Ἱστορία* [see n. 56], pp. 30, 61, 70, 188, 192, 205-206, 238, 278-279, 294; *Zonarae Epitomae Historiarum* [see n. 56], 3, p. 736; Kekaumenos, *Στρατηγικόν* [see n. 52], pp. 35-37.

⁷⁵ On the institution of *pronoia*, see MANIATIS, *Theory of Supreme State Ownership* [see n. 62], pp. 615-617 and n. 193; N. OIKONOMIDES, *The Role of the Byzantine State in the Economy*, in *EHB* [see n. 54], 3, pp. 1042-1048; G. OSTROGORSKY, *La pronoia*, in *Byz*, 22 (1952), pp. 452-453; ROUILLARD, *Vie rurale* [see n. 72], pp. 159-161; LITAVRIN, *Vizantijskoe obščestvo* [see n. 49], pp. 28, 31. OSTROGORSKY, *Féodalité* [see n. 31], pp. 163, 186, also argues that the *pronoia* had never been transformed into “*propriété allodiale*”.

⁷⁶ Nicephorus III castigated the confiscation of the properties of these officials as motivated by greed and urged the discontinuation of this practice. Novel 12 (1080) in *JG*, I, pp. 285-287; Attaleiates, *Ἱστορία* [see n. 56], pp. 316-318.

⁷⁷ Georgius Cedrenus, *Historiarum Compendium* [see n. 56], p. 37; *Actes de Vatopedi*, ed. J. BOMPAIRE – J. LEFORT – V. KRAVARI – C. GIROS (*ArchAth*, 21), Paris, 2001, I, no. 16. 1-12; SMYRLIS, *State* [see n. 31], pp. 60, 64, 73-74, 77-78. Largely due to the influence of the Church, in quite a few instances monastic properties were wholly or partially retrieved or the monasteries were compensated with other lands. SMYRLIS, *State*, pp. 60, 61-62, 65-66, 67-68, 71, 74, 75, 77.

certainly was not justified. But more often than not, imperial grants from public or private lands offset loss of lands by members of the imperial family; they aimed to secure the recipient's loyalty, were granted to *pronoiarion* without a reciprocal obligation,⁷⁸ or were accorded to favorites as a generous but questionable reward for past or future services, albeit still under no legal compulsion (*donatio remuneratoria*). Subsequent imperial acts of appropriation of demonstrably unjustified grants in effect amounted to recall of land actually belonging to the public domain handed out in an arbitrary and discriminatory fashion and on unproven cause. Such gratuitous concessions certainly cannot be viewed as confiscations proper.

Property Rights Versus Customs

The principle of unencumbered property ownership could be limited by long-standing *customs* encroaching on property rights dating back to Roman times. Typically, landholders had all the exercisable legal rights to their property by virtue of their ownership, including the right to keep trespassers off their land. Nevertheless, sometimes others might have rights of use over their property sanctioned by long and habitual practice through common adoption and acquiescence, e.g. right of way, right to graze cattle, etc. (praedial servitudes, easements, δουλείαι).⁷⁹ However, the significance and extent of such noncontractual rights changed fundamentally over time due to the influence of socio-economic developments and changes in land tenure. It became apparent early on that encumbrances brought about by social conventions hampered the gainful exploitation of the servient land over which such rights were exercised, or gave rise to endless disputes and litigations, fostered misgivings, and tended to diminish the value of the land. Appreciation of these adverse consequences led to state intervention to protect private property rights: customary rights were limited by law in the public interest; easements were no longer perpetual, were defined or redefined, and took on the form of statutory provisions; and legally binding agreements between the parties specified the terms and conditions for the permissible exercise of such rights. In fact, voluntary agreement between the parties concerned became the most common element of the institution of easements, a process which was accelerated as

⁷⁸ SMYRLIS, *State* [see n. 31], pp. 59-64.

⁷⁹ On the nature, conditions of exercise, and impact of easements, see B. NICHOLAS, *An Introduction to Roman Law*, Oxford, 1975, pp. 140-144; W. W. BUCKLAND, *A Text-Book of Roman Law from Augustus to Justinian*, Cambridge, 1963, pp. 261-269; E. LEVY, *West Roman Vulgar Law: The Law of Property*, Philadelphia, 1951, pp. 55-59; B. BIONDI, *Il diritto romano Cristiano*, Milan, 1954, 3, pp. 309-314; A. WATSON, *The Law of Property in the Late Roman Republic*, Oxford, 1968, pp. 176-194.

the large estate became the dominant feature of the land tenure system. In this novel setup, enduring customary rights were realigned along new landholding patterns and were reconfirmed largely by bilateral agreements affirming their commutation into contractual rights.⁸⁰ As new circumstances arose and needed to be addressed, the earlier notion that custom overrules statute law gave way to overwhelming practical expediencies, reason and economic calculus gained mastery, and customs receded – custom and law fused: “custom and use cannot trump the law”.⁸¹ Customs pertaining to rural properties were observed in extraordinary circumstances: when there was no applicable law or they were of strictly local interest.⁸²

THE MARKETPLACE AS THE LOCUS OF EXCHANGE

The price of a commodity is determined by the interaction of the demand for and the supply of it in the marketplace, understood as any place (forum) where buyers and sellers of a good are kept in close contact with each other, and it can be local (town, emporium, fairgrounds), regional, national or international (entrepôt). Market is the *locus* of exchange, trade the actual exchange,

⁸⁰ Doubts and disputes about boundaries and customary rights between monasteries and between peasants and monasteries attest to the eagerness of the parties to protect their landownership rights and normalize existing customary rights by means of binding bilateral agreements. *Actes d'Iviron* [see n. 52], I, nos. 7, 9, 27; *Actes de Lavra* [see n. 52], I, nos. 9, 14, 21; *Actes de Zographou*, ed. W. REGEL, E. KURTZ, B. KORABLEV, Amsterdam, 1969, nos. 34, 35; *Actes de Prôtaton*, ed. D. PAPACHRYSSANTHOU (*ArchAth*, 7), Paris, 1975, no. 2; *Actes d'Esphigménou* [see n. 52], Appendix B, pp. 188-190; *MM*, 4, pp. 273-275, 281-282; *MM*, 6, pp. 38-40, 246-247.

⁸¹ *Basilica* [see n. 31], 2. 1. 51; *Synopsis Basilicorum* [see n. 31], N. 6. 30; *Synopsis Minor* [see n. 31], N. 81.

⁸² On the transition from customary rights to contractual easements and the instituted legal framework, see J. DE MALAFOSSE, *La loi et la coutume à Byzance, manifestations d'autorité et sources d'enseignement*, in *Travaux et recherches de l'Institut de droit comparé de l'Université de Paris*, 23 (1963), pp. 61-67; *Farmer's Law*, in *JG*, II, 1, 2, 6, 20, 38, 48, 53, 57-61, 78-80; *Prochiron Nomos* [see n. 68], 38. 1, 36, 44, 46-49, 52-57, 59; *Epanagoge* [see n. 36], 39. 13, 36, 45-48, 51-56, 58; 40. 74; *Basilica* [see n. 31], 19. 1. 38; 50. 1. 1-3, 8, 11, 16, 17; 58. 1. 1-3, 7, 8, 11, 14, 16, 17; 58. 3. 1, 5, 15, 21; 58. 4. 5; 58. 5. 3; 58. 6. 4, 15, 19; 58. 7. 2, 4, 10; 58. 9. 2-4, 11, 13, 20; 58. 13. 1, 4, 5, 24; 58. 20. 1, 4; 58. 23. 7, 17; 60. 2. 1; 60. 3. 27, 39; 60. 16. 2, 6-8; 60. 31. 1-4; *Synopsis Basilicorum* [see n. 31], A. 3. 10; A. 36. 1; Δ. 40. 3, 4, 11, 13, 15, 17, 22, 24, 25, 31, 40 and (c); Δ. 42.; O. 8. 6-10; Z. 1; Attaleiates, *Ponema* [see n. 35], 30. 4; 35. 10, 33, 34; *Epitome* [see n. 25], 40. 3; *Synopsis Minor* [see n. 31], A. 91; O. 34-37; T. 12; Z. 10; *Peira* [see n. 52], 18. 1; 38. 87; *Prochiron Auctum* [see n. 68], 39. 35, 143, 156; *Epanagoge Aucta* [see n. 36], 42. 16, 34, 51, 54, 55, 57, 68; 52. 41; *Ecloga ad Prochiron Mutata* [see n. 68], 18. 14; 20. 1, 3; 24. 14-19, 21-24; *Hexabiblos* [see n. 31], 1. 3. 43, 44; 2. 4. 89a, 92-101, 103, 105-113, 115, 116, 131, 132; 6. 7. 11-13. In light of the above observations, Kazhdan's assertion that the state's policy on the rights of neighbors was “ambivalent” is gratuitous. *Derevnja* [see n. 51], pp. 35-37; IDEM, *New History* [see n. 51], pp. 16-17; IDEM, *State* [see n. 51], p. 88.

and money the means of exchange.⁸³ In Byzantium, a system of price-making markets led to a sequence of changing and adjusting prices through the exchange acts of individuals that integrated the economy. By defining the role of contracts, the conditions for their validity, the means by which the parties' consent might be obtained, the prohibited and permissible actions of the contracting parties, their rights and obligations, and the applicable penalties for breach of contracts, contract law affirmed the critical importance of the contract as an enabling device promoting economic exchanges.⁸⁴ The existence of markets promoted the division of labor and occupational specialization, raised productivity levels, and stimulated economic progress and wealth creation. Moreover, market localization, development of specialized trading, and conduct of business transactions during specified market days⁸⁵ increased market efficiency, as it reduced transaction costs by lessening the time and cost of search for information about the standing of buyers and sellers, the attributes of the marketed products,⁸⁶ and the respective price ranges.⁸⁷ Localization of transactions, repeated dealings, and enforceable legal rules on the conduct of trade promoted personalized exchange, which tended to contain opportunism, reduce uncertainty, and lower transaction costs.⁸⁸ In particular, designation of narrowly bounded marketplaces for the free conduct of wholesale and retail trades in the capital,⁸⁹ prohibition of guild members to preempt purchases of imported goods by traveling outside the capital,⁹⁰ and interdiction of external suppliers to sell directly to retailers outside the designated marketplace,⁹¹

⁸³ On the nature, extent, and factors prompting noneconomic exchanges (barter, exchange of gifts), see A. E. LAIOU, *Economic and Noneconomic Exchange*, in *EHB* [see n. 54], 2, pp. 685-696; EADEM, *Exchange and Trade, Seventh-Twelfth Centuries*, in *EHB*, 2, pp. 696-670, 715-718, 732-733, 738-739; K.-P. MATSCHKE, *Commerce, Trade, Markets, and Money: Thirteenth-Fifteenth Centuries*, in *EHB*, 2, pp. 771-806.

⁸⁴ G. C. MANIATIS, *The Centrality of Contract in the Process of Economic Exchange in Byzantium*, in *BZ*, 104 (2011), pp. 671-703.

⁸⁵ *Das Eparchenbuch Leons des Weisen*, ed. J. KODER (*CFHB*, 33), Wien, 1991 (*Ἐπαρχικὸν Βιβλίον*) [hereafter *BE*], 5. 3; 6. 8; 9. 3; 10. 2.

⁸⁶ For instance, costs associated with ascertaining alleged attributes of the product, checking the standing of the agents involved, protecting property rights, or enforcing agreements, financial arrangements, etc.

⁸⁷ G. J. STIGLER, *The Economics of Information*, in *Journal of Political Economy*, 69 (1961), pp. 213, 216; NORTH, *Institutional Change* [see n. 1], pp. 27-30, 34. On an historical perspective regarding the rise of the market, the issue of money, and the loan contract, see HICKS, *Theory of Economic History* [see n. 21], pp. 25-41, 60-80, 87-92.

⁸⁸ NORTH, *Institutional Change* [see n. 1], pp. 22, 25.

⁸⁹ Marketplaces designated for the conduct of imports and wholesale trade are cited in the *Book of the Eparch*: raw silk, silk fabrics and linens (*BE* [see n. 85], 5. 2; 6. 5; 9. 3, 6); perfumes, spices and dyestuffs (*BE*, 10. 2); livestock (*BE*, 15. 5; 16. 2, 3; 21. 3); fish (*BE*, 17. 3); for retail trade transactions: *BE*, 2.11; 10. 2; 17. 1; 21. 3.

⁹⁰ *BE* [see n. 85], 5. 2, 3, 4; 6. 8, 12; 7. 4; 9. 3; 15. 3; 16. 2; 17. 3.

⁹¹ *BE* [see n. 85], 5. 2; 6. 5, 12; 9. 1, 3, 6; 10. 2; 15. 1; 16. 3; 21. 9.

prevented market fragmentation, forestalled commodity diversion and stealthy transactions,⁹² fostered competitive pricing behavior, ensured the unfettered functioning of the market mechanism, and impeded the emergence of gray markets. Moreover, since wholesale prices were the foundation for establishing retail prices, such behavioral patterns could not but induce competitive price formation in the retail markets as well. Designated or customary marketplaces, statute law provisions on fairness in business transactions, and local customs permitted the unencumbered and competitive conduct of wholesale and retail transactions in the provincial commercial centers as well.

THE PRICE MECHANISM

The Institutional Organization of the Byzantine Economy

The organization of the Byzantine economy encompassed the institutions of private property, individual initiative, private enterprise, price-making markets, and free exchange, as the division of labor and occupational specialization rendered each individual (producer or consumer) an exchanger. The exchange took place in personal and impersonal competitive markets and was conducted to a considerable extent through the medium of money. Land, labor, and capital were largely privately owned, and agricultural and manufacturing production and trade were carried out by private initiative and private entities. Although certain industrial and trade activities were mandatorily organized into guilds in the capital, this did not imply loss of enterprise freedom in decision-making. There was no central direction in the realm of economic activities. The manner in which the available resources in the economy were combined and organized in the productive process was entrusted to the entrepreneurial class which acted in accordance with market signals and emerging opportunities. The participants in the market economy had freedom of choice with respect to occupation, production, consumption, saving, and investment. Income was derived from the sale of the services of the factors of production and the profits of private enterprise. The state encouraged private initiative by providing such public goods as national defense, law and order, infrastructure, as well as the requisite financial and legal substructure. Although the authorities did not officially acknowledge the economic contribution of the private sector, they considered the manufacturers

⁹² No work could be done and no deals could be concluded in the homes of guild members (*BE* [see n. 85], 2. 11; 6. 1, 13; 9. 7; 11. 1; 21. 3), or secretly in the dark corners and back alleys of the capital (*BE*, 3. 2, 6; 16. 2, 4; 21. 3). The measures aimed to ensure that all business transactions took place in designated fora and that they were aboveboard.

and merchants as indispensable for the well-being of the empire's subjects because they catered to their needs, paid taxes, and provided employment opportunities. Moreover, the business class played an important role as purveyors of army supplies. In a society where the division of labor entailed exchange, trade, uncertainty, and risk-taking, the authorities could see that businessmen were better placed and equipped to perform these functions than the government bureaucracy. In the eyes of the authorities, although not necessarily of the lay person or the elite, trade was not a parasitic occupation, and businessmen were ensured of a considerable degree of economic freedom in their operations. Profit taking was legitimate and, with the exception of certain staples, profits were not restricted. What was not condoned was opportunistic behavior that resulted in monopolistic market structures and profiteering.

An important challenge the authorities faced in organizing the nation's multifaceted economic activity was to ensure the uninterrupted flow of supplies produced domestically and imported, as well as the continuous adaptation of the productive process to changing circumstances. However, the steady flow of goods and services can be maintained only by constant, deliberate, and timely decision-making adjustments of the market participants in the light of emerging new conditions and market developments. Hence, observing, interpreting, and reacting to new information are crucial for the adjustment process. But much of the relevant information is dispersed and idiosyncratic in nature and as a result it cannot be communicated quickly and cheaply to and by a central authority.⁹³ By contrast, those dealing in the marketplace, being aware of the new circumstances and opportunities, can adjust immediately to market changes, possess the requisite resources to take advantage of them, and are better positioned to discharge this function without delay. Still, the individual "man on the spot" cannot decide solely on the basis of his intimate but limited local knowledge of all pertinent facts in his immediate surroundings: due to the interrelationship and interdependence of economic activities, he needs additional information to fix parameters and fit his decision into the whole pattern of market developments. This information is conveyed to him by *price structures* that reflect the totality of market conditions. To meet this challenge, the authorities advisedly refrained from setting prices centrally and let the impersonal forces of the *market price mechanism* signal price movements and the attendant actionable opportunities. Whereupon, decentralized acquisitive decision-makers (individuals and business enterprises) would take their cues and adapt to the

⁹³ F. A. HAYEK, *The Use of Knowledge in Society* (repr. from *American Economic Review*, 35 [1945]), in *IDEM, Individualism and Economic Order*, Chicago, 1948, pp. 83-84.

new or changed circumstances operating under conditions of free competition which the authorities were intent on preserving.

State Intervention and its Purpose

There have been recurring assertions about the invasive character of state interventions in the Byzantine economy, pervasive regulation of economic activities, the import and sales monopoly of the guilds, and the attendant unrestrained pricing power they allegedly wielded. In reality, the state did not fix wholesale or retail prices, but it did intervene in a fashion that *potentially* could affect price formation. The state's intervention was three-pronged: it accorded quasi monopsony/monopoly rights to a number of mandatorily constituted guilds in particular manufacturing and trade activities; it set *profit margins* at the retail end for selected basic staples;⁹⁴

⁹⁴ Misreading the provisions of the *Book of the Eparch*, scholars have asserted that the state and the guilds *fixed* the *prices* of all commodities at the production and distribution stages of the production process: J. NICOLE, *Le livre du Préfet ou l'Édit de l'Empereur Léon le Sage sur les Corporations de Constantinople*, Geneva, 1893, pp. 182, 188-190, 192; IDEM, *Notices détachées pour servir à la critique et l'exégèse de l'édit de Léon le Sage* (1893), in *Tò Ἐπαρχικὸν βιβλίον. The Book of the Eparch. Le livre du Préfet* (introd. I. DUJČEV) (*Variorum Reprints*), London, 1970, pp. 90, 100; A. STOECKLE, *Spaetroemische und byzantinische Zuenfte*, Leipzig, 1911, pp. 80-81, 99-102; G. MICKWITZ, *Die Kartellfunktionen der Zuenfte und ihre Bedeutung bei der Entstehung des Zunftwesens: Eine Studie in spätantiker und mittelalterlicher Wirtschaftsgeschichte*, Helsinki, 1936, pp. 213, 217-223; E. H. FRESHFIELD, *Roman Law in the Later Roman Empire: Byzantine Guilds Professional and Commercial. Ordinances of Leo VI, ca. 895, from the Book of the Eparch*, Cambridge, 1938, pp. xx, 38, 41, 43; A. E. R. BOAK, *The Book of the Prefect*, in *Journal of Economic and Business History*, 1 (1929), pp. 598, 615-617; KODER, *Eparchenbuch* [see n. 85], pp. 122-131; G. ZORAS, *Le corporazioni byzantine*, Rome, 1931, pp. 58, 70-71, 105, 107-8; C. M. MACRI, *L'organisation de l'économie urbaine dans Byzance sous la dynastie de Macédoine 867-1057 (867-1057)*, Paris, 1925, pp. 41, 61, 71, 79, 87; A. CHRISTOPHILOPOULOS, *Tò Ἐπαρχικὸν Βιβλίον Λέοντος τοῦ Σοφοῦ καὶ αἱ Συντεχνίαι ἐν Βυζαντίῳ*, Athens, 1935, pp. 60-61; A. SIDERIS, *Ἱστορία τοῦ Οἰκονομικοῦ Βίου*, Athens, 1950, pp. 265, 271; G. I. BRATIANU, *La question de l'approvisionnement de Constantinople à l'époque byzantine et ottomane*, in *Byz*, 5 (1929-1930), pp. 91-92; IDEM, *Une expérience d'économie dirigée. Le monopole du blé à Byzance, au XIe siècle*, *Byz*, 9 (1934), p. 653; A. M. ANDRÉADES, *The Economic Life of the Byzantine Empire*, in N. H. BAYNES – H. St. L. B. MOSS (eds), *Byzantium*, Oxford, 1962, pp. 57, 66; A. TOYNBEE, *Constantine Porphyrogenitus and his World*, London, 1973, p. 205; A. KAZHDAN, *Tsechi i gosudarstvennye masterskie v Konstantinopole v IX-XI vv*, in *VV*, 6 (1953), p.150; IDEM, *Derevnja* [see n. 51], p. 321; KAZHDAN – WHARTON EPSTEIN, *Byzantine Culture* [see n. 51], p. 22; N. H. BAYNES, *The Byzantine Empire*, London, 1946, p. 216; J. W. THOMPSON, *An Economic and Social History of the Middle Ages*, New York, 1928, pp. 336 n. 1; LITAVRIN, *Vizantijskoe obščestvo* [see n. 49], p. 145; S. RUNCIMAN, *Byzantine Trade and Industry*, in *Cambridge Economic History of Europe*, Cambridge, 1987, II, p. 157; IDEM, *Byzantine Civilisation* [see n. 30], p. 175; R. GUERDAN, *Byzantium, its Triumph and Tragedy*, New York, 1957, p. 93; H. ANTONIADIS-BIBICOU, *Démographie, salaires et prix à Byzance au XIe siècle*, in *Annales: Économies, Sociétés, Civilisations*, 27 (1972), pp. 238-240; M. ANGOLD, *The Byzantine Empire 1025-1204*, London, 1997, p. 93; J. DURLIAT, *L'approvisionnement de*

it introduced the concept of just price and its counterpart notion of excessive damage.⁹⁵ The modalities of the state's intervention have given the impression that the guilds were omnipresent, that they had been empowered to price their goods at will, that the market mechanism was virtually inoperative, and that the freedom of the parties to an exchange to determine the price which was the most advantageous to them was severely compromised. Thus, the picture that emerges from these misperceptions regarding the functioning of the Byzantine economy is one of a highly regulated economy where price competition all but vanished.⁹⁶ Yet the implications of policy

Constantinople, in C. MANGO – G. DAGRON (eds), *Constantinople and its Hinterland, Papers from the Twenty-seventh Spring Symposium of Byzantine studies, Oxford, April, 1993*, Aldershot, 1995, p. 29 n. 54; J. KODER, *Επαγγέλματα σχετικά με τον επισιτισμό στο Επαρχικό Βιβλίο*, in ANGELIDI, Ch. (ed.), *Η καθημερινή ζωή στο Βυζάντιο, Τομές και συνέχειες στην ελληνιστική και ρωμαϊκή παράδοση, Α' Διεθνές Συμπόσιο Κ.Β.Ε., Ε.Ι.Ε., Αθήνα 15–17 Σεπτεμβρίου 1988*, Athens, 1989, pp. 368, 370. *Contra*: M. J. SJUJZUMOV, *Remeslo i trgovlja v Konstantinopole v načale X v.*, in *VV*, 4 (1951), pp. 30–31, 36. However, only maximum profit margins were set at the retail end for a limited number of necessities handled by guilds and only in the capital. *BE* [see n. 85], 13. 5; 15, 1, 5; 17. 4; 18. 1; 19. 1. This was quite a progressive pricing policy since profit capping, though intrusive, was inappreciably disruptive of the functioning of the market mechanism and of the price formation process compared with outright price fixing. The reason is that the wholesale price structure of the consumer goods involved – the bedrock of retail price formation – was allowed to reflect the prevailing demand and supply conditions as well as anticipated price movements. Fixing profit margins by fiat is *not* tantamount to fixing prices, as any change in the market-set wholesale prices was embodied in the retail prices and was passed on to the consumer.

⁹⁵ See pp. 235–237 below.

⁹⁶ Failure by Byzantinists to put in proper perspective the regulatory regime gave rise to the unsupported notion that the guilds controlled every aspect of the economic activity in the capital and the provinces and led to sweeping, albeit unfounded, pronouncements about far-reaching price controls and a fettered, command-and-control economy: “L'état se mêle de tout; il contrôle tout ... il réglemente tout. Tel produit doit être vendu ... à tel ou tel prix”: *Le Livre du Préfet* [see n. 94], p. 293; “From the moment [the imported items] come into the hands of the guilds, the government makes decisions about them, about their processing, their price, and their sale”: STOECKLE, *Byzantinische Zuenfte* [see n. 94], p. 99; “One was not permitted to fix one's own prices ... wages were not fixed by bargaining but by the decision of the prefect”; “There was no economic freedom in Byzantium, everything was regulated. Here the true socialist city was in being before Karl Max and Lenin”: GUERDAN, *Byzantium* [see n. 94], p. 93; “The State fixed the quantity of purchases, the quality of manufacture, prices, and wage-rates”: Ch. DIEHL, *Byzantium: Greatness and Decline*, Princeton, 1957, p. 89; “Le préfet protégeait les corporations contre tout concurrence ... il fixait ... les prix auxquelles elles devaient vendre”: A. ANDRÉADES, *Byzance, paradis du monopole et du privilege*, in *Byz*, 9 (1934), pp. 172–173; “The State ... controlled everything ... it fixed ... the price for the sale of every product ...”: THOMPSON, *Economic and Social History* [see n. 94], p. 336, n. 1; “L'éparque et ses fonctionnaires fixaient les prix des marchandises, ...”: M. V. LEVTCHEV, *Byzance: Dès origines à 1453*, Paris, 1949, p. 170; “The guilds ... doubtless originated as organs for the self-defense of their members by restricting entry ..., fixing prices ...”: R. BROWNING, *The Byzantine Empire*, London, 1980, p. 79; “The control exercised by the eparch was far-reaching in the extreme ... the government regulated the amount of goods to be bought, supervised their quality and fixed a buying and market price.”: OSTROGORSKY, *History* [see n. 30], pp. 253–254; “Guilds regulated ... the quality and volume of production, prices of goods and salary of the Misthioi”: A. KAZHDAN, *Guilds*, in *ODB*

directives and the array of measures taken by the state to buttress the competitive process and the market economy have never been explored.

As a rule, commodity prices in Byzantium were established by market forces under conditions of free and fair competition embedded in the institution of private enterprise. The contracting parties were allowed to take advantage of the prevailing market conditions and their bargaining skills to arrive at a price consistent with their personal circumstances. The mere disparity of values in an exchange did not void sales contracts: it is only natural that goods of higher market value to be purchased at a lower price, and goods of lower market value to be sold at a higher price; further, agreements reached in any manner by those engaging in lawful transactions are enforceable.⁹⁷ In fact, in buying and selling the contracting parties were allowed to outmaneuver one another on the price as long as the resulting loss did not exceed half the “just” price.⁹⁸ Clever exploitation of an

II, p. 887; “It was his [Prefect’s] province to superintend all the commercial activities of the City, fixing prices, wages, and hours of labour”: RUNCIMAN, *Byzantine Civilisation* [see n. 30], pp. 101, 175, 188; “The state ... checked the quality of products, the size of workshops (*ergasteria*), ... and market prices”: KAZHDAN – WHARTON EPSTEIN, *Byzantine Culture* [see n. 51], p. 22; “Intra-guild competition was regulated in particular detail.”: KAZHDAN, *Derevnja* [see n. 51], p. 320; “... the guilds were in a position to exercise a large measure of control over the level of prices.”: M. ANGOLD, *The Shaping of the Medieval Byzantine ‘City’*, in *BF*, 10 (1985), p. 32; “The larger part of the ordinances included in the *Book of the Eparch* was aimed at limiting competition between guilds and also among members of the same guild”: R. S. LOPEZ, *Silk Industry in the Byzantine Empire*, in *Speculum*, 20 (1945), p. 18; “Wherever possible, all competition – among members or from outsiders – was to be thwarted.”: MICKWITZ, *Kartell-funktionen* [see n. 94], p. 229; “Depressing as the perusal of the *Book of the Prefect* must be to anyone who believes in free enterprise ...”: C. MANGO, *Byzantium, the Empire of New Rome*, London, 1980, p. 55; “[T]he state in the person of the eparch ... fixed wages, the purchase and selling prices of all goods ...”: T. TALBOT RICE, *Everyday Life in Byzantium*, London, 1967, p. 121. “[T]he Byzantine economy was [not] a market economy ... the state ... remained ... the dominant catalytic force ...”, M. F. HENDY, ‘*Byzantium 1081-1204’*: *The Economy Revisited, Twenty Years On*, in IDEM, *The Economy, Fiscal Administration and Coinage in Byzantium (Variorum Reprints)*, Northampton, 1989, Part III, pp. 25, 22, 19. A. R. LEWIS, *Naval Power and Trade in the Mediterranean A.D. 500-1100*, Princeton, 1951, pp. 175-176, 245; A. R. GADOLIN, *Alexis I Comnenus and the Venetian Trade Privileges: A New Interpretation*, in *Byz*, 50 (1980), p. 444, and Ch. M. BRAND, *Did Byzantium Have a Free Market ?*, in *BF*, 26 (2000), pp. 63-72, esp. 65, 67, maintain that the whole system of establishing prices in Byzantium had broken down in the eleventh and twelfth centuries. Yet, neither the state nor the guilds had ever set out to fix wholesale or retail prices in the first place (see n. 94 above). Finally, SIDERIS, *Ίστορία* [see n. 94], p. 222, characterizes the Byzantine economy as “mixed”, in the sense that the state did intervene and control industrial and trade activities, but not to a degree that choked off private initiative.

⁹⁷ *Basilica* [see n. 31], 20. 1. 22, 3 scholium; 19. 1. 36; 11. 1. 7, 67; 53. 7. 1; *Epitome* [see n. 25], 11.1; 16.30, 32; Attaleiates, *Ponema* [see n. 35], 11. 2; *Prochiron Auctum* [see n. 68], 15. 34, 37; 21. 30; *Synopsis Basilicorum* [see n. 31], A. 3. 21; 12. 19; Σ. 8. 15, 16; Y. 7. 5; *Hexabiblos* [see n. 31], 1. 9. 12; 3; 3. 3. 70 and scholium, 101; *Prochiros Nomos* [see n. 68], 38. 26; *Epanagoge* [see n. 36], 39. 25.

⁹⁸ See pp. 235-237 below.

advantageous situation, first hand information, superior intellect and judgment, or outwitting the other party did not run counter to the *bona fides* requirement of sales contracts. To be astute and shrewd was viewed as being in the nature of business life, and indeed an everyday occurrence in private exchanges. The permissible latitude in business conduct and aggressive bargaining clearly indicates that one bought at his own risk (*caveat emptor*): “It behooves the buyer to investigate and ascertain the facts before consummating a deal”.⁹⁹

Setting profit margins at the retail level of certain consumer goods did not preclude competition as vendors might be inclined to accept lower than the maximum allowed margins in order to increase sales volume, the aim being to maximize total instead of unit profits. Also, the cost structure of individual sellers varied, and this implied that the fixed profit margin was calculated on a different cost basis. As a result, lower cost sellers could undersell higher cost ones and thereby increase their sales volume and profitability. In effect, this pricing policy fostered a competitive attitude, as it provided an incentive to businesses to expand their productive capacity and try to capture a larger share of the market and thereby enhance their earning capacity. For an increase in sales not only broadens the basis on which markups are calculated, but also reduces the unit cost of sales by spreading overhead costs across a greater number of units. Since the measure did not curb profitability, it could hardly have affected retained earnings and enterprise capital accumulation and investment as has been asserted.¹⁰⁰

The right of the state to set the just price whenever the bargaining power between the parties to an exchange was unequal or in *ex necessitate rei* sales of private property reflected an effort to curb abuses deriving from the exercise of economic power over powerless parties to the exchange, particularly small landholders, instances where frequently the seller’s consent was obtained under circumstances of constrained volition. Abuse of a contracting party’s weak position, e.g., exploitation of financial need, arose when the price was patently and grossly unfair – when the price was less than half the *just price* (δικαία τιμή, *justum pretium*) – and could lead to rescission of the contract on grounds of excessive injury (υπέρογκος βλάβη, *laesio enormis*: “no one

⁹⁹ *Ecloga Legum* [see n. 71], 9. 1. Also verbatim: *Ecloga Privata Aucta*, in *JG*, VI, 10. 2, 4; *Prochiron Auctum* [see n. 68], 15. 52.

¹⁰⁰ See pp. 247-248 and ns. 141 and 142 below. Profits were not regulated in manufacturing activities and the wholesale trade, and certainly could not have reduced gainful capital investments. The state did not curb capital accumulation and did not deliberately keep the size of enterprises small. Market opportunities and entrepreneurial acumen were the only determinants of such decisions. Besides, by paying less for consumer goods in daily needs, consumers could devote more of their disposable income for the purchase of manufactures fostering investment opportunities.

should profit from someone else's loss".¹⁰¹ The fact that the law could intervene and provide the disadvantaged party with a remedy in lop-sided sales contracts signaled a departure from the tenet that the price agreed upon in a contract reflects the judgment of the contracting parties and is final. Nevertheless, the paternalistic notion of contractual justice was limited largely to transactions in immovables, land in particular, and aimed to protect the financially weaker members of the society who were forced to sell their land on which they depended for their livelihood because of dire necessity; to disputed labor contracts in the building industry ; and to deals in valuables because their market price was not readily ascertainable and this made deception easy and costly to the uninformed party. As a practical matter, the law was not applicable to a wide range of dry and perishable goods.

The law stipulates that, should anyone sell a thing at an extremely low price, he can recover it provided he refunds the proceeds. An extremely low price is understood to be one which does not amount to half the *assessed* value (διατίμησις) of the thing perceived to be the just price. However, the buyer had the option to make up the just price and retain the thing sold.¹⁰² The very fact that *de jure* it was the buyer's decision that ultimately determined the outcome of the contested contract, as well as the great variance between the just price and the price paid before a claim could be lodged, are indicative of the strong emphasis placed on preserving the freedom of the contracting parties to set the price and made sense in strictly business deals. It is noteworthy in this context, that the provision *B. 19. 10. 66* defines the just price in *legal* and not in *economic* terms, thereby failing to establish the requisite reference point and requiring for it to become operational that it be recast in a concrete economic form. This is all the more necessary, because the estimation of excessive damage, which sets in motion the process of restitution, is formalized as a numerical deviation from the set norm – the just price itself. But the *Basilica*, other legal texts, and the jurisprudence for that matter, provide no guidance as to how the value of the thing, and by

¹⁰¹ *Basilica* [see n. 31], 2. 3. 206. Similarly : *Epitome* [see n. 25], 2. 10; *Synopsis Minor* [see n. 31], Z. 2; *Hexabiblos* [see n. 31], Appendix, Title B, 30; Novel VIII (pp. 945-959) of Constantine Porphyrogennitus, in *JG*, I, p. 225.

¹⁰² *Basilica* [see n. 31], 19. 10. 66; *Synopsis Basilicorum* [see n. 31], A. 12. 19; *Epitome* [see n. 25], 16. 30; *Peira* [see n. 52], 38. 5, 12, 52; Attaleiates, *Ponema* [see n. 35], 11.2; *Prochiron Auctum* [see n. 68], 15. 34, 37, 42; *Synopsis Minor* [see n. 31], II. 93; *Hexabiblos* [see n. 31], 3. 3. 69, 71 and scholium. In practice, potential claims for restitution could be countered as powerful buyers, by means of creative lawyering, inserted clauses in land sales contracts that the seller renounced the protection afforded by the laws on *laesio enormis*, or that land worth more than the price paid for it constituted donation. G. C. MANIATIS, *Pricing of the Factors of Production in the Byzantine Economy*, in *Byz*, 73 (2003), pp. 84-86 and n. 70; A. E. LAIOU, *Economic Thought and Ideology*, in *EHB* [see n. 54], III, p. 1134.

extension the just price, is to be calculated, a lacuna which in practice raises issues of interpretation and enforcement. The tenor of the legislation suggests that this unwieldy concept was operationalized by resorting to: (a) *fiat*, i.e. *decrees* which linked the just price to a standard of value (διατίμησις), to be determined by a third party – the market forces in competitive markets (in effect being equivalent to the going market price), local customs, or designated experts in imperfect markets (e.g., in sales of land, cases of family or inheritance law); (b) *public law regulations*, which fixed interest rates or repayment terms on recovered property; and (c) *ad hoc court* and *administrative decisions* (e.g. by the eparch), usually based on estimations by experts, following the lodging of a complaint by the aggrieved party, e.g., in valuables,¹⁰³ building contracts,¹⁰⁴ or sales of land. In the absence of any guidelines and in the face of the free interplay of market forces advocated by the state, this approach suggests a sensible and practical method of estimating the just price. The rule reflected a legitimate concern of a government mindful of the socio-economic importance of the institution of private property and the practical consequences of grossly unfair practices in transactions deriving thereof. A “hands off” policy would have been socially and politically incorrect and remiss.

Bolstering the Competitive Process

To instill good faith and ensure fairness in business deals, statute law and the *Book of the Eparch* set norms of business behavior and standards for the orderly conduct of commercial transactions. Agreements properly and legally constituted were valid in perpetuity and could not be nullified because one of the parties reneged.¹⁰⁵ Haggling and puffing were seen as taking place as a matter of course before a sales contract was consummated. Aggressive bargaining was an inseparable and essential part of trade negotiations as it fostered price competition. Exaggerated praise and affirmations without commitment were not binding; but if the vendor categorically pledged non-existing attributes he was liable for deception.¹⁰⁶ Vendors, having agreed on the price and received earnest money, were forbidden to raise the price of the good.¹⁰⁷ Buyers were not permitted to exact a reduction of the agreed upon

¹⁰³ *BE* [see n. 85], 2. 2.

¹⁰⁴ *BE* [see n. 85], 23. 3; *Hexabiblos* [see n. 31], 3. 8. 42.

¹⁰⁵ Novel 17 (959-963) of Romanus II, in *JG*, I, pp. 244-246; Novel 20 (1082) of Alexius I Comnenus, in *JG*, I, p. 297; pp. 237-238 and n. 113 below.

¹⁰⁶ *Basilica* [see n. 31], 19. 10. 17; *Peira* [see n. 52], 38. 30; *Synopsis Minor* [see n. 31], A. 92; *Hexabiblos* [see n. 31], 3. 3.19 and scholium; 3. 3. 66.

¹⁰⁷ *BE* [see n. 85], 6. 11; 9. 2; 10. 5; 11. 5; 18. 5.

price craftily, e.g., by claiming that the good was of substandard quality, overpriced, or obtainable elsewhere cheaper.¹⁰⁸ Sellers who failed to deliver on a deal were liable for the buyers' loss of potential gain.¹⁰⁹ After the delivery of the sold article, the seller could not back out on grounds that he changed his mind.¹¹⁰ Had a vendor sold an item which he did not actually own and it was subsequently legally taken away from the buyer, he was liable to the purchaser for the price as well as for the lost potential gain.¹¹¹ Outbidding another guild member's firm and hence binding price offer was forbidden.¹¹² Agreed penalties for breach of contract in commercial transactions were enforceable unless they were exorbitant.¹¹³ Sales influenced by misleading information (e.g., misrepresentation of quality),¹¹⁴ coercion, intimidation,¹¹⁵ or fraud were invalid.¹¹⁶ Concealment of hidden blemishes could result in cancellation of the deal, reduction of the price, or a fine; however, the vendor was not responsible for defects that were obvious or were made known to the buyer.¹¹⁷ Practically, sellers were served notice that they ought to act in good faith (*caveat venditor*).

The law proceeded from the presumption that, as long as the parties to the exchange were in a position to evaluate their own circumstances and make decisions based on realistic assessments, their contractual arrangements had to be given effect. Each party agrees to the exchange because he believes that he will receive something of greater value to *him* than he is to

¹⁰⁸ *BE* [see n. 85], 18. 5; *Hexabiblos* [see n. 31], 6. 14. 12.

¹⁰⁹ *Basilica* [see n. 31], 19. 8. 1, 21; 9. 1. 87; *Synopsis Basilicorum* [see n. 31], A. 10. 1; *Epitome* [see n. 25], 16. 54; *Hexabiblos* [see n. 31], 3. 3. 52.

¹¹⁰ *Ecloga Legum* [see n. 71], 9. 1; *Ecloga ad Prochiron Mutata* [see n. 68], 11. 16; *Ecloga Privata Aucta* [see n. 99], 10. 2; *Prochiron Auctum* [see n. 68], 15. 52.

¹¹¹ *Basilica* [see n. 31], 19. 11, 56; *Synopsis Basilicorum* [see n. 31], A. 13. 11, 13; *Epitome* [see n. 25], 16. 64; *Peira* [see n. 52], 38. 85; Attaleiates, *Ponema* [see n. 35], 11. 4; *Prochiron Auctum* [see n. 68], 15. 33; *Synopsis Minor* [see n. 31], II. 20; *Hexabiblos* [see n. 31], 1. 9. 14 and scholium; 3. 3. 77.

¹¹² *BE* [see n. 85], 12. 5; 13. 3.

¹¹³ *Basilica* [see n. 31], 11. 10. 1; *Prochiron Auctum* [see n. 68], 17. 77; *Peira* [see n. 52], 45. 1-19; Novel 17 (959-963) of Romanus II, in *JG*, I, pp. 244-46; Novel 66 (1166) of Manuel I Comnenus, in *JG*, I, p. 395; Novel 26 (1306) of Andronicus II, in *JG*, I, p. 536; L. BURGMANN, *Prostimon*, in *ODB* III, p. 1741.

¹¹⁴ *Basilica* [see n. 31], 19. 10. 1; 19.8. 22; *Synopsis Basilicorum* [see n. 31], A. 10. 6, 9; *Epanagoge* [see n. 36], 39. 33; *Epitome* [see n. 25], 16. 11 n. 18; *Ecloga ad Prochiron Mutata* [see n. 68], 11. 14; *Prochiron Auctum* [see n. 68], 15. 45.

¹¹⁵ *Basilica* [see n. 31], 19. 10. 61, 65; 10. 2. 21; *Synopsis Basilicorum* [see n. 31], A. 12. 18; *Epanagoge* [see n. 36], 6. 5; *Epanagoge Aucta* [see n. 36], 5. 4; *Epitome* [see n. 25], 14. 30; 16. 29; *Peira* [see n. 52], 38. 51; *Prochiron Auctum* [see n. 68], 15, 21, 36; *Hexabiblos* [see n. 31], 1. 11. 2, 3, 11, 12, 13; 3. 3. 68.

¹¹⁶ *Basilica* [see n. 31], 19. 10. 68, 72, 73; *Synopsis Basilicorum* [see n. 31], A. 12. 1, 22; *Epanagoge Aucta* [see n. 36], 49. 1; *Epitome* [see n. 25], 16. 29, 48; *Peira* [see n. 52], 38. 54.

¹¹⁷ *Basilica* [see n. 31], 19. 10. 4; *Peira* [see n. 52], 38. 21; *Ecloga Privata Aucta* [see n. 99], 10. 3; *Synopsis Minor* [see n. 31], A. 92; *Hexabiblos* [see n. 31], 3. 3. 65.

give in return. Besides, in a workably competitive market, the parties have the choice to shop around, bargain, or wait, so that they can make informed decisions and strike the best deal. The exchange therefore will benefit both parties, at least in their own judgment, which explains their engagement as opposed to no exchange at all. Being pragmatic, the authorities discounted the notion that state officials could outperform the dictates of the market mechanism by setting prices *they* deemed *right* and thereby substituting *their* judgment for the impersonal market forces, and correctly sensed the enormity and unworkability of such a major undertaking in a complex business environment. They fully appreciated that centrally fixed prices would have been counterproductive as they would have led to shortages and black markets.

The tenor of the law, as reflected in the *Basilica*, the *Book of the Eparch*, and the legal texts composed between the tenth and fourteenth centuries, provide unmistakable evidence that the state did not interfere with the process of price formation, that the going market prices were established under unfettered competition, and that prices reflected the prevailing market conditions, i.e. the interplay of effective demand and supply. Earlier attempts at price controls by Diocletian in 301¹¹⁸ and Justinian in 544¹¹⁹ were short-lived and did not produce the desired effects, while the notion of just price and its correlative excessive injury persisted but had very limited applicability and success.¹²⁰ To be sure, the authorities did not make an intellectual effort to analyze the functions and the workings of the price mechanism. But even though they did not work out an analytical framework to explain the formation of prices, they were fully aware of the beneficial effect of the competitive interaction of the contracting parties on market prices, as they were cognizant of the price distortions caused by the concentration of economic power. They understood that shortages (real or artificial) resulted in higher prices and plenty in lower prices, as they were aware of the factors that caused prices to fluctuate. On the other hand, they were concerned that market prices could be manipulated. To prevent such occurrences and ensure the unimpeded functioning of the market mechanism, they enacted pro-competitive legislation and set norms of business conduct to thwart unfair competition.

The competitive process was buttressed with a set of institutional arrangements. They included such legal props as anti-monopoly legislation,

¹¹⁸ H. MICHELL, *The Edict of Diocletian: A Theory of Price Fixing in the Roman Empire*, in *The Canadian Journal of Economics and Political Science*, 13 (1947), pp. 1-12.

¹¹⁹ Novel 122 of 544.

¹²⁰ G. C. MANIATIS, *Operationalization of the Concept of Just Price in the Byzantine Legal, Economic and Political System*, in *Byz*, 71 (2001), pp. 157-163.

inflicting stiff penalties even on remiss tribunals,¹²¹ anti-forestalling and anti-hoarding rules,¹²² the one-man one-trade directive in guild organized sectors, effectively prohibiting vertical and horizontal integration of enterprises,¹²³ organization of the marketplace in a fashion that prevented fragmentation, increased efficiency, and kept prices and transaction costs low,¹²⁴ assurances regarding the enforceability of property rights in a court of law or through arbitration, and norms of business behavior to ensure fairness in commercial deals and forestall illicit competition.¹²⁵ Enforced consistently, these measures went a long way toward thwarting monopolistic practices, maintaining competition, and assuring the consumer of a fair deal. The authorities opted for a free – but not unbridled – market economy, favoring market-based economic policies and solutions. These conceptions were reinforced by prudential legislation aimed to prevent abuse of market power and unsavory practices that resulted in profiteering. Equality of opportunity rather than equality of results was the foundation of the state's industrial and commercial policies.

Pricing of the Factors of Production

There was no *direct* state intervention regarding the pricing of the *factors of production* in Byzantium – with the exception of capital. Yet, *indirectly*, institutional and social inroads inadvertently exerted undue influence on realized factor prices and on the role of the market mechanism. In the *agricultural* sector, aside from economic factors, the demand for and supply of labor and hence *wage* levels were materially influenced by the social structure, the institutional setting (large estates, *paroikia*, extended family), and political

¹²¹ *Basilica* [see n. 31], 19. 18. 1; *Ecloga Legum* [see n. 71], 15. 25; *Synopsis Basilicorum* [see n. 31], II. 24. 1; Attaleiates, *Ponema* [see n. 35], 11. 7; *Synopsis Minor* [see n. 31], M. 4.

¹²² *Basilica* [see n. 31], 60. 22. 6; 60. 44. 2; *Synopsis Basilicorum* [see n. 31], II. 24. 3; Attaleiates, *Ponema* [see n. 35], 35. 57; *Synopsis Minor* [see n. 31], E. 45; *Hexabiblos* [see n. 31], 6. 15. 7; 6. 14. 13; *BE* [see n. 85], 10. 2. Cf. also *BE*, 7. 1; 11. 3; 13. 4; 14. 1; 15. 6; 16. 5; 20. 3.

¹²³ *Basilica* [see n. 31], 60. 32. 1; *BE* [see n. 85], 2. 1; 4. 1, 7; 5. 1; 6. 14, 15; 8. 6; 10. 1, 5, 6; 11. 2, 8; 12. 4, 6; 13. 1; 14. 2; 15. 1; 18. 5; 21. 7. The intention of the rule was to prevent enterprise growth *unrelated* to market demand. The authorities were concerned that union of enterprises dealing in industrial or trade activities would have resulted in acquisition of monopoly power by entrenched guild members, dominant occupancy of the marketplace, and weakening or elimination of competitors through the exercise of sheer market power. They were convinced that the risk of monopolization of the market outweighed the potential benefits of integration, preferring to err on the side of caution. The policy aim of the rule was that the growth of market demand be shared by as many firms as possible and be met by existing firms and new entry thereby fostering intense competition.

¹²⁴ See pp. 228-230 above.

¹²⁵ See pp. 237-238 above.

expediencies (the *paroikos* status of workers), which tended to diminish the flow of labor supply and ossify the *stock* of the available labor force locally. The net effect of these extra-economic elements was that labor mobility was restricted, and the bulk of the available manpower became for all practical purposes *captive* and it did not participate in the competitive process of price formation. Hence, the fragmented labor submarkets remained thin and rigid, were heavily influenced by the hiring landlords, and their role in factor allocation and in setting the price of labor on purely economic considerations was limited. By contrast, in *urban* sites wages were much less influenced by institutional constraints, and rates were determined by the contracting parties in a free market setting as the labor pool formed distinct submarkets according to trade and level of skills. Contrary to what has been asserted,¹²⁶ wages in the capital were not fixed by the state or the guilds.

Land prices in *rural* areas were determined not only by economic factors, e.g., the interplay of demand and supply, the availability and price of capital and labor, the degree of substitutability among lands of varying grades, rain-fed or irrigated fields, fertility, location, crops that could be grown, the demand for the derived marketable products, but by the system of land tenure, the institutional setup, and the social structure of the society as well. Unlike *urban* land sales, rural land transactions were conducted in fragmented markets and in a socially and institutionally constrained environment. These conditions impeded the competitive process and the normal functioning of market forces in price formation, and tended to result in one-sided contracts at prices below competitive levels. Characteristically, the bargaining power of a seller of a parcel of land was attenuated by the legally established preemption right of an assortment of preferred contiguous property owners and the manner in which this right was exercised.¹²⁷ Financial need, indebtedness, and heavy taxation often led to undesired sales, circumstances that enhanced the bargaining power of the buyer and enabled him to negotiate from a position of strength.¹²⁸

¹²⁶ GUERDAN, *Byzantium* [see n. 94], p. 95; DIEHL, *Byzantium* [see n. 96], p. 89; A. KAZHDAN, *Guilds*, in *ODB* II, p. 887; TALBOT RICE, *Byzantium* [see n. 96], pp. 121-123; KAZHDAN – WHARTON EPSTEIN, *Byzantine Culture* [see n. 51], p. 22; J. LINDSAY, *Byzantium into Europe: The Story of Byzantium as the First Europe (326-1204 A.D.) and its Further Contribution till 1453 A.D.*, London, 1952, p. 160; RUNCIMAN, *Byzantine Civilisation* [see n. 30], p. 175; KAZHDAN, *State* [see n. 51], p. 99.

¹²⁷ See pp. 221-222 and n. 55 above.

¹²⁸ The view that the price of land was “in part” determined by the state – see A. E. LAIOU, *Ἡ διαμόρφωση τῆς τιμῆς τῆς γῆς στὸ Βυζάντιο*, in AVRAMEA – LAIOU – CHRYSOS, *Byzantium: State and Society* [see n. 27], p. 339 – is infelicitous. The state, exclusively for fiscal purposes and administrative convenience, assessed the *taxable* value of the land, not the *price* of land, for the purpose of alienation, defining three brackets of taxable income based on the quality (productivity) of the land. For the rule see OIKONOMIDÈS, *Fiscalité* [see n. 56], pp. 49-50;

In the interest of fairness, the authorities established maximum interest rates for the price of *capital*, based on the form of capital loaned out and the socio-economic status of the contracting parties.¹²⁹ Heavy tax burden, hoarding, accumulation of funds for the purchase of land, and savings for dowries siphoned off a large part of private savings available for lending. In the face of much greater demand, the legally enforced interest rate structure meant that the price of capital was fixed below equilibrium level giving rise to chronic scarcity of capital. Though politically expedient, the measure was counterproductive as it effectively reduced the supply of loanable funds and perpetuated the shortage of capital. The measure lacked economic rationale as it defied the operative market forces, created incentives to circumvent the arbitrarily fixed rate structure, gave rise to a busy and uncontrollable informal market, raised the cost of borrowing, and undermined the enforceability of the instituted regulatory system. Since only the lender is in a position to assess the magnitude of the risk involved in each instance because of his personal knowledge of the standing of the prospective debtor and his

J. LEFORT *et al.*, *Géométries du fisc byzantine (Réalités byzantines, 4)*, Paris, 1991, p. 62. For the constellation of economic forces and institutional parameters that determined the price of land, see MANIATIS, *Pricing of the Factors of Production* [see n. 102], pp. 80-90.

¹²⁹ Dignitaries were not permitted to charge a rate of interest more than 4 % annually; bankers, manufacturers and merchants could stipulate a rate up to 8 %, while all other lenders up to 6 %; maritime and bottomry loans could command a rate up to 12 %. Interest on loans in kind (e.g., grain, olive oil) extended to farmers could not exceed 12 %, while interest in money loans was fixed at 4 %. The creditor was not allowed to take as collateral the farmer's land, livestock or slaves. Furthermore, compounding interest rate was prohibited; the sum total of interest paid could not exceed the principal, and if it was paid, it was counted against the principal. The use of fronts or other devices to exact a higher interest rate (e.g., local customs, commissions) was forbidden, and the excess over the legal rate could not be claimed. *CJ*, 4. 32. 26; *Basilica* [see n. 31], 23. 3. 71 and scholium; 23. 3. 19, 74, 75 scholium, 76 and scholium, 78; 53. 3. 48; *Synopsis Basilicorum* [see n. 31], T. 11. 17 and scholium (p), 19, 21, 22; *Epitome* [see n. 25], 86-90; *Epanagoge Aucta* [see n. 36], 22. 13, 23, 37; *Peira* [see n. 52], 16. 61; 19. 1, 15, 25, 40, 57, 59, 62; Attaleiates, *Ponema* [see n. 35], 15. 15-17; *Prochiron Auctum* [see n. 68], 17. 18, 19, 38, 40, 41; *Synopsis Minor* [see n. 31], T. 6; *Ecloga Privata Aucta* [see n. 99], 11. 13; *Hexabiblos* [see n. 31], 3. 7. 5, 11 and scholium, 12, 20, 22, 23; 6. 15. 5. The provision which forbade the creditor to take as collateral the farmer's assets remained in force through the thirteenth century and fell into desuetude thereafter as impractical. *Prochiron Auctum*, 17. 21, 27; *Hexabiblos*, 3. 5. 27, 50. In the eleventh century, in the face of rising demand for capital and dearth of loanable funds, the legal maximum on interest rates was raised substantially by the practice of converting six percentage points into six *nomismata* per pound of gold (seventy two *nomismata*). Thus, the rates 4 %, 6 %, 8 %, and 12 % effectively became 5.55 %, 8.33 %, 11.11 %, and 16.6 % per annum. J. B. BURY (ed.), E. GIBBON, *The History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*, London, 1898, Appendix 13 by BURY, pp. 533-534; OSTROGORSKY, *History* [see n. 30], p. 190 n. 1. On the evolution of the interest rate structure in Byzantium and its rationale, see MANIATIS, *Just Price* [see n. 120], pp. 178-186. On the perception of usury in Byzantium, see A. LAIOU, *Nummus parit nummos: l'usurier, le juriste et le philosophe à Byzance*, in *Comptes rendus des séances de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles Lettres*, 143, 2 (1999), pp. 583-604.

surrounding circumstances, it is unrealistic to expect interest rates set by fiat to reflect consistently and unerringly the ever-changing demand and supply conditions and individual situations. While appreciative of the economic necessity of interest as a reward for the use of a scarce resource, in their eagerness to harmonize antithetic interests the authorities entertained the unfounded belief that they could devise and implement a stratified and lasting interest rate structure. This was an unrealistic premise and an unworkable sense of fairness. The adopted artificial rates were impracticable as market forces would shift the entire rate structure toward a unified equilibrium rate, adjusted further for inflation, loan maturity, and the associated risk.

THE GUILD SYSTEM

The institutional structure of business firms comprised *guild-organized* private enterprises, the largest relatively “capital intensive” occupying the upper end of what still might be called small scale industry, operating in a few state-designated sectors and only in the capital, and a host of *unorganized* nano-and-small-scale enterprises operating outside the guild organizational structure in the capital and in the provinces.¹³⁰ Instituted for the common good, while extant, the guild system aimed to secure key supplies of comestibles and raw materials at reasonable prices from abroad and the provinces at times through collective purchases, to establish and enforce norms of business behavior and standards for the orderly function of the marketplace and the conduct of commercial transactions, to prevent unlawful competition and unsavory practices, such as adulteration of goods, underweight sales, profiteering, and to thwart the production and trade of forbidden and hence non-tradable articles, mainly prized silks. The misperceived notion that the guilds were ubiquitous and the fact that they had exclusive rights in the import, processing and sale of a number of manufactured and traded products has created the false impression of a highly regulated economy where the impersonal market forces and the price mechanism were virtually inoperative and price competition was severely weakened.¹³¹ Appreciation of the function, domain, and scope of the guilds’ operations, and demonstration of the extent of the price-setting power individual guild members actually wielded should help dispel prevailing misperceptions.

¹³⁰ For compelling evidence that guilds were never established in the provinces and that they ceased to exist in the capital by the end of the twelfth century, see G. C. MANIATIS, *The Domain of Private Guilds in the Byzantine Economy, Tenth to Twelfth Centuries*, in *DOP*, 55 (2001), pp. 351-369.

¹³¹ See pp. 232-237 and n. 96 above.

By law, certain economic activities in the capital (industrial, commercial, services) had to be undertaken exclusively by private enterprises organized into guilds, thereby establishing their sectoral sphere of operation – these crafts were not to be practiced outside the guild system. It would serve no purpose to set up an organizational structure, designate operational functions at each stage of the productive process, and enact elaborate regulations concerning admission, obligations and conduct, only to let the assigned activities be practiced outside the guild system. Had this happened, the guild system effectively would have been inoperative. The prevailing view is that all crafts were mandatorily organized into guilds.¹³² However, only manufacturing and trade establishments operating in a limited number of state designated sectors considered vital to the local economy or essential to the provisioning of the city were compulsorily organized into guilds, because the government deemed it necessary to oversee their activities. A multitude of crafts and trades spanning a cross-section of economic endeavors were deliberately left outside the guild system and the state's purview because the authorities had no particular interest in regulating their activities: their large number, diverse activities, and small scale of operations would have rendered their supervision unmanageable; their trades did not involve prohibited articles; they operated in a highly competitive environment; and they were subject to statute law for reprehensible business practices.¹³³ Hence, their compulsory inclusion in countless guilds would have served no useful

¹³² NICOLE, *Le Livre du Préfet* [see n. 94], pp. 3, 11; Ch. DIEHL, *Études Byzantines*, Paris, 1905, p. 143; B. MENDLE, *Les corporations Byzantines*, in *Bsl*, 22 (1961), p. 303; ZORAS, *Corporazioni bizantine* [see n. 94], pp. 153, 207; MICKWITZ, *Kartellfunktionen* [see n. 94], pp. 226, 230; MACRI, *Organisation* [see n. 94], p. 33; KAZHDAN, *Tsechi* [see n. 94], pp. 137-38; IDEM, *Derevnja* [see n. 51], pp. 308, 334; SJUZUMOV, *Remeslo* [see n. 94], pp. 18-19; SIDERIS, *Ἱστορία* [see n. 94], pp. 264, 267-68; ANGOLD, *Byzantine 'City'* [see n. 96], p. 29; RUNCIMAN, *Byzantine Trade* [see n. 94], p. 154 n. 12; LOPEZ, *Silk Industry* [see n. 96], p. 20; OSTROGORSKY, *History* [see n. 30], pp. 253-54; FRESHFIELD, *Roman Law* [see n. 94], pp. xii-xiii; P. SCHREINER, *Die Organisation byzantinischer Kaufleute und Handwerker*, in H. JANKUHN – E. EBEL (eds), *Untersuchungen zu Handel und Verkehr der vor- und fruegeschichtlichen Zeit in Mittel- und Nordeuropa*, VI: *Organisationsformen der Kaufmannsvereinigungen in der Spätantike und im frühen Mittelalter*, Goettingen, 1989, p. 51; S. VRYONIS, Jr., *Byzantine Ἀγοκρατία and the Guilds in the Eleventh Century*, in *DOP*, 17 (1963), pp. 293-294, 297 n. 26; H. HUNGER, *State and Society in Byzantium* (1982), in IDEM, *Epidosis. Gesammelte Schriften zur byzantinischen Geists- und Kulturgeschichte*, Munich, 1989, p. 205; TOYNBEE, *Constantine Porphyrogenitus* [see n. 94], p. 41; LITAVRIN, *Vizantijskoe obščestvo* [see n. 49], pp. 148-149; G. DAGRON, *The Urban Economy, Seventh-Twelfth Centuries*, in *EHB* [see n. 54], 2, p. 407; W. TREADGOLD, *A History of the Byzantine State and Society*, Stanford, 1997, p. 574.

¹³³ *Basilica* [see n. 31], 20. 1. 22 scholium; 60. 22. 6; 60. 44. 2; *Synopsis Basilicorum* [see n. 31], Π. 24. 3, 5; *Ecloga Legum* [see n. 71], 16. 30; *Peira* [see n. 52], 38. 29, 30; *Attaleiates*, *Ponema* [see n. 35], 11. 2; *Synopsis Minor* [see n. 31], Π. 18, 42; E. 45; *Hexabiblos* [see n. 31], 3. 3. 15, 19, 70 and scholium, 72; 6. 14. 12, 13, 16.

purpose and would have been impractical and fiscally prohibitive. The regulatory system was not as pervasive as has been thought.¹³⁴

The statutory guild organizational structure, the attendant division of labor,¹³⁵ and the exclusive production and marketing of their wares has led to the belief that the guilds were empowered to stifle intra-guild competition and exercise unbounded monopoly pricing power.¹³⁶ However, the existence

¹³⁴ The only craftsmen and merchants required to be organized into guilds were jewelers (*BE* [see n. 85], 2), bankers (*BE*, 3), those involved in silk manufacturing and trade (*BE*, 4-8), linen and spice dealers (*BE*, 9, 10), candlemakers (*BE*, 11), soapmakers (*BE*, 12), tanners and saddlers (*BE*, 14). A number of necessities were also handled by guilds: bread (*BE*, 18), fish (*BE*, 17), meat (*BE*, 15, 16), wine (*BE*, 19), groceries and hardware (*BE*, 13). Over fifty unregulated crafts are enumerated in *Basilica* [see n. 31], 54. 6. 6 and *BE*, 22. 1, and many more in Ph. KOUKOULES, *Βυζαντινῶν Βίος καὶ Πολιτισμὸς*, Athens, 1948, B, I, pp. 179-243. Important industries located in the capital and its outskirts, e.g., metalworking, woodworking, glassmaking, woolen and linen, pottery, grain milling, operated outside the guild organizational structure. Many trades dealing in other equally important and heavily marketed consumer goods, such as vegetables, fruits, milk, eggs, poultry, clothing, shoes, firewood, construction materials, remained unorganized. KODER, *Ἐπαγγέλματα* [see n. 94], p. 366.

The prevailing view is that the Byzantine guilds were genetically related to the Roman *collegia*. MICKWITZ, *Kartellfunktionen* [see n. 94], p. 232; KAZHDAN, *Tsechi* [see n. 94], p. 144; SJUZJUMOV, *Remeslo* [see n. 94], p. 13; LITAVRIN, *Vizantijskoe obščestvo* [see n. 49], p. 152; P. CHARANIS, *On the Social Structure of the Later Roman Empire*, in *Byz*, 17 (1946), pp. 49-50. However, important changes had taken place over the centuries. Unlike the Roman times, the individual in Byzantium was not bound to his calling, guild membership was no longer compulsory and hereditary for every profession, and a wide range of crafts remained unregulated. Entry was linked to integrity, capability and means, while exit was uninhibited. STOECKLE, *Byzantinische Zuenfte* [see n. 94], pp. 138, 140; OSTROGORSKY, *History* [see n. 30], p. 254; LOPEZ, *Silk Industry* [see n. 96], p. 9; DAGRON, *Urban Economy* [see n. 132], pp. 405-414. The five private guilds involved in the import and processing of raw silk, manufacture of silks, and the marketing of the domestically produced and imported silks were newly instituted entities. LOPEZ, *Silk Industry*, pp. 4 n. 2, 8-16. Change of occupation within the guild was permissible provided one relinquished his current trade. *BE* [see n. 85], 18. 5. Guild members retained their managerial independence and their own trading capital, while their property no longer was liable for the obligations of the guild. Significantly, contrary to the Roman experience, the Byzantine state imposed no price controls on commodities handled by guilds.

¹³⁵ There was a clear-cut division labor within the guild system, in the sense that no guild was allowed to undertake the economic activity assigned to another. *Basilica* [see n. 31], 60. 32. 1; *BE* [see n. 85], 18. 5.

¹³⁶ NICOLE, *Le Livre du Préfet* [see n. 94], p. 293; STOECKLE, *Byzantinische Zuenfte* [see n. 94], pp. 99-100, 102; MICKWITZ, *Kartellfunktionen* [see n. 94], pp. 208-209, 213-217, 228-231, 234; IDEM, *Die Organisationsformen zweier Gewerbe im X. Jahrhundert*, in *BZ*, 36 (1936), p. 73; IDEM, *Un problème d'influence: Byzance et l'économie de l'occident medieval*, in *Annales d'Histoire Économique et Sociale*, 7 (1936), pp. 25-26; ZORAS, *Corporazioni byzantine* [see n. 94], pp. 70-71, 105, 107-108; MACRI, *Organisation* [see n. 94], p. 53; J. P. WALTZING, *Étude historique sur les corporations professionnelles chez les Romains*, Louvain, 1895, 1, p. 481; ANDRÉADES, *Economic Life* [see n. 94], pp. 57, 62-63, 66-67; KAZHDAN, *Derevnja* [see n. 51], pp. 319-21, 323, 331, 334-336; IDEM, *Tsechi* [see n. 94], pp. 138-140; LOPEZ, *Silk Industry* [see n. 96], pp. 15-18, 20, 23; LITAVRIN, *Vizantijskoe obščestvo* [see n. 49], pp. 130, 139, 148, 150-151, 154; SJUZJUMOV, *Remeslo* [see n. 94], p. 24; E. FRANCÉS, *L'état et les métiers à Byzance*, in *Bsl*, 23 (1962), pp. 239-241; BROWNING, *Byzantine Empire* [see n. 96], p. 79; A. KAZHDAN, *Guilds*, in *ODB II*, p. 887; D. SIMON, *Die byzantinischen*

of a fiat *guild* monopoly did not *ipso facto* imply monopolistic pricing behavior by *individual* guild members or elimination of intra-guild competition, as has been argued. A sharp distinction should be made between the exclusive right of the guild members *as a group* to be involved in a particular economic activity, and the ability of *individual* guild members to take advantage of this prerogative and wield monopoly pricing power in the marketplace. What is true for the entire guild membership as a class is not necessarily true for each member of the class (“fallacy of division”). Effective exercise of monopoly pricing required the existence of highly concentrated market structures, collusive action by guild members with ability to set prices and enforce price discipline on fractious members to ensure compliance, closed entry into the guild, protection from external competition, and a supportive or quiescent officialdom. These conditions were nonexistent.

The degree of market concentration is an important determining factor that defines the players’ attitude and pricing behavior. The evidence points to the existence of market structures that generally were characterized by a large number of firms,¹³⁷ a wide range of enterprise scale of operations,¹³⁸

Seidenzuenfte, in *BZ*, 68 (1975), pp. 24, 41–42, 44; KAZHDAN – CONSTABLE, *People and Power* [see n. 44], p. 135; ANGOLD, *Byzantine ‘City’* [see n. 96], p. 29; IDEM, *Byzantine Empire* [see n. 94], p. 93; N. OIKONOMIDES, *Entrepreneurs*, in G. CAVALLO (ed.), *The Byzantines*, Chicago, 1997, pp. 154–160. See also notes 94 and 96 above. SCHREINER, *Organisation* [see n. 132], p. 54, maintains that the guild system allowed the state, if necessary, to set and control prices, while RUNCIMAN, *Byzantine Trade* [see n. 94], p. 158, argues that “when prices and profits are not specified in the articles of the guild, the prefect could fix them according to the circumstances of the moment.” In a later elaboration, KAZHDAN, *State* [see n. 51], pp. 99–100, presents a picture of a state-organized and strictly controlled private economy, asserting that, although the substructure of the Byzantine economy was based on private ownership and private enterprise, Byzantium was not a society of free private owners and producers, as the eparch of the capital and his staff were empowered through the guild system to control the quality and the price of the product as well as the conditions in the workshops.

¹³⁷ Although the *Book of the Eparch* alludes only to several (*BE* [see n. 85], 6. 4; 14. 1, 2; 16. 3; 17. 4; 19. 1), most guilds had large membership and more than one chief (e.g. bakers, silk manufacturers and traders, leathermakers, soapmakers, candlemakers). Cf. STOECKLE, *Byzantinische Zuenfte* [see n. 94], p. 79; CHRISTOPHILOPOULOS, *Συντεχνία* [see n. 94], p. 49.

¹³⁸ The ability of enterprising individuals to form partnerships (n. 155 below) and thereby pool together their available resources, augment the financial strength of their enterprise, and spread the risk; the absence of price controls in manufacturing and wholesale activities; the lack of any restrictions on enterprise scale of operations; the intra-and-inter-sectoral differences in the capital intensity of such industries as textiles, leathermaking, candlemaking, and soapmaking to name a few; the fact that guild members in several important trades contributed to a fund according to their means for the collective purchase of imported inputs (*BE* [see n. 85], 5. 3; 6. 8; 7. 4; 9. 3); and the existence of guild members who were unable to procure supplies wholesale and had to buy retail from wealthier members (*BE*, 6. 9; 7. 2, 4), attest to the varying financial strength of the players and the concomitant asymmetric size distribution of industrial and commercial enterprises. The views therefore expressed by MANGO, *Byzantium* [see n. 96], p. 56, that the guild system was “designed” to discourage private initiative and enrichment; DIEHL, *Byzantium* [see n. 96], p. 89, that the organization of the guilds left no

designation of narrowly bounded marketplaces, and a regulated albeit virtually unimpeded entry of firms,¹³⁹ conditions that resulted in competitive market structures and fostered an individualistic attitude and a potent inter-seller and inter-buyer rivalry among guild members. Express or tacit agreements leading to monopolistic situations and price-fixing were illegal and unenforceable, thereby limiting the opportunity for concerted action.¹⁴⁰ Moreover, the threat of economic exploitation and decimation of an aggrieved guild member by means of underhanded practices would most certainly have invited the member's forceful reaction in the face of high stakes and would have elicited state intervention. A similar reaction and response would be expected in the case of wronged consumers.

The view has been expressed that the state deliberately did not allow private individuals to manufacture "on a more than petty scale",¹⁴¹ that private initiative and private capital accumulation were stifled by expedient administrative devices, and that the economy was "restrained by the state".¹⁴² In small-scale, largely labor-intensive activities occupying the

room for independent work or individual initiative; OSTROGORSKY, *History* [see n. 30], p. 288, that the draconian state controls left no place for the deployment of private initiative to any great extent; and OIKONOMIDES, *Entrepreneurs* [see n. 136], p. 156, that the economic power and aggressiveness so necessary for making progress in business and establishing larger enterprises seem to have been absent, are not borne out.

¹³⁹ Although conditioned on certain qualifications (integrity, capability, means), payment of a one-time nominal entrance fee, and the attestation of several respectable persons, legal entry into the manufacturing and trade guilds was not restricted. The *Book of the Eparch* did not fix the number of firms that might be established within each guild. Possession of technical skills was not a precondition to setting up shop, as long as the requisite expertise could be acquired through hiring or a partnership. M. J. SJUZJUMOV, *Kniga Eparcha*, Sverdlovsk, 1949, pp. 85, 211-212; IDEM, *Remeslo* [see n. 94], p. 17; LITAVRIN, *Vizantijskoe obščestvo* [see n. 49], p. 140 n. 94. *Contra*: KAZHDAN, *Derevnja* [see n. 51], p. 317; IDEM, *Tsechi* [see n. 94], pp. 141-142. The decision to accept new entrants was not made by guild members, or even their chiefs, but by the eparch (*BE* [see n. 85], 2. 10; 3. 1; 4. 5; 6. 6, 7; 7. 3; 8. 13; 12. 2; 14. 1; 16. 1). Guild members not only did not nominate, but they were not even consulted on prospective candidates. CHRISTOPHIPOULOS, *Συντεχνία* [see n. 94], pp. 37-38; MACRI, *Organisation* [see n. 94], pp. 52, 73; SIDERIS, *Ίστορία* [see n. 94], p. 269; SJUZJUMOV, *Remeslo* [see n. 94], p. 17. *Contra*: RUNCIMAN, *Byzantine Civilisation* [see n. 30], p. 175.

¹⁴⁰ See pp. 239-240 above.

¹⁴¹ RUNCIMAN, *Byzantine Trade* [see n. 94], p. 153; IDEM, *Byzantine Civilisation* [see n. 30], pp. 173-174, 176. In the same vein : GUERDAN, *Byzantium* [see n. 94], p. 91; FRANCÈS, *L'état* [see n. 136], pp. 239, 241, 243; IDEM, *La disparition des corporations byzantines*, in *Actes du XIIe Congrès International d'Études Byzantines, 1961*, Belgrade, 1964, p. 95; KAZHDAN, *Derevnja* [see n. 51], p. 320; IDEM, *Tsechi* [see n. 94], p. 140; KAZHDAN – WHARTON EPSTEIN, *Byzantine Culture* [see n. 51], p. 22; LITAVRIN, *Vizantijskoe obščestvo* [see n. 49], p. 146.

¹⁴² OIKONOMIDES, *Byzantine State* [see n. 75], 3, p. 973; IDEM, *Entrepreneurs* [see n. 136], p. 157. For concurring views see : OSTROGORSKY, *History* [see n. 30], pp. 253, 288; MACRI, *Organisation* [see n. 94], p. 53; TALBOT RICE, *Byzantium* [see n. 96], pp. 121, 123; MICKWITZ, *Organisationsformen* [see n. 136], p. 76; MANGO, *Byzantium* [see n. 96], p. 56; TOYNBEE, *Constantine Porphyrogenitus* [see n. 94], pp. 40, 42-43, 57, 69; LOPEZ, *Silk Industry* [see

lower end of the small scale spectrum, but even in relatively capital-intensive industries occupying the upper end of the spectrum, the entrepreneur/master craftsman, being a hands-on worker as well, ensured effective control of the work process and obviated the need for supervisory labor. The close master-worker relationship ensured low labor turnover, work discipline, and relatively high performance as the owner could capture the worker's full potential (at times probably abusively). Coordination of sourcing, production and marketing required the owner's personal attention and was manageable as long as the level of activity was modest. The critical point in the growth of an industrial establishment was reached when it became essential to delegate operational and managerial functions, even if access to capital through self-financing, borrowing or formation of a partnership could be ensured. For an increase in the scale of operations placed heavy demand on organizational and managerial skills, and many owners might not be capable of taking this bold step because they had moved up from the shop floor, lacked such innate capabilities, had no access to financing, or became risk-aversers above a certain threshold of enterprise size. As a result, *enterprise* growth – but not *sector* growth – was held back, as the response to the growing demand for an industry's output tended for the most part to be met through the *horizontal* proliferation of small scale workshops, based on new entry of master craftsmen, well-to-do merchants, or vouched for slaves. Also, in many instances the ebbs and flows of demand favored smaller units affording operational flexibility. This is a more plausible explanation for the largely small-scale structure both of guild-organized and unorganized manufacturing in Byzantium. Indeed, there is no evidence in the legal or primary sources that the size of workshops or the number of workers to be employed was ever fixed in manufacturing.¹⁴³ State interference in the operations of a multitude of establishments not only would have been impracticable, but such micromanagement would have been counterintuitive, counterproductive, and contrary to the entrenched free market system in force.

The alleged guild monopoly and price-fixing power is predicated on the implicit, but unwarranted, assumption that the guilds formed a monolithic

n. 96], p. 18; ANGOLD, *Byzantine Empire* [see n. 94], pp. 93-94; KAZHDAN, *Tsechi* [see n. 94], pp. 137, 140, 149, 153; IDEM, *Derevnja* [see n. 51], pp. 320, 330-331, 344; LINDSAY, *Byzantium* [see n. 126], p. 159; FRANCÈS, *L'état* [see n. 136], pp. 239-241, 243; DIEHL, *Byzantium* [see n. 96], p. 89; RUNCIMAN, *Byzantine Civilisation* [see n. 30], pp. 173-174, 176; J. HALDON, *Byzantium: A History*, Stroud, 2005, pp. 158-159; A. E. LAIOU – C. MORRISSON, *The Byzantine Economy: An Overview*, in *EHB* III, pp. 1149, 1164; A. E. LAIOU – C. MORRISSON, *The Byzantine Economy: An Overview*, in *EHB* III, pp. 1149, 1164; A. E. LAIOU – C. MORRISSON, *The Byzantine Economy: An Overview*, in *EHB* III, pp. 1149, 1164; A. E. LAIOU – C. MORRISSON, *The Byzantine Economy: An Overview*, in *EHB* III, pp. 1149, 1164. The propounded notion is based on misperception of the purpose and scope of the Byzantine regulatory regime, and its impact on competition, industrial investment, and growth. See pp. 232-237 and n. 100 above.

¹⁴³ See n. 139 above.

bloc of like-minded businessmen who acted on command, in unison or in conformity with internal regulations entailing disciplinary action for non-compliance, and the explicit, but unsupported, view that one of the purposes for instituting the guild system was to limit *price competition* among the members of the same guild.¹⁴⁴ Contrary to the practice in the West from which these notions derive, the Byzantine guild system did not (and could not) aim to raise or maintain prices through concerted action among guild members, since such conduct ran counter to the market-oriented tenet espoused by the state and the anti-monopoly tenor of the law. Neither the state nor the guilds imposed price discipline on guild members to the end of thwarting intra-guild competition and protecting the individual member's share in the total business. Prices and profit margins were not fixed at the manufacturing or the distribution stages of the productive process. There were no external or internal regulations that aimed to ensure uniformity in the scale of operations of individual industrial enterprises or the amount of output to be produced. New entry into an industry or trade was not legally impeded, suggesting ample opportunities for the ranks of the guilds to augment. There were no import controls to shield domestic producers from external competition.¹⁴⁵ Exit of inefficient firms under normal competitive conditions was not hindered. Nor were the regulations designed to protect guild members from the competition of unorganized craftsmen and noble owners of workshops, as has been argued.¹⁴⁶ Unimpeded entry of craftsmen into the guild-organized sectors ensured intra-guild competition as qualified persons could legitimately practice a craft or trade by joining the ranks of the guilds and competing freely within the guild organizational structure. As

¹⁴⁴ MICKWITZ, *Kartellfunktionen* [see n. 94], p. 229; LOPEZ, *Silk Industry* [see n. 96], p. 18; LITAVRIN, *Vizantijskoe obščestvo* [see n. 49], p. 154.

¹⁴⁵ The 10 % import duty (significantly, raw silk, a high value high-volume item, was exempted – *BE* [see n. 85], 6. 5) had a fiscal purpose – to raise revenue, not to protect guild members and the domestic industry from external competition. Besides, even this nominal rate was waived for the Venetian exporters by the eleventh century, and sharply reduced for the other Latins by the twelfth century. D. JACOBY, *Italian Privileges and Trade in Byzantium Before the Fourth Crusade: A Reconsideration* (1994), in IDEM, *Trade, Commodities and Shipping in the Medieval Mediterranean (Variorum Reprints)*, Aldershot, 1997, Part II, pp. 349-368.

¹⁴⁶ MICKWITZ, *Kartellfunktionen* [see n. 94], pp. 228-31, 234; KAZHDAN – CONSTABLE, *People and Power* [see n. 44], p. 31; KAZHDAN – WHARTON EPSTEIN, *Byzantine Culture* [see n. 51], p. 22; KAZHDAN – CUTLER, *Continuity and Discontinuity* [see n. 32], pp. 473-474; KAZHDAN, *Derevnja* [see n. 51], pp. 319-320, 323, 331, 334-336, 344; IDEM, *Tsechi* [see n. 94], pp. 138-139, 144, 146, 153; SJUZUMOV, *Remeslo* [see n. 94], p. 24; FRANCÈS, *L'état* [see n. 136], pp. 239-241; LOPEZ, *Silk Industry* [see n. 96], pp. 15-16, 20, 23; BRÉHIER, *Institutions* [see n. 27], pp. 458-459; ANDRÉADÈS, *Byzance* [see n. 96], p. 172; LITAVRIN, *Vizantijskoe obščestvo* [see n. 49], pp. 150, 154.

long as guildsmen were free to set their own prices, as they were, intra-guild competition could not be thwarted.

The dynamics of market exchange tended to foster economic individualism and independence, thereby weakening cooperative dealings and resulting in competitive intra-group behavior. After all, guilds were not voluntary associations of enterprising individuals with a common agenda; as practitioners of a particular craft they were *coerced* into joining a state mandated guild. Moreover, fairly large membership resulting in unconcentrated market structures; unimpeded entry; difficulties in reaching unanimity due to the disparity of bargaining power and the direct conflict of interest of the members as to how the costs of and benefits from collective action will be shared – further exacerbated in the face of ever-changing market conditions; unenforceability of collusive arrangements and price discipline on fractious members in a multi-player setting; unpredictability of the potential benefits of synergy; and lack of a supportive or quiescent administration were potent countervailing forces which tended to deter concerted action and foster a pro-competitive attitude among guild members. A set of regulatory provisions of *agoronomic* nature ensured correct business conduct in commercial deals, promoted the orderly function of the marketplace, and maintained a level playing field. This was achieved by facilitating access of all guild members to market opportunities, by forestalling unlawful competition, and by establishing a set of non-shifting parameters that defined unambiguously the rules of the game. Contrary to what has been argued,¹⁴⁷ guild members could ill-afford to become lax and complacent or feel secure under the guild umbrella, because they were not immune from competition. On the whole, the authorities refrained from controlling the prices of inputs and outputs, skill supply, and, in general, from micromanaging the firms' operations. Rather, they preferred outcomes attained through the competitive process and the dynamic interaction of market forces.¹⁴⁸ The long-standing view of

¹⁴⁷ N. OIKONOMIDÈS, *Le marchand byzantin des provinces (IXe-XIe S.)*, in *Mercati e mercanti nell'alto medioevo: L'area euroasiatica e l'area mediterranea. Settimana di Studi del Centro Italiano sull'Alto Medioevo, 23-29 Aprile 1992*, Spoleto, 1993, p. 658; IDEM, *Entrepreneurs* [see n. 136], pp. 156-157; KAZHDAN – CONSTABLE, *People and Power* [see n. 44], p. 48.

¹⁴⁸ On the impact of market structures and the degree of prevailing competition on the price-setting power of individual guild members in an array of manufacturing industries, see G. C. MANIATIS, *Organization, Market Structure, and Modus Operandi of the Private Silk Industry in Tenth-Century Byzantium*, in *DOP*, 53 (1999), pp. 263-332; IDEM, *The Guild-Organized Candle Manufacturing Industry in Constantinople—Tenth-Twelfth Centuries*, in *Bsl*, 67 (2009), pp. 199-220; IDEM, *The Guild-Organized Soap Manufacturing Industry in Constantinople: Tenth-Twelfth Centuries*, in *Byz*, 80 (2010), pp. 247-264; IDEM, *Organization, Market Structure and Modus Operandi of the Guild-Organized Leather Manufacturing Industry in Tenth-Century Constantinople*, in *BZ*, 103 (2010), pp. 639-677.

a shackled economy is indefensible – a growing economy is incompatible with rigid state controls.¹⁴⁹

Views have been held that guild rules and regulations were lax or dormant, were implemented by corrupt civil servants, and hence they remained largely unenforced.¹⁵⁰ These assertions are unsubstantiated. No evidence has been adduced to date leading to the conclusion that guild members could flout the law with impunity, and the skeptics have yet to show that the state failed to enforce the law. They dismiss offhand the willingness and ability of the authorities to implement the rules and regulations, and slight the capacity of the aggrieved to fend off infringements on their rights or prerogatives. Besides, the way the supervisory apparatus was set up had potent built-in deterrents. Illegal conduct and flagrant transgressions of the law could hardly have escaped the attention of vigilant chiefs, while transgressors would have had great difficulty in circumventing the law unscathed believing that they could remain undetected, that they could rely on venal public officials to cover up infractions, or that they could quash indictments. Tribunals were also liable to penalties if, because of venality, discrimination or other failings, they did not enforce the law.¹⁵¹ There is no evidence that guild members, individually or collectively, ever possessed the requisite economic power or political clout to influence the authorities and remain above the law. In implementing the statutes of the guilds, the emperor appointed trusted civil servants who were accountable to him, not individuals who had purchased their office expecting to secure a satisfactory return on their investment or self-interested guild members.¹⁵² Moreover, these officials carried out their duties in highly localized markets and amidst the ubiquitous presence of informers – conditions unconducive to venal behavior and breach of trust. More importantly, the rules were sound, practical, and enforceable, the penalties inflicted on transgressors were harsh and humiliating, the authorities watched carefully the performance of the implementing officers, and there was no doubt of the dire consequences in case

¹⁴⁹ See pp. 232-237, 252-255 and n. 165.

¹⁵⁰ MICKWITZ, *Organisationsformen* [see n. 136], pp. 72-73, 75-76; LOPEZ, *Silk Industry* [see n. 96], pp. 18, 19 and n. 1, 20; D. JACOBY, *The Jews and the Silk Industry in Constantinople*, in IDEM, *Byzantium, Latin Romania and the Mediterranean (Variorum Reprints)*, Aldershot, 2001, Part XI, pp. 3-17; IDEM, *Silk Economics and Cross-Cultural Artistic Interaction: Byzantium, the Muslim World, and the Christian West*, in *DOP*, 58 (2004), p. 206 ns. 43 and 46; SIMON, *Seidenzuefite* [see n. 136], pp. 24, 26-34, 44-46; MENDEL, *Corporations byzantines* [see n. 132], p. 306 and n. 6, and Loo's comments in n. 17 (pp. 309-311); RUNCIMAN, *Byzantine Trade* [see n. 94], p. 155; A. MUTHESIUS, *The Byzantine silk industry: Lopez and beyond*, in *Journal of Medieval History*, 19 (1993), p. 33.

¹⁵¹ *Basilica* [see n. 31], 19. 18. 1.

¹⁵² *BE* [see n. 85], 14, 1, 2.

of dereliction of duty. The *warning* provisions of the law cannot be construed as *proof* of persistent encroachments by aggressive or defiant firms. Was the regulatory system foolproof? Probably not. But occasional infractions, if they occurred, do not prove lax enforcement. Since convincing evidence of ongoing transgressions, of a pervasively corrupt administrative apparatus, and of a suborned administrative justice in commercial transactions is lacking, it cannot be cogently inferred that the statutes were not upheld within reason.

THE SUPPORTIVE LEGAL FRAMEWORK OF ECONOMIC ACTIVITIES

Statute law set forth principles, rules and norms aimed at ensuring the integrity of economic activities and their expeditious execution. A set of institutional structures affirmed by law assured within reason the orderly conduct of commercial transactions, delineated the rights and obligations of the transacting parties and safeguarded their interests, ensured the fairness of business deals, encouraged private initiative, facilitated access to market opportunities, spurred on the growth of industrial and commercial enterprises, promoted the orderly function of the marketplace, guarded against anti-competitive practices, and buttressed the competitive process. Meticulous provisions sanctioned contractual obligations (*pacta, συμφωνία*),¹⁵³ sales contracts (*emptio-venditio, ἀγοραπωλησίαι*),¹⁵⁴ partnerships (*κοινωνία, ἔταιρίαι*),¹⁵⁵ money-lending, interest rates, debt,

¹⁵³ *Basilica* [see n. 31], Bk 11; *Synopsis Basilicorum* [see n. 31], Π. 24. 1-3; 25. 1; Σ. 8. 1-17; *Epitome* [see n. 25], 11. 1-47; *Epanagoge* [see n. 36], 27. 1-3, 7, 8, 11, 12, 14; Attaleiates, *Ponema* [see n. 35], 5. 1-5; *Synopsis Minor* [see n. 31], Σ. 2-6, 51; *Prochiron Auctum* [see n. 68], 21. 2-6, 14, 15, 20-22, 24-26, 33, 34, 36, 44, 47; *Epanagoge Aucta* [see n. 36], 11. 1-27; *Hexabiblos* [see n. 31], 1. 8. 1-15; 1. 9. 1-18 and scholium; 1. 10. 1-18; *Peira* [see n. 52], 45. 1, 2, 13, 15-18; Novel 17 (959-963) of Romanus II in *JG*, I, pp. 244-246; Novel 20 (1082) of Alexius I Comnenus in *JG*, I, p. 297.

¹⁵⁴ *Basilica* [see n. 31], 19, titles 1-3; 53. 7. 1-11; 60. 22. 6; *Synopsis Basilicorum* [see n. 31], A. titles 3-23; K. 10. 1-4; *Epitome* [see n. 25], 16. 1-83; 50. 2-6; Attaleiates, *Ponema* [see n. 35], 11. 1-7; 32. 1-12; *Prochiron Nomos* [see n. 68], 14. 1-11; *Epanagoge* [see n. 36], 23. 1-21; *Prochiron Auctum* [see n. 68], 15. 1-52; *Ecloga ad Prochiron Mutata* [see n. 68], 11. 1-22; *Epanagoge Aucta* [see n. 36], 21. 1-58; *Ecloga Privata Aucta* [see n. 99], 10. 1-5; *Synopsis Minor* [see n. 31], A. 89-106, 129; E. 45; M. 4; N. 15-23, 41-43, 56, 59, 60-68; Π. 16-20, 93, 112; Σ. 55; *Hexabiblos* [see n. 31], 3. 3. 1-119.

¹⁵⁵ *Basilica* [see n. 31], 8. 2. 101; 12. 1. 1-89; 60. 32. 3, 4; *Synopsis Basilicorum* [see n. 31], K. 21. 1-25; Σ. 12. 1, 3; *Ecloga Legum* [see n. 71], 10. 5; *Prochiron Nomos* [see n. 68], 19. 1-19; 20. 1-3; *Epanagoge* [see n. 36], 26. 1-22; *Prochiron Auctum* [see n. 68], 20. 1-29; 21. 1, 3, 7, 10-12; *Ecloga ad Prochiron Mutata* [see n. 68], 12. 16-18; *Epanagoge Aucta* [see n. 36], 25. 1-20; 26. 1-4; *Ecloga Privata Aucta* [see n. 99], 11. 12, 14; *Epitome* [see n. 25], 10. 1-27; Attaleiates, *Ponema* [see n. 35], 6. 1-5; *Synopsis Minor* [see n. 31], K. 1-4, 83, 86-93; *Hexabiblos* [see n. 31], 3. 10. 1-30; 3. 11. 1.

and warranties;¹⁵⁶ protected private property and derivative rights;¹⁵⁷ delineated commercial leases, labor contracts (μισθώσεις), employers' and contractors' obligations (*locatio-conductio*, ἐργολαβίαι);¹⁵⁸ defined the structure and functions of the guild-organized industrial and commercial enterprises;¹⁵⁹ guarded against the concentration of economic power and anti-competitive tactics;¹⁶⁰ and prescribed on the conduct of trading activities,¹⁶¹ taxation,¹⁶² shipping and maritime trade,¹⁶³ and building

¹⁵⁶ *Basilica* [see n. 31], Bk 23, Titles 3, 4, 5; 24. 1; 26. 1-93; 26. 1-3; 53. 5. 1-18; *Synopsis Basilicorum* [see n. 31], A. 62. 1; 64. 23-25; E. 1-27; N. 1. 1-34; T. 11. 1-27; X. 2. 1-76; X. 3. 1-30; *Ecloga Legum* [see n. 71], 10. 1-4; *Prochiros Nomos* [see n. 68], 16. 1-14; *Epanagoge* [see n. 36], 28. 1-15; *Epitome* [see n. 25], 17. 1-91; 19. 1-27; *Prochiron Auctum* [see n. 68], 17. 1-81; Attaleiates, *Ponema* [see n. 35], 15. 1-10, 14-17; 18. 1-2; *Ecloga ad Prochiron Mutata* [see n. 68], 12. 1-15; *Epanagoge Aucta* [see n. 36], 22. 1-38; 51. 42-46; *Ecloga Privata Aucta* [see n. 99], 11. 1-11, 13; *Synopsis Minor* [see n. 31], E. 74, 101-107, 133; T. 4-6; X. 5-11, 13, 15, 16; *Hexabiblos* [see n. 31], 2. 2. 1-4, 8, 10, 11; 3. 5. 1-92; 3. 6. 1-28; 3. 7. 1-25; *Peira* [see n. 52], 26. 1-29; *BE* [see n. 85], 1-6.

¹⁵⁷ *Basilica* [see n. 31], 15. 1-107; 46. 3. 1; Bk 50, titles 1-4, 7, 9, 10, 16; Bk 58, Titles 1-24; Bk. 53, titles 1-3; 53. 5. 1; 53. 6. 2; 53. 7. 2; 56. 14. 6, 14, 16, 19, 20, 28, 31; 57. 15. 1; Bk 58, titles 1-11, 13, 19-21; 60. 16. 1-14; 60. 2. 1-5; 60. 3. 27, 39; 60. 31. 1-4; *Synopsis Basilicorum* [see n. 31], A. 36. 1; Δ. 3. 1-11; Δ. 4. 1-81; Δ. 40. 1-35; K. 9. 1-53; O. 1. 1, 2; 8. 1-9; Z. 1-16; *Epitome* [see n. 25], 15. 31, 36, 39-43, 48-59; 16. 55; 40. 1-6, 19, 29, 47; Attaleiates, *Ponema* [see n. 35], 30. 1-13; 32. 1-12; 34. 1-9; 35. 10, 15, 16, 33, 34; *Synopsis Minor* [see n. 31], A. 91; K. 31, 34-39; N. 15-22; 61-65; O. 34-37; Z. 10; T. 12; *Prochiros Nomos* [see n. 68], 38. 1-64; *Epanagoge* [see n. 36], 39. 1-64; 40. 74; *Epanagoge Aucta* [see n. 36], 42. 1-75; 52. 41-49; *Prochiron Auctum* [see n. 68], 38. 1-137; 39. 35, 143, 156, 192; *Ecloga ad Prochiron Mutata* [see n. 68], 18. 7-23; 20. 1-38; 24.1-38; 25. 1-29; 26. 1-23; *Peira* [see n. 52], 18. 1; 38. 87; *Hexabiblos* [see n. 31], 1. 3. 43, 44; 2. 1. 1-66; 2. 4. 1-138; 6. 7. 5-8, 11-13; *Farmer's Law* [see n. 82], art. 1-85.

¹⁵⁸ *Basilica* [see n. 31], 20. 1. 1-96; *Synopsis Basilicorum* [see n. 31], M. 13. 1-34; T. 8.1; *Ecloga Legum* [see n. 71], 13. 1; *Prochiros Nomos* [see n. 68], 17. 1-28; *Epanagoge* [see n. 36], 24. 1-28; *Epitome* [see n. 25], 7. 1-32; *Ecloga Privata Aucta* [see n. 99], 14. 1; *Prochiron Auctum* [see n. 68], 18. 1-36; *Epanagoge Aucta* [see n. 36], 23. 1-25; *Ecloga ad Prochiron Mutata* [see n. 68], 15. 1-23; Attaleiates, *Ponema* [see n. 35], 12. 1-9; *Synopsis Minor* [see n. 31], M. 5-14, 40; *Hexabiblos* [see n. 31], 3. 8. 1-42; *BE* [see n. 85], 4. 9; 6. 2, 3; 8. 10, 12; 9. 4; 10. 3; 11. 7; 13. 6; 18. 5; 19. 2; 22. 1-4.

¹⁵⁹ *Book of the Eparch* in note 85 above.

¹⁶⁰ See note 121 above.

¹⁶¹ See notes 106-117, 122, 123 above.

¹⁶² *Treatise on Taxation*, in F. DOELGER, *Beitaege zur Geschichte der byzantinischen Finanzverwaltung besonders des 10. und 11. Jahrhunderts*, Leipzig, 1927 (rp. Hildersheim, 1960), pp. 113-123; J. KARAYANNOPOULOS, *Fragmente aus dem Vademecum eines byzantinischen Finanzbeamten*, in *Polychronion. Festschrift F. Doelger zum 75. Geburtstag*, Heidelberg, 1966, pp. 321-324; Novel 34 (1094) of Alexii Comneni, in *JG*, I, pp. 326-340; Novel 28 (1317) of Andronicus II, in *JG*, I, pp. 538-541; G. ROUILLARD, *Les taxes maritimes et commerciales d'après des actes de Patmos et de Lavra*, in *Mélanges Charles Diehl: études sur l'histoire et sur l'art de Byzance*, Paris, 1950, I, pp. 280-285; OIKONOMIDÈS, *Fiscalité* [see n. 56], pp. 46-84 and Table 1 (pp. 291-293); H. ANTONIADIS-BIBICOU, *Recherches sur les duanes à Byzance*, Paris, 1963, pp. 97-141; H. AHRWEILER, *Byzance et la mer*, Paris, 1966, p. 212.

¹⁶³ *Rhodian Sea Law*, in *JG*, II, pp. 93-103.

activities.¹⁶⁴ Once in place, the statutes established a legal framework which defined unambiguously the rules of the game, provided the authorities and individuals with the requisite power and tools to enforce them, and devised a set of non-shifting parameters and a steady referent that maintained a level playing field, afforded enterprising individuals ample room for independent action, and enabled entrepreneurs and contracting parties to make rational decisions and conduct their affairs with a considerable degree of certainty, as is attested by the growing agricultural and industrial activity at least until the end of the twelfth century.¹⁶⁵ The early creation of a political structure permitted the enforcement of laws and contracts by a third-party (state, courts, arbiters), while circumspect government intervention and judicial regulation ensured the workability of the market forces and the price mechanism.

The requisite legal framework certainly was in place, but the laws are as good as their enforcement. The administration of the law in Byzantium proved to be uneven, as the independence and integrity of the judiciary was often compromised and, as a result, the dispensation of justice suffered and the confidence of the litigants in the impartiality of the verdicts handed down was undermined.¹⁶⁶ Absent a body of adjudicated cases pertaining to *business transactions*, it is not possible to pass judgment on how effectively the law actually worked in practice and to what extent the business community had recourse to the conventional judicial system and the eparch's bureau, the more so since there were parallel avenues for the resolution of disputes whose validity was affirmed by law: the voluntary institutions of arbitration and compromise. In *arbitration (compromissum)*, a neutral third party chosen by the disputing parties (αἰρετὸς δικαστής, διαγνώμων) rendered a binding decision after holding a hearing.¹⁶⁷ In the case of *compromise (διάλυσις, transactio)*,¹⁶⁸ the litigants settled the dispute between

¹⁶⁴ *Hexabiblos* [see n. 31], 2. 4. 1-85.

¹⁶⁵ HARVEY, *Economic expansion* [see n. 52], pp. 213-224, 261-262; M. F. HENDY, *Byzantium 1081-1204: An Economic Reappraisal*, in IDEM, *The Economy, Fiscal Administration and Coinage in Byzantium*, Northampton, 1989 (*Variorum Reprints*), Part II, pp. 46-48, 50-52; IDEM, *Economy Revisited* [see n. 96], pp. 9-27; IDEM, *The Economy* [see n. 96], pp. 141-152; ANGOLD, *Byzantine Empire* [see n. 94], pp. 81-88, 280-283; RUNCIMAN, *Byzantine Trade* [see n. 94], pp. 151-152; KAZHDAN – WHARTON EPSTEIN, *Byzantine Culture* [see n. 51], pp. 31-46; LAIOU – MORRISON, *The Byzantine Economy* [see n. 142], pp. 46-47, 88-91, 96, 164; J. LEFORT, *The Rural Economy, Seventh-Twelfth Centuries*, in *EHB* [see n. 54], 1, pp. 231-310.

¹⁶⁶ On the legal institutional framework and the administration of justice in Byzantium, see MANIATIS, *Just Price* [see n. 120], pp. 157-163.

¹⁶⁷ *Basilica* [see n. 31], 7. 1. 14 scholium; 7. 2. 1, 7, 13, 17, 19-21, 27, 34; *Hexabiblos* [see n. 31], 1. 4. 47-66.

¹⁶⁸ Διάλυσις ἐστὶν ἀμφιβαλλομένου πράγματος [χρέους] τομὴ [συμβιβασμός] (compromise is the resolution of the ambiguity about a thing [or debt] and the settlement of a

themselves without referring it to arbitration, upon what appeared to the parties to be equitable terms in the face of uncertainty regarding the facts of the case, the law, or the outcome of a court decision.¹⁶⁹ In this instance, the controversy was resolved by mutual concessions. Legally, a compromise was tantamount to an irrevocable decision, and held only between those who took part in it ('Ισοδυναμεί τῆ ἀποφάσει ἢ διάλυσις. πᾶσα διάλυσις ἐπὶ μόνοις κρατεῖ τοῖς συναρέσασιν).¹⁷⁰ It stands to reason that these vehicles were used frequently by the business community in resolving disputes arising from commercial deals, as they avoided the formalities of ordinary litigation, resulted in expeditious decisions, were less costly, and inspired greater confidence since the dispensation of justice by the courts was perceived as uneven and glacial. Finally, disputes pertaining to property, money lending, and commercial contracts could also be litigated by the patriarchal tribune if they were referred by the litigants.¹⁷¹

CONCLUSION

The picture that emerges from the preceding discourse is one of a state that had put into place a comprehensive set of evolving institutional structures which ensured the orderly function of the economy and sustained economic performance. In effect, the institutional framework of the Byzantine society encompassed three definable and interconnected subsystems of action: the economy, the polity (the state and its apparatus), and the integrative-coordinative (the individual actors' motivational structures *cum* behavior control mechanisms). The prime movers responsible for economic and financial decisions were individuals and enterprises, relying on a set of rational and credible institutional arrangements in assessing perceived gainful opportunities and potential hazards. The state maintained law and order,

dispute [reconciliation]. *Basilica* [see n. 31], 11. 2. 1; *Epanagoge* [see n. 36], 27. 1; *Epanagoge Aucta* [see n. 36], 45. 6; *Prochiron Auctum* [see n. 68], 21. 2; *Ecloga Privata Aucta* [see n. 99], 16. 4; *Attaleiates*, *Ponema* [see n. 35], 5. 3; *Hexabiblos* [see n. 31], 1. 9. 2; 1. 10. 1, 2, 4, 5, 11-16.

¹⁶⁹ *Basilica* [see n. 31], 11. 2. 1, 9, 37; *Hexabiblos* [see n. 31], 1. 9. 2; 1. 10. 14; D. K. ΠΑΠΑΔΑΤΟΥ, *Η συμβιβαστική επίλυση ιδιωτικών διαφορών κατά τη μέση και ύστερη βυζαντινή εποχή*, Athens, 1995, pp. 11, 20-21.

¹⁷⁰ *Basilica* [see n. 31], 11. 2. 9, 37; *Synopsis Basilicorum* [see n. 31], Δ. 27. 7; *Epanagoge* [see n. 36], 27. 3; *Epitome* [see n. 25], 11. 34; *Epanagoge Aucta* [see n. 36], 45. 2; *Prochiron Auctum* [see n. 68], 21. 25, 44, 47.

¹⁷¹ ANGELOV, *Church and Society in Late Byzantium* [see n. 31], pp. 3-4; P. LEMERLE, *Recherches sur les institutions judiciaires à l' époque des Palaiologues : I. Le tribunal impérial*, in *Annuaire de l'Institut de Philologie et d'Histoire Orientales et Slaves*, 9 (1949), pp. 322-323; *MM*, 2, pp. 380-382.

national security, and in a measure a stable political environment; it provided the requisite integrative building blocks for a well-functioning economy and funded the nation's physical and institutional infrastructure. A legal framework and an enforcement mechanism were in place reducing uncertainty in human exchanges, making it possible and profitable to engage in economic activity. The state sanctioned and afforded legal protection to privately owned property and the derivative rights thereof, which were the foundation of the empire's civil society and market economy. Statute law ensured the enforcement of lawful contracts, set norms of business behavior and standards for the orderly conduct of commercial transactions, and promoted good faith and fairness in business deals. These were critical steps that helped to foster private initiative and underpin economic growth.

Although the authorities did not acknowledge officially the multifaceted contribution of the private sector, they encouraged private initiative and took an accommodating stance toward agricultural, industrial and trade activities. Appreciating the fact that land was the main source of foodstuffs, raw materials, employment, and tax revenue, the state made concerted efforts to maximize the use of the available land and provided incentives to bring idle or inferior land under the plow rendering tangible economic, social, and fiscal benefits. The state refrained from micromanaging the operations of business undertakings, judging that such interference would be impractical, counterproductive, and contrary to the entrenched free market system in force. The institutional setup gave free rein to private initiative and allowed the dynamism of the market forces to play a key role in economic activities. A symbiotic at arms length relationship was firmly established between the state and the business community which helped to promote their mutual interests and by extension the general welfare.

The Byzantine economy was organized around the institutions of private property, individual initiative, private enterprise, price-making markets, and free exchange, which became firmly established in personal and impersonal, competitive, and specialized markets. Land, labor and capital were largely privately owned, and agricultural and industrial production and trade were carried out by private individuals. There was no central direction in the realm of economic activities. Economic freedom permitted individuals to choose their occupation, to access factors of production and combine them for productive purposes, and to seize emerging economic opportunities. Freedom of contract allowed the parties to an exchange to negotiate prices, performance requirements, warranties, and penal clauses, and to specify how disputes will be handled (by the courts, the eparch, or by arbitration). Ability of the business community to circumvent the wanting judicial system by having recourse to the institutions of arbitration and compromise resulted in less cumbersome,

less costly, and expeditious resolution of disputes. Designated or customary marketplaces, specialized trading, fixed market days, and a circumspect regulatory framework increased market efficiency and permitted competitive conduct in wholesale and retail transactions.

The state did not interfere with the process of price formation. As a rule, commodity prices were established by market forces under unfettered competitive conditions which the authorities were intent on maintaining. Being pragmatic, the authorities discounted the notion that state officials could outperform the market mechanism by setting prices they deemed right and thereby substituting their judgment for the impersonal market forces, and correctly sensed the enormity and unworkability of such a major undertaking in a complex business environment. They had learned from experience and fully appreciated that centrally fixed prices would have been counterproductive as they would have led to shortages and black markets. The state did set profit margins at the retail end of selected basic staples in the capital. Though intrusive, profit capping was not tantamount to price fixing, did not impede the functioning of the market mechanism, and did not stifle competition. There was no direct state intervention in the pricing of land and labor in rural areas, but indirectly, the social structure, fragmented submarkets, and the institutional setting exerted undue influence on realized prices, as the pressure on land sales and wage rates from powerful landlords could be overwhelming and difficult to withstand.

The scope of the guilds' operations while extant was circumscribed. Only a limited number of crafts in state designated sectors and only in the capital had to be undertaken by private enterprises organized into guilds with exclusivity in the import, processing and sale of selected commodities the state was keen on overseeing. A multitude of crafts and trades spanning a cross-section of economic endeavors and representing the bulk of economic activity were deliberately left outside the guild institutional setup and the state's purview, because their inclusion would have been pointless, impractical, and fiscally prohibitive. The existence of a fiat quasi guild monopoly/monopsony *per se* did not necessarily imply permissible monopolistic price-setting behavior by individual guild members or elimination of intra-guild competition. A sharp distinction should be made between the exclusive right of the guild members as a *group* to be involved in a particular economic activity, and the ability of *individual* guild members to take advantage of this prerogative and wield monopoly pricing power in the marketplace, because what is true for the entire guild membership as a class is not necessarily true for each member of the class ("fallacy of division"). *Occupational* monopoly did not secure a *market* monopoly. Monopolistic/monopsonistic price-setting ability required the existence of highly concentrated

market structures, collusion among guild members with conflicting interests, closed entry into the guild, protection from external competition, and a supportive or quiescent officialdom. These conditions were nonexistent. Though the practitioners of these crafts were coerced into joining a state mandated guild, they were free to run their enterprises as they saw fit and prone to maintain their competitive disposition in decision-making. Neither the state nor the guilds imposed price discipline on guild members. There were no internal or external regulations prescribing the size of workshops, the number of enterprises that could join the guild, the scale of enterprise operations, the number of workers to be employed, wage rates, or the form of business organization. Private capital accumulation and enterprise growth were not thwarted. New entry into a trade was not legally restricted and there was no protection from external competition. State intervention was deliberate and circumspect and aimed to prevent the rise of or abuse of economic power structures. Ultimately, by the end of the 12th century, the guild system had disintegrated in the face of the weakening state authority, the commercial domination of the Latins, and by the challenge of the discriminated indigenous business community, rendering the guild system a hollow shell.

The competitive process and the price mechanism were buttressed with a set of institutional arrangements. They included such legal props as anti-monopoly legislation, inflicting stiff penalties even on remiss tribunals; anti-forestalling and anti-hoarding rules; the one-man one-trade directive in guild organized sectors, effectively prohibiting the vertical and horizontal integration of enterprises to prevent the concentration of economic power and monopolization of the market; organization of the marketplace in a fashion that prevented fragmentation, increased efficiency, and kept prices and transaction costs low; assurances regarding the enforceability of property rights in a court of law or through arbitration; and norms of business behavior to ensure fairness in commercial transactions and forestall illicit competition applicable both to guild-organized and unorganized enterprises. Within reason, these measures went a long way toward thwarting monopolistic practices, maintaining competition, and assuring the consumer of a fair deal. The authorities opted for a free – but not unbridled – market economy, favoring market-based economic policies and solutions coupled with prudential regulation aimed to prevent abuse of power and unsavory practices that resulted in profiteering. Equality of opportunity rather than equality of economic results was the foundation of the state's industrial and commercial policies.

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SUMMARY

This study analyzes the design of the array of diachronically fashioned *economic* institutions that aimed to ensure the orderly operation of the Byzantine economy. The findings demonstrate that the organization of the Byzantine economy encompassed the institutions of private property, individual initiative, private enterprise, price-making markets, and free exchange. The institutional setup gave free rein to private initiative and allowed the dynamism of the market forces and the price mechanism to play a key role in economic activities. The state maintained law and order, national security, and to a degree a stable political environment, funded the nation's physical and institutional infrastructure. The authorities did not interfere with the firms' organizational forms and operations, decision-making process, and price-setting policies appreciating the impracticality and unworkability of such interventions. A legal framework and an enforcement mechanism were in place reducing uncertainty, making it possible and profitable to engage in economic exchange. Statute law protected private property and derivative rights – the foundation of the empire's civil society and market economy – and ensured the enforcement of lawful contracts, set norms of business behavior, and instituted standards for the orderly conduct of commercial transactions, promoting private initiative and economic growth.

A COLLECTION OF MEDIEVAL SEALS FROM THE FORTRESS KALE IN SKOPJE, EXCAVATED BETWEEN 2007 AND 2012

INTRODUCTION

The medieval seals found in the fortress of Kale in Skopje are the largest collection of such items in the Republic of Macedonia. It includes some eighty lead seals discovered in archaeological excavations between 2007 and 2012. This collection represents an important and authentic epigraphic source shedding additional light on the history of pre-Ottoman Skopje and its surrounds.

As it happens, the chronological sequence was frequently interrupted. Last moment finds indicate that this collection of almost eighty Byzantine seals is neither final nor exhaustive. What follows is a study supported by the Museum of Macedonia in Skopje and a catalogue of these rare sigillographic finds which aims to enrich Byzantine prosopography with new personalities, with new and hitherto unknown information, as well as a bulk of unique sfragistic data containing imperial, administrative, military and clerical representatives. The finds of Byzantine, Bulgarian and Venetian seals at the Kale fortress are setting new frontiers for the medieval history of the Balkans.

The work on the collection began in 2007, each of the following years yielding new materials, such that a modest study of the seals found in 2007-2009 was published in the *Macedonian Numismatic Journal*, vol. 5, Skopje, 2012. The material of the present collection is classified by year of excavation with accompanying photographs provided at the end of the catalogue. The inscriptions are transcribed twice, viz. first in the abbreviated original form and then in an expanded, readable text, which is followed by a translation as well as by historical explanatory comments. Methodologically, each entry begins with information about the state of preservation, the exact finding spot, metrological data, description and analysis. Reference is also made to other and similar seals found in other known locations and belonging to the same original owners. The preparation of this catalogue would have been impossible without the cooperation of fellow Byzantine sigillographers and colleagues.¹

¹ I would like to acknowledge my debt to W. Seibt and A. Wassiliou-Seibt, I. Jordanov, J.-C. Cheynet and D. Stoimenov. I am also indebted to my colleagues and friends J. Kondjanov, C. Fifis, L. Cross, M. Lozanovska, C. Brown and J. Grozdanovski.

Both the medieval and modern city of Skopje owes its prominence to its excellent strategic position. It lies on a main crossroad connecting Europe, via Belgrade and Niš to the south along the Vardar valley through Skopje,² to Thessalonike and the junction of the Via Egnatia. To the west a road runs to medieval Htetovo and the Adriatic coast, and to the east a road connects medieval Velbužd (now Kyustendil) to Serdika (Sofia) and the Via Militaris, and onwards to Constantinople.³

Today, the walls of the medieval citadel of Kale still dominate the city centre and overlook the iconic Stone Bridge that connects the old Ottoman market with the modern city. As a key fortress, Kale has an uninterrupted historical role through the centuries, from the Early Byzantine period until the middle of the 20th century. A small late antiquity settlement was re-fortified during the reign of Justinian I and might have been raised to the status of archdiocese named Justiniana Prima.⁴ The fortified acropolis was built by the spolia taken from the Roman colony of Scupi, located some four kilometers to the west.⁵ For Justinian's administration Scopia was an important military garrison which controlled the bridge on the river Vardar. Subsequently the fortress of Kale was taken by the Slavonic settlers in the 7th century and subsequently retaken by the Byzantines. However, during the 9th century it was incorporated into the Bulgarian empire of Tsar Boris I Michael. After 893 Skopje was placed under the jurisdiction of the diocese of St Clement of Ohrid.⁶ After 1018, with some

² H. Tozer explained that the name *Scupi* "was altered by Byzantines to 'Scopia', or 'the look-out place', which is the name still in use by Christians; this was corrupted by the Turks in 'Üsküb'." H. F. TOZER, *Researches in the Highlands of Turkey: including visits to Mount Ida, Athos, Olympus and Pelion, to the Mirdite Albanians and other remote tribes*, London, 1869, p. 361; S. ANTOLJAK, *Kako došlo do imeta "Skopje"?*, in *Srednovjekovna Makedonija*, vol. I, Skopje 1985, pp. 809-830.

³ J. V. A. FINE, *The Early Medieval Balkans, a Critical Survey from the Sixth to the Late Twelfth Century*, Ann Arbor, 1983, p. 128; V. KÄNČOV, *Grad Skopje*, in *Izbrani proizvedenija*, vol. II, Sofia, 1970, pp. 7-9; N. VULIĆ, *Geografija južne Srbije u antičko doba*, in *Glasnik Skopskog naučnog društva*, 19 (1938), pp. 8-9; E. BROWNE, *A Brief Account of Some Travels in Diverse Parts of Europe*, London, 1673, p. 1685; I. MIKULČIĆ, *Srednovjekovni gradovi i tvrđini vo Makedonija (Medieval towns and castles in the Republic of Macedonia)*, Skopje, 1996, pp. 298-309; J. HADJI VASILJEVIĆ, *Skoplje i njegova okolina: istoriska, etnografska i kulturno-politička izlaganja*, Beograd, 1930, p. 42.

⁴ This, however, is still unproven and questionable. Further archaeological excavations will shed more light on this question.

⁵ I. MIKULČIĆ, *Antički gradovi vo Makedonija*, Skopje, 1999, pp. 351-355.

⁶ A. POPOVIĆ, *Üsküb*, in P. J. BEARMAN et al. (ed.), *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, vol. X, Leiden, 2000, pp. 922-923; V. KRAVARI, *Villes et villages de Macédoine occidentale*, Paris, 1989, pp. 160-164; T. TOMOSKI, *Prilog kon topografijata na Klimentovata eparhija*, in *Kliment Ohridski, studii*, Skopje, 1986, pp. 294-305; P. GAUTIÉR, *Clement d'Ohrid évêque de Dragvistä*, in *REB*, 22 (1964), pp. 199-214; I. SNEGAROV, *Po voprosu o mestonahozdeniem eparhii Klimenta Ohridskago*, in *Actes du XII congrès International d'études Byzantines, Ochride 1961*, Beograd, 1964, p. 189.

interruptions lasting to the end of the XIIIth century, the strategic fortress of Skopje was a capital of the Byzantine theme of Bulgaria.

In the period between the 10th and the 11th century, under the reign of Tsar Samuel (997-1014), Skopje's fortifications were enlarged and solidly built walls surrounded the upper city. A number of recently excavated burials, on the inner side of the southern wall, contain fragments of pottery, weapons and coins dated between the 10th and the 11th century. This implies that the fortress Kale was a significant military stronghold at the centre of tsar Samuel's state.⁷ Medieval Skopje appears in written sources from the beginning of the 11th century in the writings of the Byzantine historian John Scylitzes. Skopje was a key fortress for the emperor Basil II, who defeated tsar Samuel's army in 1004 at the banks of the river Vardar. The former Bulgarian tsar Roman Symeon (977-991), son of tsar Peter and Maria Eirene Lakapene,⁸ was replaced as governor of Skopje by a strategos of Basil II. As the military headquarters of the district, Skopje made him superior to the numerous strategoi in various scattered fortifications between the Danube and Thessalonike.⁹

In 1018, and after the fall of tsar Samuel's Empire, the newly captured Byzantine territory was reconstituted into three administrative units, or themes: Bulgaria with its centre in Skopje; Sirmium including the city of Sirmium; and Paristrion (Paradounavon) with its capital Silistria.¹⁰ The other themes were Strymon, Makedonia, Nikopolis, Helladikoi, Dalmatia, and the special duchies of Thessalonike and Dyrrachion.¹¹ The theme whose capital was Skopje had a strong fortress with a large garrison of soldiers under the

⁷ I. MIKULČIĆ, *Staro Skopje so okolnite tvrđini*, Skopje, 1982, p. 118; D. MITREVSKI, *Skopska tvrđina, arheološki istraživanja 2007 i izložba*, Skopje, 2007, p. 20.

⁸ *Ioannis Scylitzae Synopsis historiarum*, rec. I. THURN, Berolini et Novi Eboraci, 1973, pp. 61-69, 346; M. BOŠKOSKI, *Skopje i skopskata oblast od VI do krajot na XIV vek*, Skopje, 2009, p. 118.

⁹ P. STEPHENSON, *Byzantium's Balkan Frontier, a Political Study of the Northern Balkans, 900-1204*, Cambridge, 2000, pp. 67, 77-79; H. GLYKATZI-ARHWEILER, *Recherches sur l'administration de l'empire byzantin aux IX^e-XI^e siècles*, in *École Française d'Athènes, Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique*, 84 (1960, repr. 1977), p. 48; R. BROWNING, *Byzantium and Bulgaria, a Comparative Study Across the Early Medieval Frontier*, London, 1975, p. 99.

¹⁰ The theme of Bulgaria was established on the core of tsar Samuel's state. I. JORDANOV, *The katepanate of Paradounavon according to the sphragistical data*, in J.-C. CHEYNET – C. SODE (eds), *Studies in Byzantine Sigillography*, vol. VIII, München – Leipzig, 2003, pp. 63-74. The territories along the river Danube were organized as a military-administrative unit with its center in Dristra. According to the sphragistical data, the katepanate of Paradounavon existed in the period between 1050 and 1070 in connection with the invasions of Pechenegs.

¹¹ P. STEPHENSON, *The Legend of Basil the Bulgar-slayer*, Cambridge, 2003, pp. 38-48; FINE, *Early Medieval Balkans* [see n. 3], p. 200; GLYKATZI-ARHWEILER, *Recherches* [see n. 9], p. 64.

command of a Byzantine duke.¹² A Roman bridge connected the small fortified places such as Markovi kuli and Nerezi on the hill named Vodno on the right side of the river Vardar, with Skopje's main fortress and its suburbia on the opposite river bank. The main communications road had its crossing point at the frourion of Skopje. It had its own ecclesiastical prelate within his episcopal court and civil authorities managing the administration of the theme. A large suburbia extended towards the river Vardar and on the eastern slopes of the hill where the Old bazaar is today located. The strong fortifications were renewed and partly rebuilt with river stones and mortar. The citadel itself was fortified with square, round and triangular towers. On the southern side a water tower and main gates were reconstituted. Other gates were located on the eastern side, towards the Old bazaar. Later the suburbia expanded and the walls were renovated in the Komnenian style.¹³ The Russian scholar P. N. Miljukov published an inscription: “Νέαν πόλιν, ἄνθρωπε, θαυμάζεις βλέπων, καὶ τερπνὸν ὀραῖσμα κοινῷ Ῥωμαίων... Ζητεῖς δέ, τίς ἤγειρε...”, which was engraved on one of the towers dated to the 11th or the 12th century, but unfortunately lost in the earthquake in 1963.¹⁴

The fortress of Skopje became the headquarters of the military governor, the strategos, but shortly after it was upgraded into a katepanate. From the 10th century the title of *doux* was to indicate the military commander of a larger district called *doukaton*, but sometimes the title of *doux* was identified with *katepano*.¹⁵ According to John Scylitzes, in the capital of Skopje (τῶν

¹² I. JORDANOV, *Corpus of Byzantine Seals from Bulgaria*, vol. I, *Byzantine seals with geographical names*, Sofia, 2003, pp. 48-51. When sources reported some *doux* of Skopia during the last quarters of the 11th century and the early 12th century, did they also mean that he was the *doux* of Bulgaria?

¹³ HADJI VASILJEVIĆ, *Skoplje i njegova okolina* [see n. 3], p. 128; MIKULČIĆ, *Staro Skopje* [see n. 7], pp. 128-133. During the archaeological excavations in 2007 remains of metalwork workshops were found in the sectors 4 and 5. Most of these were military barracks and workshops relying on the interior side of the wall. In sector 5 were revealed the main southern gates used in the period between the late Medieval and Ottoman centuries. Between the Southern gate and the river Vardar some remains of cobblestone pavement were found, as well as some carved stone decorations of ecclesiastical character that point to the presence of a church building. All these discoveries from the hypothetical “Tsar Samuel” phase were supported by the anonymous follies of emperors Basil II, Nikephoros III and Michael VII found in situ and dated between the 10th and 11th centuries.

¹⁴ KRAVARI, *Villes et villages* [see n. 6], p. 163, n. 5; Ž. VINČIĆ, *Skopskata tvrđina “Kale” . Položba i opis*, in *Kulturno nasledstvo*, 9 (1966), pp. 24-45. “A new city, o man, you admire watching, and the pleasant beauty of the Roman community... So you ask, who erected it...”

¹⁵ LJ. MAKSIMOVIĆ, *Organizacija vizantijske vlasti u novoosvojenim oblastima posle 1018 godine*, in *ZRVI*, 36 (1997), p. 33; IDEM, *Strateg Trajanupolja*, in *ZRVI*, 27-28 (1980), pp. 63-67; A. KAZHDAN, *Doukaton, Doux*, in *ODB*, I, pp. 658-659; G. SCHLUMBERGER, *Sigillographie de l'empire byzantin*, Paris, 1884, p. 239. In the beginning governors of the theme of Bulgaria were exclusively of military ranks, such as *strategoï*, as it was common in the provinces of the empire, but later they were of rank of *doux* and *pronoētēs*.

Σκοπῶν τῆς μητροπόλεως Βουλγαρίας) the patrician David Areianites was the first to be appointed as *patrikios* and *strategos-autokrator* and subsequently as *katepano* of the theme of Bulgaria in 1018.¹⁶ Bardas, the *protospatharios*, *strategos* and *anagrapheus* of Bulgaria, followed him.¹⁷ His successor Constantine Diogenes was withdrawn from Sirmium to Thessalonike in 1026 and sent to Skopje as *doux* and *patrikios* of the theme.¹⁸ After 1028 Christopher was promoted as *protospatharios* and *katepano* of Thessalonike and Bulgaria.¹⁹

In 1020 a third chrysobull concerning church structures was issued by the emperor Basil II. The bishop of Skopje was to be a suffragan of the archbishopric of Ohrid. His diocese was expanded to include places such as Vinetzes (Vinitsa), Preamoros, Loukova (Lukovo) and Prinipos with fifteen parishes and fifteen clerics.²⁰

In 1040 the fiscal policy and taxation in money of the Byzantine government provoked the Slavonic population of the Balkans to rebellion. Petar Delyan, a grandson of Samuel, was proclaimed Bulgarian tsar in Belgrade, with Alousian, son of John Vladislav, as co-ruler.²¹ The insurgents captured Niš, Skopje, Dyrrachion, Nikopolis, Serdika, and penetrated as far as Demetrias in Thessaly. In 1041 the Byzantine army suppressed the rebellion.²²

After 1042 an official known as the *pronoetes* of all Bulgaria was settled in Skopje. The first *pronoetes* was Basil the Monk, the *synkellos* who

¹⁶ Ioannis Scylitzae *Synopsis historiarum* [see n. 8], p. 358; V. ŠANDROVSKAYA – W. SEIBT, *Byzantinische Bleisiegel der staatlichen Eremitage mit Familiennamen, I Teil: Sammlung Lichačev - Namen von A bis I*, Wien, 2005, pp. 31-32. The seal has a bust of St Theodore on the obverse and an inscription in five lines on the reverse. G. OSTROGORSKI, *History of the Byzantine Empire*, New Jersey, 1957, p. 276, n. 3; J.-C. CHEYNET, *Du stratège a thème au duc: chronologie de l'évolution au cours du XI^e siècle*, in *TM*, 9 (1985), p. 183, n. 17; V. ZLATARSKI, *Istorija na Bălgarskata dăržava prez srednite vekove, Bălgaria pod vizantijsko vladičestvo (1018-1187)*, vol. II, Sofia, 1934, p. 6.

¹⁷ I. JORDANOV, *Pečati na tema Bălgarija*, in *Numizmatika, sfragistika i epigrafika*, 7 (2011), pp. 158-159.

¹⁸ SCHLUMBERGER, *Sigillographie* [see n. 15], p. 240. In his collection there is a preserved seal of Constantine Diogenes, as *anthypatos*, *patrikios* and *doux* of Bulgaria, and another one of Constantine, as *vestarches* and *pronoetes* of all Bulgaria.

¹⁹ JORDANOV, *Pečati na tema Bălgarija* [see n. 17], p. 174. IDEM, *Corpus of Byzantine seals from Bulgaria, volume 1-3*, Sofia, 2003, 2006, 2009. *Addenda et corrigenda*, in *Numizmatika, sfragistika i epigrafika*, 7 (2011).

²⁰ I. SNEGAROV, *Istorija na Ohridskata arhiepiskopija, ot osnovavaneto i do zavladjavaneto na Balkanskija Poluostrov ot Turcite*, vol. I, Sofia, 1924 (repr. 1995), pp. 56, 183; R. M. GRUJIĆ, *Skopska mitropolija, istorijsko-statistički pregled*, in *Spomenica pravoslavnog hrama Sv. Bogorodice u Skoplju, 1835-1935*, Skopje, 1935, pp. 22-24; A. KAZHDAN, *Skopje*, in *ODB*, III, p. 1912.

²¹ OSTROGORSKI, *History* [see n. 16], pp. 287-288.

²² D. OBOLENSKY, *The Byzantine Commonwealth, Eastern Europe, 500-1453*, London, 1971, p. 212.

organized a military campaign against the Pechenegs in 1048,²³ but he died in battle with them at Veliki Preslav in 1053. His successor, Nikephoros Proteuon, was eliminated in 1054-55 during struggles for the throne of Constantine IX Monomachos.²⁴ Leon Drymis Vestes replaced him in 1055 as *katepano* of the theme,²⁵ but around 1060 the administration of the theme fell to Constantine, *patrikios*, *anthypatos* and *vestes*, the *logariastes* and *anagrapheus* of the whole of Bulgaria.²⁶

The renewal and privatization of the taxation system in the theme resulted in the separation of military and civil administration in 1060. A civil administrator, the *praētor*, operated alongside with the military commander, the *doux* of Skopje.²⁷ According to J.-C. Cheynet, the next *doux*, Constantine Tzourvaneles, who was of Georgian origin, was transferred from the position of *strategos* of Belgrade (Berat) in Epirus to that of *strategos* of Skopje.²⁸ There is a hypothesis that in the period between 1064 and 1065, the military governor, holding the title of *proedros*, was the future emperor Nikephoros III Botaneiates.²⁹ In 1066 Andronikos Philokales was appointed as a *patrikios*, *anthypatos*, *vestes* and *katepano* of the theme of Bulgaria.³⁰ In 1067, under the emperor Romanos Diogenes, a duchy of Serdika became a separate theme and a process began of splitting up the original theme of Skopje in order to create a new theme and other centres.³¹

²³ STEPHENSON, *Byzantium's Balkan frontier* [see n. 9], 2000, p. 137, n. 42; SCHLUMBERGER, *Sigillographie* [see n. 15], pp. 241-242. In Schlumberger's collection a seal of Basil, *protoproedros*, *chrysotriklinios*, *mystolektos*, Judge of the Hippodrome and of Bulgaria is preserved. Another one has the inscription: "Theotoke, help Basil, *protospatharios*, *chrysotriklinios*, *mystolektos*, Judge of Hippodrome and Bulgaria."

²⁴ ZLATARSKI, *Istorija*, II [see n. 16], p. 122; JORDANOV, *Pečati na tema Bălgarija* [see n. 17], pp. 48-50.

²⁵ ZLATARSKI, *Istorija*, II [see n. 16], p. 11, n. 2; M. BOŠKOSKI, *Makedonija vo XI i XII vek, nadvorešni upadi na teritorijata na Makedonija*, Skopje, 1977, pp. 165-166.

²⁶ A lead seal is preserved with St Demetrios on the obverse and on the reverse an inscription mentioning Constantine *anthypatos*, *patrikios*, *vestes*, *logariastes* and *anagrapheus* of all Bulgaria. See A.-K. WASSILIOU-SEIBT – W. SEIBT, *Die byzantinischen Bleisiegel in Österreich, zentral und provinzial Verwaltung*, vol. II, Wien, 2004, pp. 130-131; STEPHENSON, *Byzantium's Balkan frontier* [see n. 9], p. 136; J. NESBITT – N. OIKONOMIDES, *Catalogue of Byzantine seals at Dumbarton Oaks and the Fogg Museum of Art*, vol. I, Washington D. C., 1991, p. 29.1.

²⁷ F. CURTA, *Southeastern Europe in the Middle Ages, 500-1250*, Cambridge, 2006, p. 285.

²⁸ CHEYNET, *Chronologie* [see n. 16], p. 184, n. 19, 20, 21. Tzourvaneles' seal with a diameter of 17 cm has the bust of St Theodore on the obverse and on the reverse a badly preserved inscription in six lines.

²⁹ D. STOIMENOV, *Vizantijski molivdovuli ot muzeja na Makedonija-Skopje*, in *Acta Musei Varnaensis*, VII-2 (2008), p. 179, n. 20. According to Stoimenov, there is no sphragistical data available to confirm the hypothesis of the authors I. BOŽILOV and V. GJUZELEV in *Istorija na srednovekovna Bălgarija (VII-XIV v.)*, vol. I, Sofia, 1999, p. 345.

³⁰ J.-C. CHEYNET, *Pouvoir et contestation à Byzance (963-1210)*, Paris, 1990, p. 72.

³¹ OSTROGORSKI, *History* [see n. 16], pp. 276-277.

In 1072 another revolt broke out around Skopje, led by George Voytekh and Constantine Bodin. The *doux* of Skopje Nikephoros Karantenos was not resolute enough to suppress the rebellion, and another *doux* of Skopje, Damianos Dalassenos, was appointed. But he also was unsuccessful in his military actions.³² Promptly, a new commander was appointed, *magistros* and *doux* of the West. This was Michael Saronites, who took Skopje back and crushed the revolt. His lead seal was recently found at Heraclea Lyncestis.³³ A number of short-term officials of the theme were appointed such as the *proedros* and *doux* of the theme, Nikephoros Batatzes,³⁴ and Gregory, *proedros* and *doux* of Thessalonike.³⁵ The general and *magistros* Nikephoros Bryennios the Elder, who fought at Manzikert, appointed as *doux* of Skopje in 1074-1075, replaced Gregory and later was appointed governor of Dyrrachion.³⁶ In Skopje the *doux* Alexander Kabbasilas replaced Nikephoros Bryennios the Elder in 1078.³⁷ The next military administrator as *strategos*, judge of the Vellum and *praetor* of Bulgaria was Theodore (Theodoulos) Triakontaphyllos.³⁸ His successor, John Triakontaphyllos, was promoted in the 1080's as *protoproedros* and *praetor* of the theme. The next *doux* was John Komnenos, son of Isaac Komnenos.³⁹

In 1082 the Norman army led by Bohemond of Taranto advanced to Berrhoia, Servia, Vodena and Moglena. His general, Raoul of Pontoise, took Skopje with his heavy cataphracts, but then defected to Alexios Komnenos, who tried to bribe Bohemond's subordinate commanders.⁴⁰ The Norman occupation of the Skopje fortress lasted until 1088, after which period the Byzantines took the fortress back. It seems that Nicholas Anemas was

³² CHEYNET, *Pouvoir et contestation à Byzance* [see n. 30], p. 79.

³³ L. MANDIĆ – R. MIHAJLOVSKI, *The XIth century Byzantine seal from Heraclea near Bitola*, in *REB*, 58 (2000), p. 275; JORDANOV, *Pečati na tema Bălgarija* [see n. 17], p. 169-170.

³⁴ NESBITT – OIKONOMIDES, *Catalogue* [see n. 26], p. 94.

³⁵ V. LAURENT, *Deux nouveaux gouverneurs de la Bulgarie byzantine. Le proèdre Nicéphore Batatzes et le protoproèdre Grégoire*, in *Revue des études sud-est européennes*, 7 (1969), pp. 143-150; JORDANOV, *Pečati na tema Bălgarija* [see n. 17], p. 162.

³⁶ ZLATARSKI, *Istorija*, II [see n. 16], p. 534; CHEYNET, *Pouvoir et contestation à Byzance* [see n. 30], p. 184; JORDANOV, *Pečati na tema Bălgarija* [see n. 17], 182.

³⁷ ZLATARSKI, *Istorija*, II [see n. 16], p. 148.

³⁸ ZLATARSKI, *Istorija* [see n. 16], vol. III, Sofia, 1970, pp. 39-40. Three seals are preserved. John Triakontaphyllos has the title of *proedros*, judge of the Vellum and *pronoetes* of Bulgaria, but also had title of *protoproedros* and *praetor*.

³⁹ ZLATARSKI, *Istorija*, III [see n. 16, 38], p. 40, n. 1. Two molybdules are preserved mentioning Theodore (Theodoulos) Triakontaphyllos as *proedros* and judge of the theme of Bulgaria.

⁴⁰ E. A. S. DAWIES, *The Alexiad of the Princess Anna Comnena*, London – New York – Bahrain, 2003, pp. 125-126; T. VENNING (ed.), *A Chronology of the Byzantine Empire*, New York, 2006, col. 415.

posted as military commander over the theme.⁴¹ It is still uncertain whether he was a *doux* and for how long he stayed on this position. The *doux* of Skopje, John Doukas, replaced him somewhere between 1091 and 1092.⁴² Again in 1096 an army of crusaders took over Skopje's fortress, but it was only for a short time. John Komnenos, who held the position of *sebastos* and *doux* of Dyrrachion, later held the command of Skopje. Between 1096 and 1106 he was *doux* of Skopje and campaigned against Voukan of Raška.⁴³

According to Anna Komnena's *Alexiad*, the župan of Raška, Volkanos (Voukan) seized the fortress of Ulpianna and approached Skopje in 1092. But in 1093 Alexios I led an army against him.⁴⁴ Voukan asked for peace as soon as emperor Alexios arrived and occupied the fortress of Skopje. The archaeological evidence shows that the southern walls of the fortress were reconditioned probably at this time because the Skopje fortress had a vital strategic importance with respect to the northern invaders. During the rule of Alexios I Komnenos, and throughout the 12th century, the town's status was upgraded to polis and enjoyed prosperity and peace. Based on the archaeological finds, two churches were erected and numerous coins of the Komnenos, Angelos and Doukas families testify to the economic growth of the city.⁴⁵ The *protoproedros* and *doux* of Bulgaria, Niketas Karikes, held the position in the period between 1096 and 1098.⁴⁶ After him, in the years between 1098 and 1101, the husband of Anna Komnena, the historian and general, Nikephoros Bryennios the younger, governed Skopje. The city of

⁴¹ M. MULLET, *Theophylact of Ochrid, Reading the Letters of a Byzantine Archbishop*, Birmingham, 1997, p. 349. Nicholas Anemas was a close friend of Theophylact of Ochrid; CHEYNET, *Pouvoir et contestation à Byzance* [see n. 30], p. 101, n. 3.

⁴² ZLATARSKI, *Istorija*, II [see n. 16], pp. 254, 256. John Doukas was governor of the theme of Dyrrachion and he became a *doux* of Bulgaria in 1090.

⁴³ NESBITT – OIKONOMIDES, *Catalogue* [see n. 26], 30.1; G. ZACOS – A. VEGLERY, *Byzantine lead seals*, vol. I, part 3, Basel, 1972, 2714; ZLATARSKI, *Istorija*, II [see n. 16], p. 534.

⁴⁴ DAWIES, *Alexiad* [see n. 40], pp. 220-222; J. FERLUGA – B. FERJANČIĆ et al. (eds), *Vizantijski izvori za istoriju naroda Jugoslavije*, vol. III, Beograd, 1966, pp. 386-389.

⁴⁵ According to J. Kondijanov from the Department of Numismatics at the Archaeological Museum of Macedonia in Skopje, at the fortress Kale numerous coins were found and they were minted by the emperors John Tzimiskes, Basil II, Romanos IV Diogenes, Michael VII, Alexios I Komnenos, John I Komnenos, Isaac II Angelos and Manuel II Komnenos. Also during the archaeological excavations in 2007 coins of the medieval Bulgarian state of John II Asen, of the Serbian one of Stephen II Milutin, and of Michael VIII Palaeologos were the frequent finds, indicating the political changes in this period. MIKULČIĆ, *Srednovekovni gradovi* [see n. 3], pp. 302-308.

⁴⁶ STEPHENSON, *Byzantium's Balkan frontier* [see n. 9], p. 178; ALBERT OF AACHEN, *Historia Hierosolymitana*, in *Recueil des Histoires des Croisades, Historiens occidentaux*, vol. IV, Paris, 1879, pp. 276-277. In 1096 Walter the Penniless and crusaders entering Niš encountered the Byzantine governor Niketas Karikes who supplied them with money and escorted them towards Hadrianople.

Skopje gave its name to one of the administrative units that replaced the name Bulgaria during the territorial and administrative divisions made at the beginning of the reign of Alexios I Komnenos. In the period from 1101 to 1105/6, John Taronites (Taronitopoulos) was the first known *doux* of Skopje and a correspondent with Theophylactos of Ohrid,⁴⁷ but he was replaced by Constantine Komnenos after 1105/6. This former *doux* of Berrhoia was appointed to this new post in 1106.⁴⁸ Michael Branias ruled over the theme from 1147 to 1153 and was replaced by Andronikos Komnenos.⁴⁹ In the meantime Basil was *protospatharios*, *mystolektos* and judge of Constantinople's Hippodrome and Bulgaria.⁵⁰ According to I. Božilov, the *doux* of Dyrrachion and Ohrid, Alexios Doukas Komnenos Bryennios was a temporary *doux* of the theme of Bulgaria.⁵¹

The imperial aristocracy had large estates in Skopje, Serdika and Plovdiv. The prince Alexios Komnenos, son of imperial-born Theodora and Constantine Angelos, had large properties in the vicinity of Skopje. At the village of Nerezi he erected a church dedicated to St Panteleimon in 1165, a medieval masterpiece of architecture and mural painting.⁵²

During the 11th century the fragmentation of the old themes continued throughout the Komnenian period, and many were reduced merely to the principal town and its surrounding territory. Such happened to Skopje, Berrhoia, Servia, but others, such as Thessalonike-Boleron-Strymon became more prosperous still. The provincial governor, or *doux*, who replaced the former *strategos* of the 10th century, during the 11th century perpetuated in the title of *praetor* and the military *pronoiai*. This was the logical outcome of the disappearance of the *stratotika ktemata*, the military holdings of the theme troops.⁵³ It seems that in the last decades of the 12th century the doukanate of Skopje underwent deep administrative changes, losing its political and military significance. According to the Byzantine historian Niketas Choniates, between 1180 and 1190 Serbia's župan Stefan Nemanja took over Kosovo, along with Prizren, penetrating into northern Macedonia,

⁴⁷ NESBITT – OIKONOMIDES, *Catalogue* [see n. 26], p. 98, no. 30.1.

⁴⁸ ZLATARSKI, *Istorija*, II [see n. 16], p. 311.

⁴⁹ *Ibidem*, pp. 261-262; MULLET, *Theophylact of Ochrid* [see n. 41], p. 364.

⁵⁰ SCHLUMBERGER, *Sigillographie* [see n. 15], pp. 241-242.

⁵¹ I. BOŽILOV, *Aleksij Duka Komnin Vrienij: duk na Ohrid ili upravitel na tema Bălgarija?*, in *Bălgarskata arhiepiskopija XI-XII vek, spisok na bălgarskite arhiepiskopi*, Sofia, 2011, pp. 150-153.

⁵² P. MILJKOVIĆ-PEPEK, *Crkvata Sv. Pantelejmon vo seloto Nerezi*, in V. MOŠIN (ed.), *Spomenici za srednevekovnata i ponovata istorija na Makedonija*, vol. I, Skopje, 1975, pp. 89-94.

⁵³ P. MAGDALINO, *The Empire of Manuel I Komnenos, 1143-1180*, Cambridge, 1993, p. 232.

taking and demolishing the fortress of Skopje.⁵⁴ Constantinople recognized the independence of the Bulgarians in 1188, and of the Serbs in 1190, and in return the Byzantines regained the territory of Upper Vardar including Skopje, which had previously come under the successive control of the armies of Isaac II Angel, John I Asen and Stefan Nemanja.⁵⁵

In 1203 the Bulgarian army of Kaloyan (1197-1207) took over the towns of Skopje, Velbužd, Niš and Prizren,⁵⁶ replacing the existing Byzantine administration and clergy with his own officers and priests. In 1203 the bishop of Skopje was a certain Marin, of the church of the Holy Virgin.⁵⁷ The death of Kaloyan and the turmoil caused by his successor resulted in the invasion of the Serbian ruler Stefan Nemanja with his ally Strez, the local ruler of the fortress Prosek on the river Vardar. They took the territory extending from Skopje in the north to Berrhoia in the south and from Bitola-Ohrid in the west to the river Struma in the east. Strez held Skopje, transferring its ecclesiastical jurisdiction from Trnovo to Ohrid. Tsar Boril of Bulgaria (1207-1218) was against the alliance of his brother Strez with Nemanja, but without success.⁵⁸ In 1217 Skopje was occupied by the despot of Epirus, Theodore I Angelos (1215-1230), but after the coronation of John II Asen (1218-1241), the region around Skopje and the town were again reintegrated into the Bulgarian realm. In 1241, after the death of Kaliman, John II Asen's son, the Nicaean Byzantine ruler John III Doukas Batatzes of Nicaea (1222-1254) invaded the territory around Skopje, Veles and Prilep, in order to impose his own suzerainty over the region.⁵⁹ After the death of John III Doukas Batatzes, the Bulgarian tsar Michael I Asen (1246-1256) took over western Macedonia and Skopje, but the Nicaeans recovered it in 1256. Skopje was taken again by the Bulgarian tsar Constantine Tikh Asen (1258-1277), but was quickly retaken by the Byzantines in 1259.⁶⁰

⁵⁴ T. TOMOSKI, *Skopje od XI do XIV vek*, in V. MOŠIN (ed.), *Spomenici za srednovekovnata i ponovata istorija na Makedonija*, vol. I, Skopje, 1975, p. 59; G. OSTROGORSKI – F. BARIŠIĆ (eds), *Vizantijski izvori za istoriju naroda Jugoslavije*, vol. IV, Beograd, 1971, pp. 154-157.

⁵⁵ J. V. A. FINE, *The Late Medieval Balkans, a Critical Survey from the Late Twelfth Century to the Ottoman Conquest*, Ann Arbor, 1994, pp. 7-9, 26; R. GRUJIĆ, *Vlastelinstvo svetoga Djordja kod Skoplja od XI-XV veka*, in *Glasnik Skopskog naučnog društva*, 1 (1925), p. 49; I. BOŽILOV, *Familijata na Asenevci (1186-1460), genealogija i prosopografija*, Sofia, 1985, pp. 31-33.

⁵⁶ KĀNČOV, *Grad Skopje* [see n. 3], p. 104.

⁵⁷ GRUJIĆ, *Skopska mitropolija* [see n. 20], p. 32. "Et episcopus, licet indignus sanctissimae ecclesiae Dei Genitricis de Scopia Marinus."

⁵⁸ P. MUTAFČIEV, *Vladetelitate na Prosek*, in *Izbrani proizvedenija*, vol. I, Sofia, 1973, pp. 172-285.

⁵⁹ R. MIHAJLOVSKI, *Three Byzantine seals from Devolgrad (ancient Audaristos) near Stobi*, in *Byzantine Narrative, Byzantina Australiensia*, 16 (2006), p. 525, n. 16.

⁶⁰ GRUJIĆ, *Vlastelinstvo svetoga Djordja* [see n. 55], p. 49; ZLATARSKI, *Istorija*, II [see n. 16], pp. 456-457.

In 1282, Milutin, the Serbian king, expanded into Byzantine territory southwards and captured the strategically important fortress of Skopje. In 1298 the Byzantine imperial mission headed by Theodore Metochites arrived at Skopje to negotiate a dynastic marriage, and in 1299 the Byzantines officially recognized Milutin's conquest of northern Macedonia. Skopje became Milutin's main residence and he introduced an annual fair in the town.⁶¹

The city walls of Kale were renewed and the urban area slightly expanded in the north-western section. The southern gate entrance threshold was elevated by about one meter and a great square tower was constructed on the eastern side, opposite to that on the western side. Remains of spacious public buildings of brick and stone were uncovered in sectors 1, 4, 5 and 10. In sector 3 a well-preserved foundation of a church with a cross-like interior plan was uncovered. Metal jewellery was found in the graves surrounding the church and a tombstone was unearthed belonging to a nobleman, a certain Vlatko, with a Slavonic inscription dating from 1281.⁶² According to K. Petrov, before the Ottoman settlement in the fortress Kale, there existed three medieval churches dedicated to the cult of the Holy Archangel Michael, to the Holy Mother of God and to St Constantine.⁶³

In 1346 tsar Dušan of Serbia was crowned in his palace in Skopje's Kale fortress, the new capital of his tsardom. In 1349 he promulgated his *Dušan's code* at the state council in Skopje, but after his death Skopje was incorporated into the kingdom of Vukašin and his son, prince Marko. In 1377 the Serbian nobleman Vuk Branković took over Skopje from prince Marko and he minted his own coins there. At the end of 1391 the Ottoman army under the command of Yiğit-bey invaded and conquered Vuk Branković's Skopje on 6 January 1392.⁶⁴ Later Skopje was a principal military base (beside Edirne) for sultan Bayezid I's further conquests between 1392 and 1395. Thus, in the period between 1392 and 1912, Skopje (in Turkish "Üsküb") was an important city within the borders of the Ottoman Empire. On 26 October 1689 the Austrian army led by the general E. S. Piccolomini entered the city, which was contaminated by an epidemic of cholera and

⁶¹ L. MAVROMATIS, *La prise de Skopje par les Serbes: date et signification*, in *TM*, 5 (1973), pp. 329-334; KRAVARI, *Villes et villages* [see n. 6], p. 161; KAZHDAN, *Skopje* [see n. 20], p. 1912.

⁶² MITREVSKI, *Skopska tvrđina* [see n. 7], pp. 28-30.

⁶³ K. PETROV, *Kon prašanjeto za mestonaogjanjeto i traenjeto na srednovekovnite skopski crkvi*, in *Godišen zbornik na Filozofskiot fakultet vo Skopje*, 21 (1969), pp. 153-185; IDEM, *Pregled na sakralnite spomenici vo Skopje i okolinata od XI do XIX vek*, in V. MOŠIN (ed.), *Spomenici za srednovekovnata i ponovata istorija na Makedonija*, vol. I, Skopje, 1975, pp. 75-88; MIKULČIĆ, *Srednovekovni gradovi* [see n. 3], p. 302.

⁶⁴ POPOVIĆ, *Üsküb* [see n. 6]; A. DEROKO, *Srednovekovni grad Skoplje*, in *Spomenik Srpske akademije nauka i umetnosti*, 120 (1971), p. 14.

burnt it to the ground. An Ottoman inscription built into the eastern wall records the great reconstruction of Kale in 1700.⁶⁵ Two catastrophic earthquakes, one in 1550 and a recent one in 1963, heavily damaged the fortress of Kale.⁶⁶ Around 1660 an Ottoman traveller and man of letters, Evliya Çelebi, wrote a detailed description of the Skopje fortress while traveling through the lands of the Ottoman Empire: “It is a fortified city, a very strong and sturdy fortress with double walls. The city gate and the walls are built from chipped stone that shines as if it were polished. One cannot see so much refinement and art in the construction of any other city.”⁶⁷

In 1912 the Serbian army took the fortress and again it was used for military purposes. The Yugoslav army used the military barracks until the 1950's. Museums in Skopje were located on the Kale before the catastrophic earthquake in 1963. After the earthquake the walls were partly renovated and some archaeological excavations followed. The fortress of Kale is a unique historical heritage connected with the Stone Bridge, the old Ottoman market and its numerous religious and civil buildings.⁶⁸

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SUMMARY

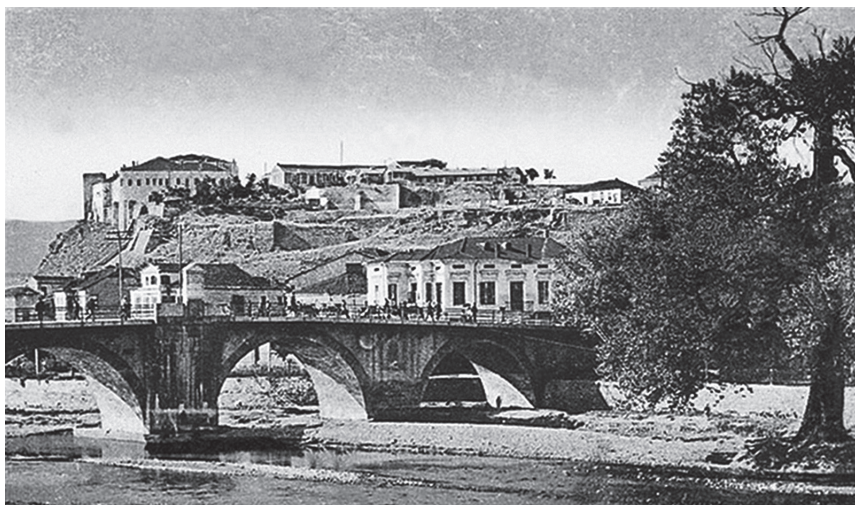
The following catalogue deals with the medieval seals uncovered during the archaeological excavation between 2009 and 2012 at the “Kale” fortress in Skopje. The Byzantine seals found in the fortress are the largest collection of such items in the Republic of Macedonia. This collection of some eighty seals represents an important and authentic epigraphic source that sheds additional light on the history of Byzantine and Ottoman Skopje and its surroundings. Although some of the seals are damaged and hard to decipher, all are included in this survey as part of the collection, which relates to the life of the Kale fortress.

⁶⁵ L. KUMBARDJI-BOGOJEVIĆ, *Osmanliski spomenici vo Skopje*, Skopje, 1998, pp. 222-225; HADJI VASILJEVIĆ, *Skoplje i njegova okolina* [see n. 3], p. 128 – Hadji Vasiljević noted that in the Ottoman times the fortress of Skopje was called “Kala” or “Kale”, and the suburbs were called “Tahta Kale”. In Thessalonike and in Plovdiv the main, most ancient part of town was known as “Tahta Kale”, meaning fortified flatland suburbs.

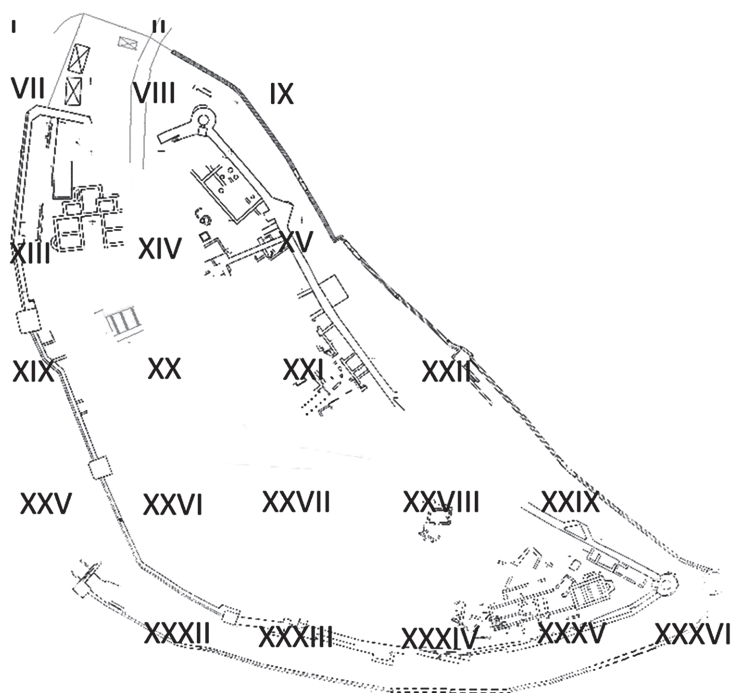
⁶⁶ POPOVIĆ, *Ūsküb* [see n. 6], p. 923; A. STOJANOVSKI, *Novi podatoci za Skopje po požarot vo 1689 godina*, in *Makedonija vo turskoto srednovekovie (od krajot na XIV do pocetokot na XVIII vek)*, Skopje, 1989, pp. 207-237.

⁶⁷ I. EMIN, *Evlija Çelebija za Makedonija*, Skopje, 2007, pp. 11-12; A. DEROKO, *Srednovekovni grad Skoplje* [see n. 64], pp. 1-16.

⁶⁸ MIKULČIĆ, *Srednovekovni gradovi* [see n. 3], p. 298; K. BALABANOV – A. NIKOLOVSKI – D. ČORNAKOV, *Spomenici na kulturata na Makedonija*, Skopje, 1980, pp. 9-15.



The Stone Bridge, built in the 15th c. by Sultan Mehmed II Fatih, and the fortress of Kale (postcard, begin 20th c.)



Kale excavation sectors

CATALOGUE

1. Seal of Niketas Xiphilinos, end of 11th – first half of 12th century

Well-preserved lead seal, but chipped on the lower side. It has a diameter of 22 mm and weight of 9.96 gr.

Location: sector 2/2007.

Obverse: Bust of the Mother of God and Jesus Christ in a medallion on her chest. Linear border of dots. Sigla: \bar{M} - $\bar{\Theta}$: M(ήτηρ) Θ(εοῦ).

Reverse: Inscription in four lines. Linear border of dots.
 $\cdot\bar{\Theta}\bar{K}\bar{E}\bar{R}\bar{\Theta}\cdot|\cdot\bar{I}\bar{K}\bar{H}\bar{T}\bar{A}\cdot|\cdot\bar{\omega}\bar{\zeta}\bar{\iota}\bar{\phi}\bar{\iota}\cdot|\cdot\bar{I}\bar{N}\bar{O}$

It can be read as: + Θ(εοτό)κε β(οή)θ(ει) [N]ικήτῶ [τ]ῷ Ξιφι[λ]ίνῳ.

It can be translated as: *Mother of God, help Niketas Xiphilinos.*

Another seal with the same legend is known.⁶⁹ Niketas Xiphilinos, perhaps the same person or a homonymous, was *krites* of the themes Boleron, Strymon and Thessalonike during the reign of Alexios I Komnenos. As *magistros* and judge he worked in the regions of Strymon, Chalkidike, Athos, Kassandra and Thessalonike. He was mentioned in the documents of the monasteries of Laura, Esphigmenou, Docheiariou and Xenophon.⁷⁰ According to Laurent, in the monastery of Ibēron in Athos a document with a seal is preserved mentioning Niketas Xiphilinos in 1151. The text is: Χρήζεις μαθεῖν; γνώριζε κοιαίστορά με κριτὴν Νικήταν τὸν Ξιφιλῖνον γένος.⁷¹

Two other persons with the same family name are known and both of them had personal molybdebulls. One was John Xiphilinos, strategos of Samos, from the second half of the 11th century. The other one was the patriarch of Constantinople, John VIII Xiphilinos (1064-1075), who previously held a civilian position as *protoproedros* and judge.⁷²

2. Seal of Constantine Doukas, *sebastos* (1105)

A well-preserved lead seal with an elaborate bas-relief on the obverse. It has a diameter of 23 mm and weight of 13.16 gr.

⁶⁹ A. WASSILIOU, *Die Familie Xiphilinos im 11. Jahrhundert: der Beitrag der Siegel*, in B. CASEAU (ed.), *Les réseaux sociaux. Antiquité tardive et Moyen Âge*, Paris, 2012, no. 15, pp. 319-320.

⁷⁰ (*Niketas 159*) in *Prosopography of the Byzantine World, PBW*, <http://db.pbw.kcl.ac.uk/pbw2011/entity/person/143480>; GLYKATZI-AHRWEILER, *Recherches* [see n. 9], p. 83.

⁷¹ V. LAURENT, *Les bulles métriques dans la sigillographie byzantine*, Athens, 1932, no. 555; N. OIKONOMIDES, *A Collection of Dated Byzantine Seals*, Washington, 1986, no. 105.

⁷² A. KAZHDAN, *Xiphilinos*, in *ODB*, II, pp. 2210-2211; I. JORDANOV, *Pečatite od strategijata v Preslav, (971-1088)*, Sofia, 1993, pp. 315-319.

Location: sector 9/2007.

Obverse: Bust of the Mother of God with infant Jesus in a medallion on her chest. Flanked by sigla: \overline{MP} - \overline{V} : M(ήτ)ηρ Θ(εο)ῦ. Linear border of dots.

Reverse: Inscription in five lines.
+ $\overline{\Theta\text{ΚΕ}}$ | $\overline{R\text{O}\text{H}\text{ΘΕ}}$ | $\overline{Κ\text{Ω}\text{N}\text{CΕ}}$ | $\overline{R\text{A}\text{C}\text{T}\text{Ω}}$ | $\overline{\text{T}\text{Ω}\text{Δ}\text{Η}\text{Κ}}$

It can be read as: + Θ(εοτό)κε βοήθει Κων(σταντίνω) σεβαστῶ τῷ Δούκ(α).

It can be translated as: *Mother of God, help the sebastos Constantine Doukas.*

Constantine Doukas was a nephew of Eirene Doukaina and son of the *protostator* Michael Doukas. In 1105 he was entrusted with the governing of the region of the river Vardar. Theophylaktos of Ohrid wrote to the governor of the Vardar region Constantine, asking for help with the village on the Vardar in 1100.⁷³ Constantine Doukas was appointed to the post of *doux* and *praetor* of theme Boleron–Strymon–Thessalonike in 1118.⁷⁴

3. Seal of the emperor Alexios I Komnenos (1081-1118) (cf. seal no. 26)

Partially preserved lead seal, damaged on the lower side. Diameter of 31 mm and weight of 17.82 gr.

Location: sector 9/2007.

Obverse: Christ bearded and seated on a throne with a high back support. His right hand in benediction and in his left hand a Bible. Sigla on both sides of the figure \overline{IC} - \overline{XC} : I(ησοῦ)ς [X(ριστός)]. Linear border of dots.

Reverse: A hieratic image of the emperor Alexios I (1081-1118) wearing a crown with pendants, *divitision* and *loros* over his left arm. In his right hand he holds a labarum and in his left hand he has a globus cruciger. Border of dots and partly damaged circular inscription:
+ ΑΛ.....ΤΩΚΟΜΝΗ..

It can be read as: + Ἀλ[εξίω δεσπότη] τῷ Κομνη[νῶ].

It can be translated as: *To lord Alexios Komnenos.*

The seal was issued probably in 1093. According to his daughter Anna Komnene, in 1092 the zhupan of Rascia (Rashka) Bolkanos (Vukan) seized the fortress of Ulpiana and in 1093 the emperor Alexios I led an army against him. Vukan signed for peace as soon as Alexios arrived and occupied the fortress of Skopje.⁷⁵ The archaeological evidence of 2007 shows

⁷³ MULLET, *Theophylact of Ochrid* [see n. 41], pp. 94-95, 360; I. ILIEV (ed.), *Fontes Graeci historiae Bulgaricae, Theophylacti Achridensis, Archiepiscopi Bulgariae, scripta ad historiam Bulgariae pertinentia*, vol. IX, Sofia, 1994, p. 118.

⁷⁴ (*Konstantinos 130*) in *PBW*, <http://db.pbw.kcl.ac.uk/pbw2011/entity/person/107563>.

⁷⁵ DAWIES, *Alexiad* [see n. 40], p. 97; VENNING (ed.), *Chronology of the Byzantine Empire* [see n. 40], col. 415.

that the southern walls of the fortress in Skopje were reconditioned and the seal was issued at that time.

Alexios I Komnenos (1048-1118) was the founder of the Komnenian dynasty. He was the third son of John Komnenos and Anna Dalassena, and nephew of the emperor Isaac I Komnenos (1057-1059).⁷⁶ In alliance with Venice in 1085 and 1108 he repelled the Normans who were invading the Balkans over the Via Egnatia, and in 1091 in alliance with the Cumans at Levounion his armies annihilated the Pechenegs. He consolidated the administration and the church allowing the condemnation of the heretical intellectuals and the Bogomil movement. Alexios carried out a major monetary reform, restoring the hyperperon and minting small denominations. His daughter Anna wrote his biography entitled *Alexiad*, which is a major historical source about his reign and the crusaders.⁷⁷

He is attested in different groups of seals as:

- *proedros*, *protoproedros* and *meas domestikos* of the West,
- *nobelissimos* and *meas domestikos* of the West,
- *basileus*, *autokrator* and *despotes*.⁷⁸

Alexios I is attested as *despotes* in several boulloteria of which there are two of the same. They are systematized by PBW in boulloterion 2958 (type 2) and 2959 (type 3) and they are found in numerous collections, such as the Zacos collection, the Istanbul museum, some Bulgarian museums, Halmyros. The Zacos collection has a gold bulla containing a circular inscription:⁷⁹

+ΑΛΕΞΙΔΕΣΠ|ΤΩΚΟΜΝ...

The seal of Alexios I has two variants embedded in lead:

a) +ΑΛΕΞΙΔΕΣΠ|ΤΩΚΟΜΝΗΝΩ;⁸⁰

On the second variant, on the obverse, there is no footstool beneath Christ's feet, but the circular inscription is identical:

b) +ΑΛΕΞΙΩ|ΔΕΣΠΟΤ|ΤΩΚΟ.

⁷⁶ CHEYNET, *Pouvoir et contestation à Byzance* [see n. 30], pp. 89-90, 359-369; FERLUGA – FERJANČIĆ (eds), *Vizantijski izvori* [see n. 44], pp. 386-389.; F. CHALANDON, *Essai sur le règne d'Alexis I^{er} Comnène (1081-1118)* (*Mémoires et documents publiés par la société de l'École des chartes*, 4), Paris, 1900.

⁷⁷ C. M. BRAND – P. GRIERSON – A. CUTLER, *Alexios I Komnenos*, in *ODB*, II, p. 63.

⁷⁸ R. GUILLARD, *Études sur l'histoire administrative de l'empire byzantin, le despote*, ΔΕΣΠΟΤΗΣ, in *REB*, 17 (1959), pp. 52-80; B. FERJANČIĆ, *Despota u Vizantiji i južnoslovenskim zemljama*, Belgrade, 1960.

⁷⁹ ZACOS – VEGLERY, *Byzantine lead seals* [see n. 43], p. 102, a, b, c, d.

⁸⁰ I. JORDANOV, *Byzantine lead seals from the village of Melnitsa (district of Elkhovo, Bulgaria)*, in W. SEIBT (ed.), *Studies in Byzantine Sigillography*, Washington, 1998, pp. 21-57; W. SEIBT, *Die byzantinischen Bleisiegel in Österreich, Kaiserhof*, vol. I, Wien, 1978, p. 27, t. 3/27a.

It seems that during the reign of Alexios I Komnenos the fortress in Skopje had a strategic position towards the northern borders and therefore the fortification was renovated. The large number of coins of Alexios I that were discovered emphasizes the importance of this fortification.

4. Seal of Gregorios, *proedros* and *doux* of Thessalonike, around 1060/1080

Well preserved lead seal, but the imprint is incomplete. Diameter: 22 mm, weight: 8.41 gr.

Location: sector 9 /2007.

Obverse: A bust of the Virgin Episkepsis holding a medallion with the infant Jesus on her chest. Siglas: .. - Θ̅V: [M(ήτη)ρ] Θ(εο)ϛ̅.

Reverse was struck towards the left and some letters are missing. It has an inscription in five lines:

..ΕΡ/Θ/|..ΗΓΟΡΙΩ|..ΟΕΔΡΩΣ|..VKIΘΕC|..ΛΟΝΙΚ

It can be read as: + [Θ(εοτό)κ]ε β(οή)θ(ει) [Γρ]ηγορίω [πρ]οέδρω (καί) [δο]υκί Θεσ(σ)[α]λονίκ(ης).

It can be translated as: *God help Gregory, proedros and doux of Thessalonike.*

Our seal is from the same boulloterion as the one at the Fogg Museum of Art.

a) The first seal (diameter of 25 mm) has the bust of the Mother of God with a medallion on Her chest on the obverse and on the reverse an inscription in five lines: Θεοτόκε βοήθει Γρηγορίω προέδρω και δουκι Θεσσαλονίκης.⁸¹

b) The second seal (diameter of 23 mm) has the bust of the Mother of God with a medallion on Her chest on the obverse and on the reverse an inscription in five lines: Θεοτόκε βοήθει Γρηγορίω πρωτοπροέδρω και δουκι Βουλγαρίας.⁸²

If the person in question was Gregorios, this means first sometime in the period 1060-1080 he was *proedros* and *doux* of Thessalonike and later he was appointed as *doux* of the theme Bulgaria, sometime in the period 1065-1080.⁸³

⁸¹ NESBITT – ΟΙΚΟΝΟΜΙΔΕΣ, *Catalogue* [see n. 26], no. 18.15; (*Gregorios 20102*) in *PBW*, <http://db.pbw.kcl.ac.uk/pbw2011/entity/person/152993>.

⁸² NESBITT – ΟΙΚΟΝΟΜΙΔΕΣ, *Catalogue* [see n. 26], no. 29.2; (*Gregorios 20103*) in *PBW*, <http://db.pbw.kcl.ac.uk/pbw2011/entity/person/152994>.

⁸³ LAURENT, *Gouverneurs de la Bulgarie byzantine* [see n. 35], pp. 148-150; NESBITT – ΟΙΚΟΝΟΜΙΔΕΣ, *Catalogue* [see n. 26], no. 18.15 and 29.2; JORDANOV, *Corpus*, I [see n. 12], p. 49.

5. Seal of Sgouros Michael, 1070/1125

Very well preserved lead seal with a splendid high-relief on the obverse. It has a diameter of 22 mm and weight of 7.45 gr.

Location: sector 2a/2007.

Obverse: Two figures of saints facing to each other with hands in prayer towards heaven from where the hand of God is blessing them. Between the figures there is a patriarchal cross on steps. They are probably the figures of St Demetrios on the right (Θ|Δ|Η|Μ|ΤΡ) and St Theodoros on the left (Θ|Θ̄|Ο|.), but these military saints wear liturgical vestments.

Reverse: Linear border of dots. A text in four lines:

- . -|+ ΣΓΟΥΡ|ΡΗΜΙΧΑΗΛ|ΜΑΡΤΥΡΕΣ|CVMMA|-X-

It can be read as: + Σγούρου Μιχαήλ μάρτυρες συμμαχ(εῖτε).

It can be translated as: *To Sgouros Michael, o martyrs, be allied.*

6. Seal of John, *proedros, krites* of the Velum and *pronoetes* of Bulgaria, around 1075

Damaged and chipped lead seal with diameter of 22 mm and weight of 10.66 gr.

Location: sector 8/2007.

Obverse: A border of double lines with text in four lines topped by a cross flanked by two horizontal bars:

+|Θ̄ΚΕΡΘ|ΤΩCΩΔ.|ΛΩΙΩΠ..|ΕΔΡΩΚΡΙ|-ΤΗ-

Reverse: Damaged text in four lines:

-x-|.O.RH|.ΨΚΑΙΠΡΟ|..ΗΤ·ΡΗΛ|ΓΑΡΙΑC|-. -

The whole can be read as: + Θ(εοτό)κε β(οή)θ(ει) τῶ σῶ δ[ού]λω Ἰω(άννη) π[ρο]έδρω κριτῆ [τ]ο[ῦ] βή[λ]ου καὶ προ[νο]ητ(ῆ) Βουλγαρίας.

It can be translated as: + *Mother of God, help your servant John, proedros, judge of the Velum and pronoetes of Bulgaria.*

The iconographic, epigraphic and archaeological evidence leads to the conclusion that the owner of the seal was the governor and judge of the theme of Bulgaria in the last third of the 11th century.⁸⁴ According to Schlumberger, a specimen is preserved that could be related to the same person,⁸⁵ and an identical seal of the same boulloterion was in the collection of Zacos and was published:⁸⁶ + Θεοτόκε βοήθει τῶ σῶ δούλω Ἰω(άννη) προέδρω κριτῆ τοῦ βήλου καὶ προνοητῆ Βουλγαρίας.⁸⁷

⁸⁴ JORDANOV, *Corpus*, I [see n. 12], p. 49, no. 10.

⁸⁵ SCHLUMBERGER, *Sigillographie* [see n. 15], pp. 240-241, no. 3.

⁸⁶ G. ZACOS, *Byzantine Lead Seals*, vol. II, J. W. NESBITT (ed.), Bern, 1984, p. 988; (*Ioannes 20221*) in *PBW*, <http://db.pbw.kcl.ac.uk/pbw2011/entity/person/153228>.

⁸⁷ SCHLUMBERGER, *Sigillographie* [see n. 15], p. 241, no. 3.

7. Seal of Kyriakos, bishop and *synkellos*, second half of the 11th century

A chipped lead seal with a damaged inscription. It has a diameter of 16 mm and weight of 6.21 gr.

Location: sector 9/2007.

Obverse: Damaged image of the Mother of God with medallion of the Infant Jesus on her chest. On her right side a sigla Θ̅V̅ is preserved: [Μ(ήτη)ρ] Θ(εο)ῦ.

Reverse: Text in five lines:
+ΚΕ..|ΚΥΡ...|ΕΠΙ...|ΣΚΥΓ...|ΛΩ

It can be read as: Κ(ύρι)ε [β(οή)θ(ει)] Κυρι[ακῶ] ἐπι[σκόπῳ] (καὶ) συγ[κέλ]λω. It can be translated as: *God help Kyriakos the bishop and synkellos.*

The owner of this ecclesiastical seal, the bishop and *synkellos* Kyriakos, was probably among the first prelates of the reestablished Archbishopric of Ohrid by the emperor Basil II, but his name is not known in the diocese of Skopje, which suggests that he might be from the capital city.⁸⁸ Bishop Kyriakos had his ecclesiastical title of *episkopos*, but we should not forget that *synkellos* was an imperial title given by the emperor. Most of the *synkelloi* and *protosynkelloi* were bishops or monks, but some were layman.⁸⁹ After the restoration of the Bulgarian church and state at the end of the 12th century, Naissos is once again a bishopric, and a connection proposes itself with the name of its bishop Kyriakos, disclosed in a letter of the Bulgarian bishops to pope Innocent III written in 1203.⁹⁰

8. Seal of Niketas Karikes, *protoproedros* and *doux* of Bulgaria, second half of the 11th century

A relatively well-preserved lead seal. It has a diameter of 23 mm, weight of 10.10 gr.

Location: sector 8/2007.

Obverse: Border of dots with a metrical inscription in five lines:
.ΡΑΦΑC|.ΦΡΑΓΙC|.ΤΥΔΥΚΟC|RΘΛΓΑΡ|.ΑC

Reverse: Border of dots with metrical inscription in five lines:
ΠΡΩ|ΤΟΠΡΟΕ|ΔΡΘΝΙΚΗ|ΤΑΤΥΚΑ|ΡΙΚΗ

It can be read as: [Γ]ραφὰς [σ]φραγίδ(ω) τοῦ δουκὸς Βουλγαρ[ι]ας πρωτοπροέδρου Νικήτα τοῦ Καρίκη.

It can be translated as: *I seal the writings of the doux of Bulgaria protoproedros Niketas Karikes.*

⁸⁸ SNEGAROV, *Istorija na Ohridskata arhiepiskopija* [see n. 20], p. 183.

⁸⁹ NESBITT – OIKONOMIDES, *Catalogue* [see n. 26], no. 36.4 (seal of George, *protosynkellos* and *kommerkiarios* from Crete, 11th c.).

⁹⁰ JORDANOV, *Corpus*, I [see n. 12], p. 130.

The seal that belonged to the *protoproedros* and *doux* of Bulgaria Niketas Karikes dates to the 1080s according to its inscription and metrical form. In 1096 Niketas Karikes (*dux et princeps Bulgarorum*) was governor and ruler of the theme of Bulgaria with a seat in Nish and commander of the stationed Byzantine army. In the western chronicles we read that he met the participants in the First Crusade on their arrival at Belgrade in 1096 and accompanied them to Hadrianople. Schlumberger published a specimen of his seal, but the family name is wrongly read:

ΓΡΑΦ'(ΩΝ) ΣΦΡΑΓΙΣ ΤΟΥ ΔΟΥΚΟ[Σ ΤΗΣ] ΒΟΥΛΓΑΡΙΑΣ
ΤΟΥ ΠΡΟΕΛΡΟΥ ΝΙΚΗΤΑ ΤΟΥ ΚΛΗΚΝ.....⁹¹

However, according to I. Jordanov, not a single western chronicle reports the patronym of Niketas, and most probably the seal belonged to the *protoproedros* and *doux* of Bulgaria Niketas Karikes. It dates to the 1080s according to its metrical inscription. Parallels can be found at the Museum in Haskovo, and other three specimens with the same boulloterion are preserved in collections in Istanbul and Vienna.⁹²

9. Seal of John Hyaleas, 13th century

Badly preserved, much damaged lead seal. An unevenly struck seal with a diameter of 32 mm, weight of 15.69 gr.

Location: sector 7/2007.

Obverse: A bust of a holy warrior with a round shield in the left hand and spear in his right hand, nimbed and wearing a cross. On the right side fragments of a badly preserved inscription: Ρ|Π|Ο, presumably [(Ο ἄγιος) Γεώ] ργιο(ς). Incomplete print and the rest obliterated.

Reverse: Metrical inscription in four lines, cross at the beginning.

+|Ω|Σ|ΦΡ...|ΤΟ.Υ|ΑΛΕΑ

It can be read as: + Ἰω(άννου) σφρ[άγι]σ(μα) το[ῦ] Ἰαλέα.⁹³

10. Seal of John, end of 12th or beginning of 13th century?

A damaged lead seal with a diameter of 29 mm and weight of 12.7 gr.

⁹¹ SCHLUMBERGER, *Sigillographie* [see n. 15], pp. 239-240; ZLATARSKI, *Istorija*, II [see n. 16], p. 15.

⁹² JORDANOV, *Corpus*, I [see n. 12], 19.2; *Niketas Kariki 20214*, in *PBW*, <http://db.pbw.kcl.ac.uk/pbw2011/entity/person/155131>. The Vienna seal (MK 191) is edited by WASSILIOU-SEIBT – SEIBT, *Die byzantinischen Bleisiegel* [see n. 26], no. 250.

⁹³ A.-K. WASSILIOU-SEIBT, *Corpus der byzantinischen Siegel mit metrischen Legenden*, 1. Teil, *Einleitung, Siegellegenden von Alpha bis inklusive My* (WBS, XXVIII/1), Wien, 2011, no. 1079b. I am grateful to A.-K. Wassiliou-Seibt for her expertise.

This seal no. 10 resembles no. 9, but it is not the same (the text has a different disposition, one can read only the second line) and not one with the same legend as that of John Hyaleas, Wassiliou, no. 1079a. It has St John the Forerunner and only three lines, here there is a fourth.

Location: sector 2b/2007.

Obverse: The bust of a holy warrior with spear and aureole. On the right side part of the inscription is preserved: .|O|P|Γ|, that is [(ἽΟ ἄγτος) Γε]όργ(τος), being incomplete, struck on somewhat truncated blank.

Reverse: An inscription in four lines, damaged. Linear border of dots.

ΙΩΑ. | CΦΡΑ... | ... | ...

It can be read as: Ἰωά[ννου?] σφρά[γισμα...]

It can be translated as: *Seal of John...*

11. Seal of John, basileus of the Bulgarians, 12th-13th century

Badly damaged and chipped lead seal with a diameter of 36 mm and weight of 25.29 gr.

Location: sector 11/2007.

Obverse: A full figure of St Theodore nimbate, bearded, standing facing; wears cuirass, short chiton, high boots and military chlamys thrown behind his shoulders, holding vertical spear in his right hand, while left hand holds shield ornamented with pellets and resting on the ground. He is flanked by vertical inscriptions O|A|Γ|I|O|. on his right and ΘΕ|ΟΔ|Ω|.O|. on his left: Ὁ ἄγτος[ς] Θεόδω[ρ]ο[ς].

Reverse: Damaged and corroded inscription in five lines, preceded by a crosslet: ..ΦΡ. | ΓΗ. ἸΩΒΑ | C... | C | ΤΩ..ΟΛ | ΓΑΡΟΝ | +

It can be read as: [+Σ]φρ[α]γῆ[ς] Ἰω(άννου) βα[σηλέ]ως τῷ[v B]ολγάρων.

The text can be translated as: *Seal of John, basileus of the Bulgarians.*

Its inscription in Greek asserts that the lead seal belongs to the Bulgarian emperor John Asen I Belgoun (1186-1196).⁹⁴ Information on him and his brother Theodore Peter is found in the *Historia* of Niketas Choniates.⁹⁵

An identical seal in an excellent state of preservation was found at the fortress near the village of Dobri dol, region of Plovdiv, and was published by I. Jordanov.⁹⁶

⁹⁴ G. ATANASOV, *Insignii na srednovekovnite bălgarski vladeteli*, Pleven, 1999, pp. 122-129; BOŽILOV, *Familijata na Asenevci* [see n. 55], pp. 27-40.

⁹⁵ *Nicetae Choniatae Historia*, in *Grăcki izvori za bălgarskata istorija*, vol. XI, p. 27.

⁹⁶ I. JORDANOV, *Korpus na pečatite na srednovekovna Bălgarija*, Sofia, 2001, coll. 92-95, no. 151; IDEM, *Byzantine lead seals from the stronghold near Dobri dol, Plovdiv region*, in *Revue numismatique*, 157 (2001), pp. 452-458, pl. XXXVIII/9; this seal is close to the one of John Kantakuzenos, the brother-in-law of Isaac II Angelos, killed by the Bulgars in 1186, cf. OIKONOMIDES, *Collection* [see n. 71], no. 123.

Obverse: St Theodore, standing figure as a holy warrior, on either side inscription:
Ο|Α|Γ|Ι|Ο|C - ΘΕ|ΟΔ|Ω|ΡΟ|C

Reverse: Inscription in five lines:
+CΦΡΑ|ΓHC:ΤΩΒΑ|CHΛΕΩC|ΤΩΝΒΟΛ|ΓΑΡΟΝ|+

The seal of John I Asen discovered at the Skopje fortress can be dated between 1180 and 1190, when the region of the Upper Vardar valley with its strategic fortress of Skopje became a bone of contention and changed hands between the armies of the Byzantine emperor Isaac II Angel, the Bulgarian tsar John I Asen and the Serbian grand prince Stephen Nemanya.

12. Fragment of a lead seal, 12th century

Only a quarter of the lower part of the seal is preserved, broken at the channel, with a diameter of 22.3 mm and weight of 5.24 gr. Several letters are obliterated, so the reading is uncertain.

Obverse: KOMN |ΤΘ..

Reverse: ΜΕ| ΜΕΡΚ

It can be read as:

Obverse: Κομν[ην]

Reverse: ?

It seems that the inscription can be ascribed to a member of the Komnenian family of the 12th century.⁹⁷

13. Seal of Nicholas, 12th century

Badly damaged and chipped seal, double struck over an older seal, diameter of ca. 20 mm, weight of 4.29 gr.

Location: sector 1a/2007.

Obverse is totally deformed with no clear image or letter preserved.

Reverse is badly damaged and struck; only a wreath border over the border of dots.

A cross flanked with horizontal bars and text in three lines are preserved:

-+ -|ΚΕΡ/Θ/|ΝΙΚΟΛ|....

It can be read as: + Κ(ύρι)ε β(οή)θ(ει) Νικολ(άω)...

It can be translated as: *God help Nikolaos...*

It might belong to an administrative or a military official.

⁹⁷ I am very grateful to J.-C. Cheynet for his help and suggestions.

14. Seal of anonymous *katepano*

A lead seal preserved in bad condition, chipped and damaged, diameter of 19 mm, weight of 4.28 gr.

Obverse: A bearded saint (St Nicholas?) holding a book in his left hand, with aureole. On the left only the letter “A” is preserved and on his right some remnants of letters.

Reverse: A text in five lines preceded by a crosslet:

‡...|ΛΑΟ...|ΚΑΤΕΠΑ|Ν...|...

It can be read as: ... κατεπάν[ω] ... (...*Nikolaos*, ... *katepano* ... ?)

It can be attributed to a military official with the rank of *katepano*. After 1018 the fortress of Skopje became the seat of a strategos, but shortly after it was upgraded into a katepanate.

15. Anonymous seal with the Mother of God and unknown warrior saint, 11th century

A damaged lead seal with reduced outside rim, diameter of 12 mm and weight of 2.52 gr. The blank was smaller than the dies for the seal and probably it was struck in the later period.

Obverse: Bust of the Mother of God holding with both hands a medallion of the infant Jesus. No visible sigla preserved.

Reverse: Facing bust of unknown warrior saint with a spear. No inscriptions available.

16. A quarter of the lead seal with St George, 12th century

Only a quarter of the seal was found, damaged, with a diameter of 22 mm and weight of 3.78 gr.

Obverse: The right hand of the standing figure of St George holding a spear, with aureole and sigla Θ and letter Γ. Linear border of dots.

Reverse: Three letters preserved, with border of dots: ...ϚRS

17. Seal of Virgin Blachernitissa, end of 11th to first half of 12th century

Damaged seal with an unevenly struck bust of the Virgin Blachernitissa. It has a diameter of 14 mm and weight of 3.58 gr. Several letters remain outside the blank and the rest are obliterated.

Location: sector 1/2007.

Obverse: A bust of the Virgin Blachernitissa, with a linear border of dots, but no sigla are preserved.

Reverse: An inscription in four lines with flattened letters:

.Ε..|Ν.ΚΟΛΑ|ΟΤΩ.Α.|ΤΑΝ.

It can be read as: [Κ(ύρι)]ε [β(οή)θ(ει)] Ν[ι]κολάο τῷ [Κ]α[σ]τάν[η].

It can be translated as: *God help Nikolaos of Kastan.*

According to I. Jordanov the seal belongs to Nicholas of Kastana, a place near Preslav.⁹⁸ Another place with the same name is in the region of Thessalonike.

18. Seal of a *protokouropalates*, 11th century

Damaged lead seal with diameter of 17 mm and weight of 4.62 gr.

Location: sector 9/2007.

Obverse: A nimbated bust of the Archangel Michael with a trefoil sceptre in his right hand and a globe in his left hand. Wings on both sides. Letters preserved: Μ – Χ: Μ(ι)χ(α)ήλ. Linear border of dots.

Reverse: Damaged in the middle and on the right side. Inscription in four lines preceded by a crosslet:

+ΚΕΡ|Θ|ΡΑ...Α|ΑΚΗΡΟ|ΠΑ...

It can be read as: + Κ(ύρι)ε β(οή)θ(ει) Βα...α (πρωτο)κουροπα[λάτη].

It can be translated as: *God help ... protokouropalates.*

The reconstruction of the first name is uncertain, but the reading of the title is very likely, taking into consideration the preserved letters. This title is well analyzed in Guillard's study.⁹⁹

19. Seal of an anonymous lady with Virgin Orans, 11th century

A damaged lead seal with an unevenly struck inscription on the obverse. It has a diameter of 18 mm and weight of 5.82 gr.

Obverse: Border of dots and Virgin Orans with badly preserved inscription on her left: ΜΡ|: Μ(ήτη)ρ [Θ (εο)ῦ].

Reverse: Border of dots and damaged inscription in four lines, with some letters missing:

Θ|ΚΕΡ|.|ΤΗΔΟΝ|ΛΗCOV.|ΑΝῆ.

It can be read as: Θ(εοτό)κε β(οή)[θ(ει)] τῇ δούλῃ σου Ἄνν[α].

It can be translated as: *Mother of God help your servant Anna.*

⁹⁸ *PLP*, Band I, *Abkürzungsverzeichniss und Gesamtregister*, 293. I am indebted to I. Jordanov for his expertise.

⁹⁹ R. GUILLARD, *Titres et fonctions de l'Empire byzantine (Variorum reprints)*, London, 1976, III/187-249.

20. Anonymous seal with Mother of God and St John the Baptist

This well preserved seal contains iconographic images on both sides. It has a diameter of 20 mm and weight of 7.90 gr.

Location: sector 11/2007.

Obverse has an image of the Holy Mother of God with infant Christ in medallion on her chest. Flanked with the sigla $\overline{M}\overline{P}$ - $\overline{\Theta}\overline{V}$: $M(\acute{\eta}\tau)\eta\rho\ \Theta(\epsilon\omicron)\tilde{\upsilon}$.

Reverse with a bust of St John the Baptist with long beard and dressed in camel skin. The face is damaged, but the rest is visible.

Two vertical inscriptions on each side flank the damaged figure:

$\Theta|\overline{\Gamma\omega}|O$ - $\Pi P|M|O$

It can be read as: $\overline{\Theta}$ ($\acute{\alpha}\gamma\iota\omicron\varsigma$) $\overline{\Gamma\omega}$ ($\acute{\alpha}\nu\nu\eta\varsigma$) δ $\Pi\rho$ (\acute{o}) [δ] ρ (\omicron) $\mu\omicron$ (ς).

It can be translated as: *Saint John the Forerunner*.

According to Schlumberger, there is a large number of anonymous seals with small dimensions bearing the bust of the Virgin on the obverse and a figure of the most popular saints in the Orthodox Church such as John the Forerunner.¹⁰⁰

21. Anonymous seal with St Demetrios and another unknown holy warrior

A lead seal slightly damaged, with diameter of 18 mm and weight of 4.88 gr.

Location: sector 11/2007.

Obverse: The bust of St Demetrios with an aureole, a spear in his right hand and a shield in his left hand, flanked by letters $\Delta|H$ on his right and $.|H|TP|V$ on his left side. Linear border of dots.

Reverse: Damaged, but visible bust of anonymous warrior with a spear in his right hand and a shield in his left hand. No inscription visible.

22. A fragment of a lead seal

Damaged lead seal, less than half of it is preserved, with entirely destroyed obverse. Diameter of 17 mm and weight of 2.71 gr.

Location: sector 1a/2007.

Obverse is heavily damaged, without any detail preserved.

Reverse contains a part of an inscription with border of dots. A hyphen is preserved and four damaged lines:

-+ -|.Λ|.V|.ΘΚΑ|...

¹⁰⁰ SCHLUMBERGER, *Sigillographie* [see n. 15], coll. 56-60; N. BANESCU – P. PAPAĞI, *Plombs Byzantines d'couverts à Silistra*, in *Byz*, 10 (1935, repr. 1968), pp. 604-605. Anonymous seal with the Holy Mother of God and Archangel Michael, probably from the same workshop.

23. A damaged seal with the Holy Mother of God

Damaged lead seal, chipped, with a hole in the reverse. Diameter of 18 mm and weight of 4.02 gr.

Location: sector 9/2007.

Obverse: Bust of the Mother of God, damaged face, on her left the sigla $\Theta\bar{V}$ are preserved: [M](ήτη)[ρ] $\Theta(\epsilon\omicron)\bar{\upsilon}$.

Reverse: Text chipped and damaged. Linear border of dots on the left.
+K...IA...ACΛIC..

The first letter of the invocation is visible and it can be read as: +Κ(ύρι)
[ε β(οή)θ(ετ) ...

24. Seal with a double-headed eagle?, 14th century?

Damaged seal with diameter of 31 mm and weight of 9.25 gr.

Location: sector 2b/2007.

Obverse: A stylized figure of a double-headed eagle.

Reverse: A fragment of a monogrammatic cross with letters: Π Τ Ρ.

Analogies can be found with the coins of Bulgarian rulers such as George Terter and Michael Shishman or with some seals of John V Palaeologos and it can be dated in the 14th century.¹⁰¹

25. Anonymous seal with a patriarchal cross decorated with pearls, 11th century

A damaged lead seal with a diameter of 21 mm and weight of 6.49 gr.

Location: sector 2/2007.

Obverse: A seal of the 11th century with a patriarchal cross decorated with pearls and flanked by two small crosses. The patriarchal cross is with an “X” at the crossing of the lower bar and each arm ends with pellet decoration. Linear border of dots.

Reverse had a hardly visible bust of St Nicholas with aureole. On the right side of the figure letters Κ|Ο|Λ: [Ἵ ἄγιος Νι]κόλ(αος) are preserved.¹⁰²

¹⁰¹ N. MUŠMOV, *Une monnaie byzantine en argent avec l'aigle bicéphale*, in *IV^{ème} Congrès international des études byzantines*, Actes 2, Sofia, 1934, pp. 298-301.

¹⁰² Analogy can be found in NESBITT – OIKONOMIDES, *Catalogue* [see n. 26], col. 2.4; I. KOLTSIDA-MAKRE, *The representation of the Cross on Byzantine lead seals*, in N. OIKONOMIDES (ed.), *Studies in Byzantine sigillography*, Washington, 1996, vol. IV, pp. 43-51.

26. Seal of the Byzantine emperor Alexios I Komnenos (1018-1118), cf seal no. 3

A half of the seal with an open channel in a bad condition. Diameter of 26 mm and weight of 7.66 gr.

Location: sector 9/2007.

Obverse: Half of the image of the seated Christ on the throne with back support. He is bearded, with long hair and nimbus. Dressed in chiton and himation, left hand holding the Gospel inserted in a jewelled cover. On the right, the letter “X” is preserved from $\bar{\omega}$ - $\bar{\chi}$: [Ι(ησοῦ)ς] Χ(ριστό)[ς].

Reverse: Alexios I is standing facing, crown with pendants, *divitision* and *loros* on his right hand holding long labarum ornamented on the top with dots. Linear border of dots.

Heavily damaged circular inscription on the left:
...ωΔ...

It can be read as: [+Ἀλεξί]ω δ(εσπότη) [τῷ Κομνηνῷ].¹⁰³

27. Seal of John, the metropolitan of Athens, 12^h century

Well preserved, but damaged, the letters are indistinct, which renders the reading difficult. It is a large seal with a diameter of 38.5 mm and weight of 35.38 gr.

Location: sector 7/2009.

Obverse: Standing representation of the Mother of God Machairotheisa holding with both hands a medallion with the infant Christ before her. She wears a chiton and omophorion. Circular line around. Sigla: $\overline{M}\overline{P}$ - $\overline{\Theta}\overline{V}$: Μ(ήτ) ηρ Θ(εο)ῦ.

Two vertical inscriptions flank the standing figure of the Mother of God:
Η|Μ|Α|Χ|Α|Ι - ΡΩ|ΘΕΙ|C|Α: Ἡ Μαχαιρωθεῖσα.

Reverse: Inscription in four lines, border of dots.

+CΦΡΑΓΙC|ΑΘΗΝΩ.|ΠΟΙ.ΕΝΟC|ΙΩΑΝΝῶ|---

It can be read as: +Σφραγίς Ἀθηνῶ[ν] ποι[μ]ένος Ἰωάννου.

It can be translated as: *The seal of John, the pastor of Athens.*¹⁰⁴

There is one John mentioned in the Synodikon of Athens.¹⁰⁵ This metropolitan was on the throne between the prelate Nicholas (died in 1175) and Michael Choniates (enthroned in 1182). According to Laurent, John was

¹⁰³ A seal of probably the same boulloterion was published by ZACOS – VEGLERY, *Byzantine lead seals* [see n. 43], no. 102d.

¹⁰⁴ R. МИХАЙЛОВСКИ, *Byzantine lead seals found during the archaeological excavations in 2009 at the fortress of Kale in Skopje*, in *Macedonian numismatic journal*, 5 (2012), pp. 146-147.

¹⁰⁵ V. LAURENT, *La liste épiscopale de la métropole d'Athènes d'après le Synodicon d'une de ses églises suffragantes*, in *Archives de l'Orient Chrétien*, 1 (1948), pp. 272-291.

metropolitan on the Athenian throne between 1180 and 1182.¹⁰⁶ This is the person to whom our seal should be attributed.

Dodekasyllabic verse. We have a second similar seal of the same metropolitan, from a different boulloterion and with a variant of the Mother of God. The seal is a variant of the Laurent corpus' V/1 no. 606:¹⁰⁷ Σφραγίς Ἀθηνῶν ποιμένοϛ Ἰωάννου, which is connected with the bishop of Athens John Blachernites (died in 1086).

On the obverse, instead of the bust of the Mother of God Atheneotissa, a standing figure of the Mother of God Machairotheisa en face with the infant Christ in medallion is shown. "Machairotheisa" – the Mother of God Stabbed with a knife, comes from the Great Church of St Sophia in Constantinople and it was the protector of the orders such as that of chartophylax.¹⁰⁸ The bishopric of Athens was instituted for the first time in the 8th century.¹⁰⁹ In respect to the eparchial division, Athens was a centre of the theme Hellas and Peloponnesos during the 11th century.¹¹⁰ Crusaders and Frankish rule interrupted the succession of the bishopric in the 14th century. Ecclesiastically Athens belonged first to Illyricum Orientalis (the pope's vicariat of Thessalonike) and then it was included in the patriarchate of Constantinople around 733, but it was never recognized by Rome. On account of the fate of the Orthodox church of Constantinople in the period of exile after 1204, the bishop of Pelagonia as suffragan of archbishop Demetrios Chomatianos of Ohrid undertook a sort of roving commission among the Orthodox population of the Peloponnese.¹¹¹

28. Seal of Constantine, 11th-12th century

This well preserved artistically made lead seal is only partially imprinted on the sides.

¹⁰⁶ N. CHEETHAM, *Medieval Greece*, New Haven – London, 1981, pp. 44-47; LAURENT, *La liste* [see n. 105], p. 291.

¹⁰⁷ V. LAURENT, *Le corpus des sceaux de l'empire byzantine*, vol. V, *L'Église*, Paris, 1963, V/I, no. 606; IDEM, *Les bulles métriques* [see n. 71], no. 378.

¹⁰⁸ W. SEIBT, *Die Darstellung der Theotokos auf byzantinischen Bleisiegeln besonders im II. Jahrhundert*, in OIKONOMIDES (ed.), *Studies in Byzantine sigillography*, Washington, 1987, p. 45, n. 28; P. GALAVARIS, *The Mother of God 'Stabbed with a knife'*, in *DOP*, 13 (1959), pp. 229-233; LAURENT, *Les bulles métriques* [see n. 71], coll. 95, 96, 99.

¹⁰⁹ LAURENT, *L'élection de la métropole d'Athènes et le statut ecclésiastique de l'Illyricum au VIII^e siècle*, in *REB*, 1 (1943), pp. 58-72.

¹¹⁰ NESBITT – OIKONOMIDES, *Catalogue* [see n. 26], no. 22-3.

¹¹¹ M. ANGOLD, *Greeks and Latins after 1204: the Perspective of Exile. Latins and Greeks in the East Mediterranean after 1204*, London, 1989, p. 81; R. MIHAJLOVSKI, *The Development of Spiritual and Intellectual Life in Bitola/Manastir During the Ottoman Centuries*, Ph. D. diss., La Trobe University, 2004, p. 45.

Location: sector 13/2009.

Obverse: Bust of the Virgin with hand upraised before her, without the medallion. Sigla hardly visible, merely Θ from [M(ήτη)ρ] Θ(εοῦ). Linear border of dots.

Reverse: Inscription of four lines preceded and followed by an ornament, a horizontal line indicating the abbreviation placed between two pellets.
·--·ΜΗΡΛΟ·|ΚΛΕΙC·|ΛΟΓΩ·|·ΚΩΝ·|*

It can be read as: M(ήτ)ηρ Λό[γ(ου)], κλείς [τῶ(ν)] λόγω[v] Κων(σταντίνου). It can be translated as: *The Mother of the Word is the key of the words of Constantine.*¹¹²

The term “κλείς” reminds us that the seal was used to seal up the correspondence of Constantine. This is a metrical formula of twelve-syllable verse. It has similarities with the seal of the protos of (Mount) Ganos dated between the 11th and the 12th centuries.¹¹³

29. Bilateral seal of Michael Gabalas, 11th century

Preserved lead seal with inscription on both sides.

It has a diameter of 18 mm and weight of 5.59 gr.

Location: sector 13/2009.

Obverse: Inscription in four lines followed by an ornament. Border of dots.

ΓΡΑ|·ΦΑC·|CΦΡΑ|ΓΙCΩ|---

Reverse: Inscription in four lines preceeded by a cross, followed by horizontal bars. Border of dots.

+ΜΙΧΑ|ΗΛΤΟV|ΓΑΡΑΛ|-ΛΑ-

It can be read as: Γραφὰς σφραγίζω Μιχαήλ τοῦ Γαβαλῆ.

It can be translated as: *I seal the writings of Michael Gabalas.*

Metric formula with dodekasyllabic verse.

Another seal of Michael Gabalas dated to the second third of the 11th century is known.¹¹⁴ On the obverse is represented the Mother of God with a medallion in front of her.

Reverse: Κύριε βοήθει Μιχαήλ τῷ Γαβαλῆ.

The Gabalas family is well known in Byzantium, serving primarily with the fleet. Stephen and John Gabalas are documented in the 12th century. The

¹¹² MIHAJLOVSKI, *Byzantine lead seals* [see n. 104], pp. 147-148. A.-K. WASSILIOU-SEIBT, *Corpus* [see n. 93], no. 1438.

¹¹³ WASSILIOU-SEIBT, *Corpus* [see n. 93], no. 1439; LAURENT, *Corpus des sceaux* [see n. 107], V/2, no. 1299 and V/3, no. 1949; NESBITT – OIKONOMIDES, *Catalogue* [see n. 26], no. 51.2. I am indebted to J.-C. Cheynet for his references and suggestions.

¹¹⁴ WASSILIOU-SEIBT – SEIBT, *Die byzantinischen Bleisiegel* [see n. 26], p. 261, n. 149; CHEYNET, *Pouvoir et contestation à Byzance* [see n. 30], p. 151, n. 2.

first member of the family we know was the father of Anna Gabala who married Stephen, son of the emperor Romanos Lakapenos. After 1204 the Gabalas family took control of Rhodes, where caesar Leo Gabalas ruled in the 13th century. They possessed land in the Smyrna region and on the island of Crete.¹¹⁵ At the northwest of today's city of Bitola a village named "Gabalavtsi" is located, and it might be connected with the feudal properties of the family Gabalas.

30-31. Seal of Sergios N., *vestes*, 11th century

Damaged lead seal found during the archaeological excavation in the same sector, but in two different quadrants, broken in two halves.

Location: sector 14, quadrant F1, 2.17 and quadrant 2.21/2009.

It has a diameter of 23.7 mm and weight of 7.37 gr for the one half and 6.73 gr for the other, which gives a total of 14.10 gr.

Obverse: Bust of the Mother of God with the infant Jesus on her chest. Border of dots. Only Θ is preserved from [Μ(ήτηρ)] Θ(εοῦ).

Reverse: Θ̄ΚΕΡ̄Θ̄|ΣΕΡΓΙΩ|ΡΕCΤΗ|ΤΩ.ΕΡ|Κ.Α

It can be read as: Θ(εοτό)κε β(οή)θ(ει) Σεργίω βέστη τῷ [.]ερκ[.]ᾶ.

It can be translated as: *Mother of God help Sergios vestes ...*

Chronologically the seal of Sergios *vestes* belongs to the 11th century and the title of *vestes* was a high title confound on prominent generals, often combined with the title of magistros or patrikios. The title was revoked by the reforms of Alexios I Komnenos.

32. Seal of George Palaiologos *protonobelissimos*, 1090s

Well preserved lead seal with incomplete imprint, the left half of the image is out of the blank, the right half of the reverse is out of the imprint, but the text and image are sharp and readable. It has a diameter of 20 mm and weight of 7.08 gr.

Location: sector 14/2009.

Obverse: Facing bust of St George, holding a shield with a pellet decoration in his left hand. Vertical inscription on the right side of his figure: Ω|Ρ|Γ: [Ἵ]σχυτος Γε]ώργ(ι)ος.

Reverse: Inscription of six lines:

+ΚΕ..|ΓΕΩΡΓ..|ΑΝΟΡΕΛ.|CΙΜΩΤ.|ΠΑΛ...|ΓΩ

It can be read as: +Κ(ύρι)ε [(β)ο]ήθ(ει) Γεωργ[ί]ω (πρωτο)νοβελ[ι]σίμω τ[ῷ] Παλ[εολ(ό)]γῳ.

¹¹⁵ CHEYNET, *Pouvoir et contestation à Byzance* [see n. 30], p. 271; SEIBT, *Die byzantinischen Bleisiegel in Österreich*, I, nos. 108, 129, 158; WASSILIOU-SEIBT – SEIBT, *Die byzantinischen Bleisiegel* [see n. 26], no. 271; A. KAZHDAN, *Gabalas*, in *ODB*, II, p. 811.

It can be translated as: *God help George Palaeologos, protonobelissimos.*

George Palaiologos is prominent in Anna Komnene's Alexiad, being Anna's uncle by marriage. According to Anna, he was sent to defend the fortress of Dyrrachion against the Normans of Robert Bohemond in 1081 (Alexiad 3.9) and later he was active in various campaigns such as the siege of Kastoria in 1083 (Alexiad 6.1), against the Pechenegs in 1087 and 1091 (Alexiad 7.2-4, 8.2-5), and in 1094 he defended the city of Berrhoia in Thrace (Stara Zagora) when it was attacked by Cumans (Alexiad 10.2). After 1094 he held the title of *sebastos*. The *protonobelissimos* George Palaiologos also attended the Synod of 1094 at Blachernai. He was also active in public life, being for instance a patron of Theophylact, archbishop of Ohrid, who refers to him as "pansebastos sebastos".¹¹⁶

A small number of seals from various boulloteria are preserved where George Palaiologos is represented as *protonobelissimos*.¹¹⁷ The first one is preserved in Pernik and the second one in Varna (Bulgaria):

Obverse: Bust of St George holding a shield in his left hand and a spear in his right hand.

Reverse: ..ΩΡΓΙΟ|.POTONOR|.HCHMONT|.ΠΑΛΕΟΛΟΓΟΝ

Other two seals are preserved in the collection of the Fogg Museum of Art, No. 1355 and No. 1508:

Obverse: Bust of St George holding a shield in his left hand and a spear in his right hand.

Reverse: .ΕΡΟΗΘ|.ΕΩΡΓΙΩΝ|.POTONOR|.ΛΙCΙΜΟΝΤ|.ΑΛΕΟΛΟ|ΓΟΝ¹¹⁸

There is another seal of George Palaiologos *protonobelissimos*, before 1094.

Obverse: Between two borders of dots the inscription: ...ΗΘΕΙ|... In the centre a bust of the Virgin Orans with a medallion of the Christ child on her chest.

Reverse: Inscription of four lines:
...|...ΝΩΡΕΛΙ|CΙΜΩΤΩ|ΠΑΛΑΙ|.ΛΟΓΩ¹¹⁹

¹¹⁶ MIHAJLOVSKI, *Three Byzantine seals from Devolgrad* [see n. 59], pp. 522-8. A chipped seal was found at the fortress of Devolgrad (ancient Audaristos) near Drenovo, 100 km south of Skopje. It has a diameter of 19 mm and weight of 4.70 gr.

Obverse: Bust of the Holy Virgin Orans with a medallion of Christ child in front of Her. Along the circumference border of dots and traces of circular inscription:

Θ(ΕΟΤΟ)ΚΕ Β(ΟΗΘΕ)Ι ΓΕΩ(ΡΓΙΩ).

Reverse: ΣΕ(Ρ)ΙΑΣ(Τ)ΩΠΑΛΑΙΙΟΛΟΓΩ.

¹¹⁷ I. JORDANOV, *Corpus of Byzantine Seals from Bulgaria*, vol. II, *Byzantine Seals with Family Names*, Sofia, 2006, no. 543-544, 545.

¹¹⁸ I. JORDANOV, *Srednovekovnija Pernik (XI-XII v.) spored dannite na sfragistikata*, in I. JORDANOV (ed.), *Numizmatika, sfragistika i epigrafika*, 3 (2007), coll. 11-37. I am indebted to I. Jordanov for his expertise and supportive help.

¹¹⁹ JORDANOV, *Corpus*, II [see n. 117], coll. 325-326.

33. Seal of George Nestongos, 11th century

A well preserved lead seal of George Nestongos. It has a diameter of 16.5 mm and weight of 5.04 gr.

Location: sector 14/2009.

Obverse: Bust of Virgin Orans with medallion of Christ before her. Sigla: \bar{M} - $\bar{\Theta}$:
M(ήτηρ) Θ(εοῦ) is preserved.

Reverse: + $\bar{K}\bar{E}\bar{R}/\bar{\Theta}$ | $\bar{T}\bar{C}\bar{\Delta}\bar{\Theta}\bar{\Lambda}\bar{\Omega}$ | $\bar{\Gamma}\bar{E}\bar{\Omega}\bar{P}\bar{\Gamma}\bar{\Omega}$ | $\bar{T}\bar{N}\bar{E}\bar{C}\bar{T}\bar{O}\bar{\Gamma}$ | $\bar{\Gamma}\bar{\Omega}$

It can be read as: + K(ύρι)ε β(οή)θ(ει) τ(ῶ) σ(ῶ) δούλω Γεωργίω τ(ῶ) Νεστόγγω.

It can be translated as: *Lord help your servant George Nestongos.*

A family of Slavonic-Bulgarian origin that entered Byzantine service after the takeover of tsar Samuel's empire. The Slavonic name "Nestong" was equivalent to that of St Alipios, a well-respected saint in the Byzantine world. The historian Scylitzes mentioned Sermon Nestongos, the defender of Sirmium.

Another seal belongs to George Nestongos and can be dated to the end of the 11th century or at the beginning of the 12th century. It has a full figure of an anonymous warrior saint with a spear in his right hand. On the reverse there is an inscription in four lines: .ΦΡΑΓΙC|ΓΕΩΡΓΙΔ|.ΧΝΕΦΟ|...¹²⁰

The family of Nestongoi is married to the family of Doukai, and under the Palaeologian dynasty they had important titles and were rich landowners. They served within the Serbian Empire as well. According to J.-C. Cheynet, the family of Nestongoi represents a notable example of integration of Slavs into the Byzantine aristocracy. After being a part of the military class, the Nestongoi were accepted into the Imperial circle of aristocracy. The last Nestongos notable was mentioned in the 14th century as a captive of the Turks.

34. Seal of Michael Tzitas, first half of 12th century

Well preserved lead seal, partly damaged on the bottom.

It has a diameter of 18.1 mm and weight of 4.30 gr.

Location: sector 14/2009.

Obverse: Bust of Mother of God Orans, sigla damaged. Linear border of dots.

Reverse: Inscription in four lines. Linear border of dots.

-+ - $\bar{\Theta}\bar{K}\bar{E}\bar{R}/\bar{\Theta}$ | $\bar{M}\bar{I}\bar{X}\bar{A}\bar{H}\bar{\Lambda}$ | $\bar{T}\bar{\Omega}\bar{T}\bar{Z}\bar{I}$ | $\bar{T}\bar{A}$

It can be read as: -+- Θ(εοτό)κε β(οή)θ(ει) Μιχαήλ τῶ Τζίτα.

It can be translated as: *Mother of God help Michael Tzitas.*

¹²⁰ J.-C. CHEYNET, *Les Nestongoi, un exemple d'assimilation réussie, in 1100 godini, Veliki Preslav, Shumen, 1995, pp. 261-270; FERLUGA – FERJANČIĆ (ed.), Vizantijski izvori [see n. 44], pp. 137-138, n. 196; E. TRAPP – A. KAZHDAN, Nestongos, in ODB, II, p. 1459.*

In addition the seal can be claimed by one of the military leaders of emperor Alexios I Komnenos, Michael Tzitas, described by Anna Komnena in the *Alexiad* and known for his bravery at the battle of Nicaea in 1097.¹²¹

The family name of Tzitas was well known since the proto-byzantine period. It reappeared again in the second part of the 11th century with Michael Tzitas. J.-C. Cheynet and Ch. Stavrakos published the Tzitas seal. On the obverse there is the bust of the Mother of God with a medalion on her chest with the infant Jesus. On the reverse an inscription in four lines:

-+ ΘΚΕΡΘ|ΜΙΧΑΗΛ|ΤΩΤΖΙ|ΤΑ¹²²

In the light of his seals the following *cursus honorum* of Michael Tzitas could be reconstructed:

1. *Magistros*,
2. *Proedros*,
3. *Protokouropalates* and *doux*.¹²³

35. Anonymous, end of the 11th century

Bilateral seal in a bad state of preservation, some letters on the reverse side are much damaged.

It has a diameter of 23.3 mm and weight of 13.29 gr.

Location: sector 21/2009.

Obverse: Inscription in four lines. Linear border of dots.

+ΘC|ΦΡΑΓΙC|ΗΜΗΤ|ΗΝ

Reverse: Damaged inscription in four lines. Linear border of dots.

..Α|ΦΗΝ..Ε|Π.....|..

It can be read as: + Οἷ σφραγίς ἡμῆ τῆν [γρ]αφῆν [βλ.]έπ[ων νόετ].

It can be translated as: *Think by looking at the writing of the one whose seal I am.*

A metrical formula, with trimetric iamb was used. Another similar seal was published by J. Ananiev found at the cemetery of the Vodoča monastery near Strumitsa. Another seal was found at the archaeological site of Devolgrad (ancient Audaristos) near Drenovo.¹²⁴

¹²¹ DAWIES, *Alexiad* [see n. 40], pp. 272, 289-290. Here I am grateful to my colleagues J.-C. Cheynet and W. Seibt for their suggestions.

¹²² C. STAVRAKOS, *Die byzantinischen Bleisiegel mit Familiennamen aus der Sammlung der numismatischen Museums Athen*, Wiesbaden, 2000, p. 380, (reviewed by Cl. SODE in *BZ*, 95 [2002], pp. 168-70 and J. NESBITT in *Speculum*, 77 [2002], pp. 996-998).

¹²³ J.-C. CHEYNET – D. THEODORIDIS, *Sceaux byzantins de la collection Theodoridis, les sceaux patronimiques*, Paris, 2010, pp. 223-224.

¹²⁴ SCHLUMBERGER, *Sigillographie* [see n. 15], p. 60; J. ANANIEV, *Two byzantine seals from Vodoča near Strumica*, in *Macedoniae acta archaeologica*, 15 (1996-97), pp. 333-338; MIHAJLOVSKI, *Three Byzantine seals from Devolgrad* [see n. 59], p. 524.

36. Seal with St Theodore?, 11th century

Heavily damaged specimen, only few letters are readable.

Location: sector 14/2009.

Obverse: Damaged image of the bust of the holy warrior with a spear in his right hand (St Theodore?). No sigla are visible.

Reverse: Inscription in five lines. Linear border of dots.

ΚΕΡΘ|.CT...|ΘΕΩ...|...ΠΟ|ΟΡΟ
Κ(ύρι)ε β(οή)θ(ει) .στ... Θεο[δῶρω].. ποορο?

37. St Michael?, 11th century

Badly preserved one half seal with image of an unknown warrior saint and erased inscription on reverse side.

Location: sector 14/2009.

Obverse: The bust of a warrior saint dressed in cuirass and with curly hair, holding a spear in his right hand. Linear border of dots. St Michael?

Reverse: Erased inscription, only border of dots preserved.

38. Fragment of a lead seal, 11th century

Badly preserved fragment of a lead seal, almost degenerated by corrosion. It was a good imprint in the past, but now are preserved only fragments of the image and inscription. It has a diameter of 33 mm and weight of 6.61 gr.

Location: sector 14/2009.

Obverse: A fragment of a standing figure of an unknown saint is badly preserved. Border of dots. Sigla: ΘV?

Reverse: Inscription in four lines, but only one line is readable.

СΦΡΑ |СERC |ΔΑΝ |ΚΑ

39. Anonymous bilateral lead seal, second half of 11th to early 12th century

Lead seal with inscription on both sides, an unsuccessful imprint with dislocation on both sides of the dies. The surface of the imprint is in a bad state of preservation. Some of the letters are effaced and some are missing.

It has a diameter of 16.2 mm and weight of 5.27 gr.

Location: sector 14/2009.

Obverse: Inscription in four lines. Linear border of dots.

ΕΚ ΤΗ.|ΠΡΟΓΡ.|ΦΗC|--

Reverse: Inscription in four lines. Border of dots.

.ΦΡΑ|ΓΙC.Τ.|ΝΟC..|·-ΕΙ-

It can be read as: Ἐκ τῆ[ς] προγρ[α]φῆς σφραγίς [οὔ]τ[ι]νος [νό]ει.

It can be translated as: *From what has been written before understand whose seal this is.*¹²⁵

40. Lead seal with unknown saint, 11th century

Damaged, multi-angular specimen in a poor state of preservation. It has a diameter of 17.3 mm and weight of 3.49 gr.

Location: sector 21/2009.

Obverse: Damaged bust and portrait of unknown saint (bishop?). No sigla preserved. Linear border of dots.

Reverse: Inscription damaged, only one line partly preserved.
+|CΦΑΓΙC|.. CΦ(P)ΑΓΙC..

41. Anonymous

Damaged half of a lead seal. It has a diameter of 18 mm and weight of 3.34 gr.

Location: sector 21/2009.

Obverse: Badly preserved half of the standing figure with its right hand holding a spear?

Badly damaged circular inscription with preserved letters:

...CTΕΛ

42. Anonymous saint?

Lead seal perhaps once a good imprint, but later covered with lead oxides. The other side not imprinted or damaged. It has a diameter of 25.4 mm and weight of 8.57 gr.

Location: sector 35/2009.

Obverse: Anonymous saint as standing frontal figure dressed in chiton and holding with both hands a small object, probably a censer. The aureole is not visible. It has a damaged, unreadable circular inscription between two borders of dots. It might be the figure of St Stephen the Protomartyr, or of another early martyr.

Reverse: It has a smooth surface probably not printed at all or subsequently smoothed.

43. Seal of the Nicaean emperor Theodore I Komnenos Laskaris (1208-1222)

Well preserved half of the seal, diameter of 42 mm and weight of 10.15 gr.

Location: sector 21/2009 south of the wall E9.5.

¹²⁵ I am grateful to W. Seibt and to A. K. Wassiliou-Seibt for their help and suggestions.

Obverse: Standing figure of St Theodore Stratelates, bearded, standing facing, dressed in cuirass, short chiton and military chlamys thrown behind the shoulders. In his right hand he holds a vertical spear. On the left side inscription: Θ|ΘΕ|Ο|ΔΩ|ΡΟ|C [Ο ΣΤΡΑΤΗΛΑΤΗΣ].

It can be read as: (Ὁ ἄγιος) Θεόδωρος [ὁ στρατηλάτης].

Reverse: Figure of the emperor Theodore I Laskaris, bearded, standing facing in his regalia, wearing a divitision and chlamys and crown with cross and pendants. He is holding in his left hand a globe surmounted by a patriarchal cross. In the right hand he holds a labarum. Linear border of dots.

A vertical inscription on his left:

ΚΟΜΗ|ΝΟC|ΛΑC|ΚΑ|ΡΙ|C

It can be read as: [Θεόδωρος δεσπότης] Κομνηνὸς Λάσκαρις.

It can be translated as: *Lord Theodore Komnenos Laskaris.*

Theodore Laskaris belongs to a noble family from Constantinople. In 1098/9 he married Ana Angelina, daughter of the Byzantine emperor Alexios III Angelos and Euphrosyne Doukaina Kamatera. Theodore appointed the new patriarch Michael IV of Nicaea and he was crowned as emperor in Nicaea in 1208. He had mixed success on the battlefield: he defeated the Seljuks by killing the sultan Kaykhusraw I of Rum, but the Latin emperor Henry of Hainault defeated him. He annexed some territories from the Empire of Trebizond in 1214. When he died in 1222 he left his empire to his son-in-law, the future emperor, John Batatzes. The seal was issued in the period between 1208 and 1222.¹²⁶

44. Seal of Isauros Tzykandeles, the *proedros*, second half of 11th century

A fine artistic work, partly preserved. Diameter of 24 mm and weight of 7.59 gr.

Location: It was found in the Roman style clay pot in sector 14/2009.

Obverse: The standing figure of St George, with a spear in his right hand and holding a shield in his left. Two vertical inscriptions flanking the figure, Γ|Ο|C and Γ|Ο|C: [Ὁ ἄγιος [Γεώργιος] (εἰς)].

Reverse: Linear border of dots with an inscription in six lines:

+ΚΕΡ·|ΤΩCΩΔ..|ΗCΑΥΡΟ...|ΕΔΡΩΤΩ|ΤΞΗΚΑΝ|.ΗΛΙ

It can be read as: Κ(ύρι)ε β(οή)[θ(ει)] τῷ σῷ δ[ο(λφ)] Ἡσαύρω [προ]έδρω τῷ Τζηκαν[δ]ήλι.

It can be translated as: *God help your servant Isauros Tzykandeles, proedros.*

Tzykandiles or Kykandiles was an aristocratic family whose name was derived from the Latin “cicindela”, that is a glowworm. The family is known

¹²⁶ ZACOS – VEGLERY, *Byzantine lead seals* [see n. 43], no. 116.

from the late 11th century, such as Leo, governor of Kibyrréothai, who married Ana Sebaste from the family of Komnenoi. Another family member named Goudelios Sebastos was married to Eudokia, Alexios I's granddaughter. Basil was Manuel I's general. Later their social positions declined, but still George Doukas Tzykandiles was a judge in Thessalonike around 1375.¹²⁷

45. Seal with Mother of God and unknown saint, 11th century

A damaged lead seal, the upper half with a channel is preserved. Diameter of 21 mm and weight of 4.36 gr.

Location: sector 13/2010.

Obverse: Bust of Mother of God holding Jesus Christ on her left and blessing with their right hand. Linear border of dots. No sigla preserved.

Reverse: Bust of unknown holy warrior with a spear in his right hand. Linear border of dots. No inscription preserved. St Michael?

46. Anonymous

A damaged lead seal, the piece on the bottom is missing.

Diameter of 22 mm and weight of 6.44 gr.

Obverse: The figure is heavily damaged, the rim of the seal is preserved.

Reverse: An illegible inscription in four lines:

ΡΑΚΤ..| ΟΝΤΟΚΤ..|Φ.ΝΙΝΑ..|.ΑΡΙ..

47. Seal of Theodosios? *kathegoumenos*, 11th-12th century?

Damaged lead seal with an irregular rim.

Diameter of 19 mm and weight of 4.11 gr.

Location: sector 14/2009.

Obverse: The standing figure of St George with spear in his right hand and a shield in his left. Damaged vertical inscription preserved on the right side:

Π|Ο|C: [(Ο ἄγιος) Γεώργιος.

Obverse: Damaged inscription in six lines:

....|ΕΟΔΟ..|.ΚΑΘΗΓΥ|ΜΜΟΝΗC|ΜΕCΑ..|ΕΑ-

It can be read as: [Κ(ύρι)ε β(οή)θ(ει)] Θεοδ[...] καθηγουμ(ένφ) μονῆς Μεσα[...]
έα(ς).

Probably it is a seal of the *hegoumenos* Theodosios (Theodoros or Theodotos), the head of the monastery of Mesareas? According to W. Seibt,

¹²⁷ A. KAZHDAN, *Tzikandeleis*, in *ODB*, III, pp. 2136-2137; D. POLEMIS, *The Doukai: a contribution to Byzantine prosopography*, London, 1968, p. 1861.

there are two possible locations: Mesareas monastery on the Peloponnese or the monastery of Nea Messareas at Kerkyra.¹²⁸

48. Seal with unknown saint, 11th century

A lead seal with preserved round shape and channel, but the surface is oxidized. Diameter of 20.5 mm and weight of 7.20 gr.

Location: sector 9/2007.

Obverse: Bust of a holy warrior, probably of St George.

Reverse: An illegible inscription in five lines.

49. Seal of Constantine Houmpertos, *protokouropalates* and *doux*, after 1081

Lead seal in good condition of preservation. It has a diameter of 22 mm and weight of 6.92 gr.

Location: sector 21/2009.

Obverse: The standing figure of the Mother of God, wearing the medallion with both hands, flanked by standing figure of the archangel Michael on her left and archangel Gabriel on her right.¹²⁹ Sigla are not preserved.

Reverse: Inscription in six lines. Some of the letters are missing:

+KĒR/Θ|TΩCΩCΘ|..NĀKΘP|..ΛATI|..K-TΩΘM|ΠΕΡΤΩ|*

It can be read as: +Κ(ύρι)ε β(οή)θ(ει) τῷ σῷ δού(λω) [Κω]ν(σταντίνω) (πρωτο)κουρ(ο)[πα]λάτι [(καί) δου]κ(ι) τῷ Οὐμπέρτω.

It can be translated as: *Lord help your servant Constantine Houmpertos, protokouropalates and doux.*

Constantine Oumbertos was mentioned several times in the Alexiad of Anna Komnene as a supporter of her father, Alexios I Komnenos, during his revolt against the emperor Nikephoros III in 1081. The same year he was in command during the battle against the Normans at Dyrrachion. He was Norman by origin, a nephew of Robert Guiscard and son of Humbert de Hauteville. Before 1086 he was governor of Kyzikus, but after the death of the *mezas domestikos* Gregory Pakourianos he was ordered to join the army and was at the decisive battle against the Pechenegs at Levounion. On 29 April 1091 he was in command of the Kelts, on the west wing of the Byzantine army. In 1093/94 the Armenian Ariebes and Constantine Houmpertos were detected in a conspiracy against Alexios I and were arrested, subjected to exile, with their properties confiscated. Anna Komnene notes

¹²⁸ I am grateful to my colleague W. Seibt for his help and expertise.

¹²⁹ The Archangels are identifiable thanks to the parallel with *DO* 58.106.1089.

that Constantine was pardoned due to former merits and we encounter him as *sebastos*, among the participants at the Blachernai synod in 1094. Again he was in command of the military unit protecting mountain passes through the Zygom range in 1095. Constantine Houmpertos had a brilliant military career as *doux* – commander of mercenaries.¹³⁰ According to I. Jordanov his name was attested in four groups of seals from Bulgaria. In the light of his seals the following *cursus honorum* could be estimated:

protoproedros, before 1081;
protokouropalates and *doux*, after 1081;
protonobelissimos and *doux*, early 1090s;
sebastos, around 1094;
sebastos and *doux*, after 1094.¹³¹

50. A damaged lead seal

A damaged lead seal chipped on the upper side.

Diameter of 29 mm and weight of 13.67 gr.

Location: sector 21/2010.

Obverse: The rim and line of dots are preserved.

Reverse: An inscription in five lines, unreadable. Circular line of dots.

51. Seal of the Bulgarian tsar Boril (1207-1218)

Partly preserved lead seal. Diameter of 36 mm and weight of 28.69 gr.

Location: sector 21/2009.

Obverse: Standing figure of St Demetrios in full armour with spear in his right hand and shield in his left. St Demetrios was a patron saint of the Bulgarian emperor Boril. A vertical Cyrillic inscription on both sides of the figure is partly preserved:

Ъ ДИМИТРИОС

It can be read as: [СВАТ]Ъ И ДИМИТРИОС[Ъ].

It can be translated as: *Saint Demetrios*.

Reverse: Standing figure of tsar Boril in his imperial regalia, *stemma*, *divitision* and *loros*, holding a sceptre with a cross in his right hand and *akakia* in his left hand. Inscription on both sides with Cyrillic letters:

БОРИЛЪ ЦБЛЪГРОМ

It can be read as: + БОРИЛЪ ЦАР(Ъ) БЛЪГ[А]РОМ(Ъ).

It can be translated as: *Boril, tsar of the Bulgarians*.

¹³⁰ JORDANOV, *Srednovekovnija Pernik* [see n. 118], p. 17; JORDANOV, *Corpus*, II [see n. 117], p. 313; DAWIES, *Alexiad* [see n. 40], p. 252.

¹³¹ JORDANOV, *Corpus*, II [see n. 117], pp. 313-314.

It is a well-known imperial seal. Another pair of seals from the same boulloterion is preserved in the Bulgarian Archaeological museum in Sofia and in the Historical museum in Shumen.¹³² In 1207 tsar Boril usurped the Bulgarian throne, killing his uncle tsar Kaloyan and remarrying his widow. With his army tsar Boril attacked the Latin Empire, but he was defeated in 1208 near Plovdiv, and again in 1211 near Thessalonike.¹³³ His brother (Dobromir) Strez, the sebastokrator, with the support of his Serbian ally Stefan I “The First Crowned” took over the valley of the river Vardar and its central fortress of Prosek near today’s Demir Kapija. Dobromir Strez’ territory extended from Skopje to the valley of Pelagonia to the west and to Berrhoia in the south.¹³⁴ Tsar Boril allied with Henry of Hainault against Strez and Stefan, but he lost a battle in 1213. In the year 1211 at his capital Veliko Trnovo tsar Boril summoned a church synod campaigning against the Bogomil heresy and issuing the famous “Synodikon”. In 1218 Boril was deposed and blinded by his cousin and successor on the throne, the future tsar John II Asen.

52. Seal with inscription “Protect Saviour”, 12th century

Half lead seal, diameter of 22 mm and weight of 4.64 gr.

Location: sector 14/2009.

Obverse: Heavily damaged surface, only rim of dots exists.

Reverse: Inscription in four lines.

CKE |MECO |TON |TO..

It can be read as: Σκέ[ποις] με σο[τερ] τὸν [Κον]το[ιω(άννην)].

It can be translated as: *Saviour, may you protect me, Kontoioannis?*

The owner of the seal might be somebody from the family of Kontoioannis, but the reading is uncertain.¹³⁵

53. The seal of Theodore, 11th century

Well preserved lead seal, diameter of 17.5 mm and weight of 5.79 gr.

Location: sector 14/2009?

¹³² JORDANOV, *Korpus na pečatite* [see n. 96], pp. 104-105.

¹³³ BOŽILOV, *Familijata na Asenevci* [see n. 55], pp. 69-77.

¹³⁴ MUTAFČIEV, *Vladetelitate na Prosek* [see n. 58]; BOŽILOV, *Familijata na Asenevci* [see n. 55], pp. 98-100 (et passim); R. RADIĆ, *Oblasni gospodari u Vizantiji krajem XII i u prvim decenijama XIII veka*, in *ZRVI*, 29-30 (1986), p. 230, n. 40. Around 1217 one of Strez’ subordinates, named Gregorios Gavra, ruled over the village of Vodno near Skopje, which indicates that Strez ruled over Skopje’s fortress.

¹³⁵ I am grateful to W. Seibt for his suggestion.

Obverse: A bust of St George with curly hair, holding a spear in the right hand and a shield in the left. Linear border of dots. Vertical inscription on both sides of the figure is preserved.

Θ|Γ|Ε - Ω|.Γ: (Ὁ ἍΓΙΟΣ) ΓΕΩ[Ρ]Γ[ΙΟΣ].

Reverse: An inscription in five lines. Linear border of dots.

+ΣΚΕΠ|ΑΘΛΗΤΑ|CΩΔΗΛΩ|ΘΕΟΔΩ|ΡΩ

It can be read as: + Σκέπ(οις) ἀθλητὰ σῶ δούλω Θεοδώρω.

It can be translated as: *Protect, o athlete, your servant Theodore.*

54. Seal of Adrianos Komnenos, *protosebastos* and *mezas domestikos* of the whole West, 1096 (1087-1105)

Well preserved lead seal with diameter of 32 mm and weight of 19.42 gr.

Sector: Kale.

Obverse: St George standing frontally, holding a spear in his right hand and a round shield in his left hand. Two vertical inscriptions on both sides of the figure:

Ο|Α|Γ|Ι|Ο|C - Γ|Ε|Ω|Ρ|Γ|Ι|Ο|C: Ὁ ἍΓΙΟΣ ΓΕΩΡΓΙΟΣ.

Reverse: A damaged inscription in seven lines:

+Κ̅Ε̅Ρ̅Θ̅|ΤΩCΩΔΗ..|ΑΔΡΙΑΝΩ̅Α̅C̅Ε̅|ΡΑCΤΩ.Μ̅ΔΟΜ̅.|CΤΙΚ.ΠΑCΗC|..
C̅Ε̅Ω.ΤΩ|ΚΟΜ̅Η̅ΝΩ

It can be read as: + Κ(ύρι)ε β(οή)θ(ει) τῶ σῶ δού[λω] Ἀδριανῶ (πρωτο)σεβάστω [(καί)] μ(ε)γ(άλω) δομ[ε]στίκ[ω] πάσης [Δύ]σεω[ς] τῶ Κομνηνῶ.

It can be translated as: *Lord, help your servant Adrianos Komnenos, protosebastos and mezas domestikos of the whole West.*

Adrianos Komnenos was born between 1060 and 1065 as the fourth child of the *domestikos tōn scholōn* John Komnenos, the brother of the emperor Isaac I Komnenos (1057-1059) and husband of Anna Dalassene. Adrianos Komnenos married Zoe Doukaina. As a younger brother of the emperor Alexios I Komnenos in 1081 he was elevated to the new dignity of *protosebastos* and commander in the military campaigns in Thessaly against the Normans in 1082-83. In 1086 he replaced Gregory Pakourianos as *domestikos tōn scholōn* of the West, having command over the Frankish mercenary contingent at the battle of Dristra against the Pechenegs in 1087. Again he participated in the battle against the Pechenegs in 1091 in the position of *mezas domestikos* of the whole West, but he is not mentioned in the battle of Levounion. Between 1092 and 1094 he was entrusted with the investigation against John Komnenos and Nikephoros Diogenes. In 1094 he participated at the Synod in Blachernai, bearing the title of *protosebastos* and grand *domestikos*. In 1105, after having renounced the world as monk John, he died of an illness.¹³⁶

¹³⁶ JORDANOV, *Corpus*, II [see n. 117], pp. 325-326.

55. The “ΠΟΗΜΕΝΟC” seal??

A heavily damaged and oxidized lead seal, diameter of 19 mm and weight of 3.76 gr.

Location: sector 21/2010.

Obverse: Line of dots.

Reverse: An illegible inscription in four lines:
...[ΠΟ]ΗΜΕΝ

Probably it belongs to a church prelate, but it is not readable to whom.

56. Seal of Euthymios of Euchaneia, *protosynkellos*, 11th century

Well preserved lead seal. Diameter of 15 mm and weight of 6.24 gr.

Location: sector 34/2010.

Obverse: A bust of St Theodore, with a spear in his right hand and an oval shield in his left. Vertical inscriptions on both sides: Θ|ΘΕ|Ο - Δ|Ω|ΡΟ.: Ὁ (ἄγιος) Θεόδωρος[ς].

Reverse: An inscription in five lines:
..ΕΡΘ|ΕΥΘΥΜΙ|ΑCΥΓΚΛ|ΤΗCΕΥ..|Ε..

It can be read as: + (Κύρι)ε β(οή)θ(ει) Εὐθυμί(ω) (πρωτο)συγκ(έ)λ(λω) τῆς Εὐ[χαν]εία(ς).¹³⁷

It can be translated as: *Lord, help Euthymios of Euchaneia, protosynkellos.*

This is a rare seal of the *protosynkellos* Euthymios of Euchaneia (modern Chorum in Turkey). It is where the body of St Theodore Stratelates was buried, not to be confused with Euchaita (modern Avkat, Turkey), with the cult and pilgrimage of St Theodore Tiron. The bishopric and metropolitanate of Euchaneia was renamed under the emperor John I Tzimiskes (969-976) into Theodoroupolis.¹³⁸

57. Seal of Sergios *chartouliarios* and *kommerkiarios* of Preslavitzza, 1050

Well preserved bilateral lead seal, but flattened on both sides. It has a diameter of 27 mm and weight of 8.71 gr.

Location: sector 15/2011.

Obverse: Inscription in four lines:
- · -|+ΚΕΡ·|ΤΩCΩ..|ΕΡΓΙ..|Τ&ΛΑΡ·|- · -

¹³⁷ Or Εὐ[χαῖ]τ[ων]?

¹³⁸ C. WALKER, *The Warrior Saints in Byzantine Art and Tradition*, Aldershot-Burlington, 2003, p. 58; N. ΟΙΚΟΝΟΜΙΔΕS, *Le redoublement de saint Théodore et les villes d'Euchaita et d'Euchaneia*, in *AB*, 104 (1986), pp. 327-336.

Reverse, in four lines:

· · - | . ΔΜΕ | . ΙΑΠΙΟ | . Ρ. CΘΛ | . ΡΙΤΖΑ C | - · ·

It can be read as: + Κ(ύρι)ε β(οή)[θ(ει)] τῷ σῷ [δού(λφ) Σ]εργί[φ χ(α)ρ] τουλαρ(ίφ) [(καί) κ]ουμε[ρκ]ιαρίφ [Π]ρ[ε]σθλ[α]βίτζαζ.

It can be translated as: *Lord, help your servant Sergios chartouliarios and kommerkiarios of Preslavitsa.*¹³⁹

Another version of the bilateral seal that belonged to Sergios, *chartouliarios* and *kommerkiarios* of Preslavitsa was published by N. Oikonomides:

Obverse: Inscription in five lines:

+ . ΕΡ·Θ | . ΩCΩΔΔ | . CΕΡΓΙΩ | ΧΡΤΔΛ | Ρ.

Reverse: In four lines:

· · - SKΔ | ΜΕ . ΙΑΠΙΟ | . ΡΕCΘΛ | . ΡΙΤΖΑ | - · ·

According to N. Oikonomides, Sergios was a collector of taxes on merchandise, but also in charge of keeping up the list of soldiers and recruits. That is the meaning of “chartouliarios” when applied to an official in the provincial administration. Preslavitsa was a Bulgarian town at the mouth of the Danube, captured by the Byzantine emperor John Tzimiskes in 917 and then renamed as Theodoropolis. Scylitzes reports that Preslavitsa was retaken from tsar Samuel in the year 1000. From the seal record Ivan Jordanov suggests that Preslavitsa or “Little Preslav” was the seat of the strategos and tax collector.¹⁴⁰

58. Anonymous lead seal with warrior saints

Damaged lead seal with bilateral iconography of warrior saints. Diameter of 24 mm and weight of 7.83 gr.

Location: sector 34/2009.

Obverse: Damaged bust of warrior saint with a spear in his right hand. Linear border of dots. The letter “Θ” probably belongs to the name of St Theodore.

Reverse: A bust of St George with curly hair, spear in his right hand and a shield in his left. Line of dots. Two vertical inscriptions fragmented. Θ | Γ | Ε - Ο | Ρ: Ὁ (ἄγιο)ς Γεόργιο(ς).¹⁴¹

¹³⁹ ZACOS, *Byzantine Lead Seals*, II [see n. 86], p. 1043.

¹⁴⁰ N. OIKONOMIDES, *Preslavitsa or Little Preslav*, in his *Byzantium from the Ninth Century to the Fourth Crusade, studies, texts, monuments* (*Variorum Collected Studies Series*, 369), Hampshire, Brookfield, 1992, XIV-10, fig. 2.

¹⁴¹ SCHLUMBERGER, *Sigillographie* [see n. 15], p. 57.

59. Half of a lead seal

Heavily corroded and damaged lead seal, less than half preserved. Diameter of 34 mm and weight of 6.76 gr.

Location: sector 28/2009.

Obverse: Corroded figures.

Reverse: Inscription in seven lines. Linear circle of dots.
... IC| T.N| ΕΥΡΑ| ΤΩΝ| INT&| ATH| ΩΝ

60. Lead bulla of the Venetian doge Andrea Vendramin (1476-1478)

Partly preserved, a chipped lead seal, a channel of the cord still visible. Diameter of 40 mm and weight of 32.84 gr.

Location: sector 29/2009.

Obverse: Standing figure of St Marc with aureole. Venetian doge Andrea Vendramin is kneeling on right, wearing the traditional headgear, the “corno ducale”.¹⁴² Linear border of dots and circular inscription in fragments, under the top, on the left:

.MV.N.TI|DVX|.....

It can be read as: [S(anctus)] M(arcus) V[e]n[e]ti dux [Vendramin].

Reverse: Linear border of dots, inscription in five lines:

...REAS|.....AMIN|.....GRA·DVX·|..NETIARVM|·ET·C·

It can be read as: [And]reas [Vendr]amin [Dei] gra(tia) dux [Ve]netiarum et c(eterarum).

The whole text can be translated as: *Saint Marc, Venetians, doge Vendramin, Andrea Vendramin, by the grace of God doge of Venice and other territories.*

Andrea Vendramin originated from a rich Venetian family and served as doge of Venice in the period 1476-1478 at the height of Venetian power.¹⁴³ His reign was largely concerned with the second Ottoman-Venetian war between 1463 and 1479. In 1476, the Ottoman commander Gedik Ahmed Pasha took over the Venetian fortress of Kruje in Albania and killed the Venetian proveditore Francesco Contarini. In 1477 the Ottoman army approached the city of Venice, which provoked the Venetian army and its doge Andrea Vendramin to organize the protection of the city.¹⁴⁴ In this period the already Ottoman stronghold of Skopje was the main base for the military campaigns towards Bosnia. It seems that in the city existed a small

¹⁴² An identical image of St Marc and the kneeling doge was represented on the obverse of a coin, the “Golden Zecchino” minted by doge Andrea Vendramin in 1476. See *The Catalogue of A. H. Baldwin & Sons Ltd.*, London, 2005.

¹⁴³ G. COZZI – M. KNAPTON, *La repubblica di Venezia, nell'eta moderna, dall guerra di Choggia al 1517*, Torino, 1986, p. 124.

¹⁴⁴ F. BABINGER, *Mehmed the Conqueror and His Time*, New Jersey, 1978, pp. 354-358; FINE, *Late Medieval Balkans* [see n. 55], pp. 535, 600.

colony of merchants from Dubrovnik (Ragusa).¹⁴⁵ Andrea Vendramin died in 1478 probably of plague and he was buried in a large monumental wall-tomb in the basilica of Santi Giovanni e Paolo in Venice.¹⁴⁶

61. Lead bulla of the Venetian doge Andrea Vendramin (1476-1478)

Partly damaged lead seal, the channel preserved. The same boulloterion as the previous. Diameter of 35 mm and weight of 30.73 gr.

Location: sector 29/2009.

Obverse: Standing figure of St Marc with aureole. Venetian doge Andrea Vendramin is kneeling on the right, wearing traditional headgear, the “corno ducale”. Linear border of dots and circular inscription in fragments:
.MVЄ....|...|VENDRAMIN

It can be read as: [S(anctus)] M(arcus) Ve[neti dux] Vendramin.

Reverse: Linear border of dots, inscription in five lines:
AND....÷VENDRAM..÷DEI·GRA·D...÷VENETIAR..÷ET...

It can be read as: And[reas] Vendram[in] Dei gra(tia) d[ux] Venetiar[um] et [c(eterarum)].

The whole text can be translated as: *Saint Marc, Venetians, doge Vendramin, Andrea Vendramin by the grace of God doge of Venice and other territories.*

62. Lead bulla of the Venetian doge Andrea Vendramin, 1476-1478

Heavily damaged lead seal preserved in two fragments. From the same boulloterion. Diameter of each piece is 36 mm and the weight 15.02 gr and 15.91 gr.

Location: sector 29/2009.

Obverse: Fragmented standing figure of St Marc with aureole. Venetian doge Andrea Vendramin is kneeling on the right, wearing the traditional headgear, “corno ducale”. Linear border of dots and circular inscription in fragments, beginning at the top, on the left:
.MVENETI|...|VENDR....

It can be read as: [S(anctus)] M(arcus) Veneti [dux] Vendr[amin].

¹⁴⁵ KANČOV, *Grad Skopje* [see n. 3], p. 112. S. ANTOLJAK, *Prilog kon proučuvanje to na trgovskite vrski megju Dubrovnik i Skopje vo XV i XVI vek*, in *Srednovjekovna Makedonija*, Skopje, 1985, pp. 880-906. An unknown merchant of Venice in 1559 described Skopje as exporter of wax to Ancona and Venice. Merchants from Dubrovnik (Ragusa) were owners of vineyards in the vicinity of the town, producing and dealing with vine. See D. JACOBY, *Foreigners and the urban economy in Thessalonike ca.1150-ca.1450*, A.-M. TALBOT (ed.), *DOP*, 57 (2003), *Symposium on Late Byzantine Thessalonike*, Washington, 2004, pp. 2-49.

¹⁴⁶ J. J. NORWICH, *A History of Venice*, New York, 1982, pp. 356-357; R. FINLAY, *Politics in Renaissance Venice*, London, 1980, pp. 145, 232.

Reverse: Linear border of dots, inscription in five lines:
 A·N·D·...|V·E·N·D·..M·I·N·÷·.D·E·I·G·A·D·V·X·÷·..N·...A·R·V·M

It can be read as: And[reas] Vend[ra]min Dei g[r]a[tia] dux [Ve]n[eti]arum [et] c[eterarum].

The whole text can be translated as: *Saint Marc, Venetians, doge Vendramin, Andrea Vendramin by the grace of God doge of Venice and other territories.*

63. Lead seal with merchant's mark, 16th-17th century

Damaged lead seal with diameter of 22 mm and weight of 7.26 gr.

Location: sector 8/2007.

Obverse: Divided by a line in two halves. On the left there are letters or decorative letters "GXS", and on the right side there is a decoration in the shape of the letter "S" with floral decorative elements. Border of arrows.

On the reverse only one line out of three is preserved with letters "(L?) IZE". It is a text with Latin letters.

It can be dated within the frame of the 16th or the 17th century, indicating the commercial communications between the Ottoman Skopje and the rest of Europe. Lead seals were widely used in Europe between the 13th and 19th centuries. According to I. Jordanov, this is a commercial seal (plombe) of Western European origin, connected with the textile merchants.¹⁴⁷ It might be that the monogrammatic seal is connected with the urban and commercial development of Skopje after the Austrian takeover and burning of the town in 1685 or probably around the year 1700, when the fortress was reconstructed and the city flourished anew.

64. Blank lead seal

A blank lead seal, the channel in the middle is well preserved.
 Diameter of 28 mm and weight of 17.74 gr.

Location: sector 1/2007.

65. Blank lead seal

A blank lead with channel and rim preserved.
 Diameter of 20.50 mm and weight of 6.50 gr.

Location: sector 2/2007.

¹⁴⁷ See: <http://discovery.ucl.ac.uk/1349956/1/488665.pdf>

66. Blank lead seal

A damaged blank lead seal with irregular shape, the channel is visible.
Diameter of 2 mm and weight of 5.09 gr.

Location: sector 1/2007.

67. Blank lead seal

A blank lead seal.
Diameter of 16 mm and weight of 7.58 gr.

Location: sector 34/2010.

68. Blank lead seal

A blank lead seal, the channel is visible.
Diameter of 19 mm and weight of 12.89 gr.

Location: sector 8/2007.

69. Blank lead seal

A round blank seal embossed into a square piece of lead. The channel and rim are preserved.

Diameter of 14 mm and weight of 4.16 gr.

Location: sector 2/2007.

70. Blank lead seal

A blank lead seal with channel and rim preserved.

Location: sector 21/2010.

71. Blank lead seal

A blank lead seal with two holes preserved.
Diameter of 15 mm and weight of 5.58 gr.

Location: sector 11/2007.

72. Blank lead seal

Damaged blank lead in a poor state of preservation.
Diameter of 18 mm and weight of 2.30 gr.

Location: sector 21/2009

73. Blank lead seal

Blank lead seal corroded, more than half of the body is missing.
Diameter of 21 mm and weight of 3.37 gr.

Location: sector 13/2009.¹⁴⁸

74. Blank lead seal

A corroded blank lead seal covered with a layer of lead oxide.
Diameter of 27 mm and weight of 15.51 gr.

Location: sector 34/2009.¹⁴⁹

75. Blank lead seal

A deformed and damaged blank lead seal.
Diameter of 21 mm and weight of 3.3 gr.

Location: sector 13/2009.

76. Blank lead seal

A blank lead seal with channel and rim preserved.
Diameter of 19 mm and weight of 5.70 gr.

Location: sector 15/2011.

77. Blank lead seal

A damaged blank lead seal.
Diameter of 16 mm and weight of 5.17 gr.

Location: sector 10/2007.

78. Blank lead seal

A blank lead seal, the channel is well preserved.
Diameter of 13 mm and weight of 3.05 gr.

Location: sector 21/2010.

¹⁴⁸ MIHAJLOVSKI, *Byzantine lead seals* [see n. 104], p. 156.

¹⁴⁹ *Ibidem*, p. 157.

79. Blank lead seal

A damaged body of the blank lead seal.
Diameter of 19 mm and weight of 3.06 gr.

Location: sector 24/2010.

80. Blank lead seal

Blank lead seal heavily corroded.
Diameter of 13.40 mm and weight of 3.29 gr.

Location: sector 13/2009.¹⁵⁰

¹⁵⁰ *Ibidem.*

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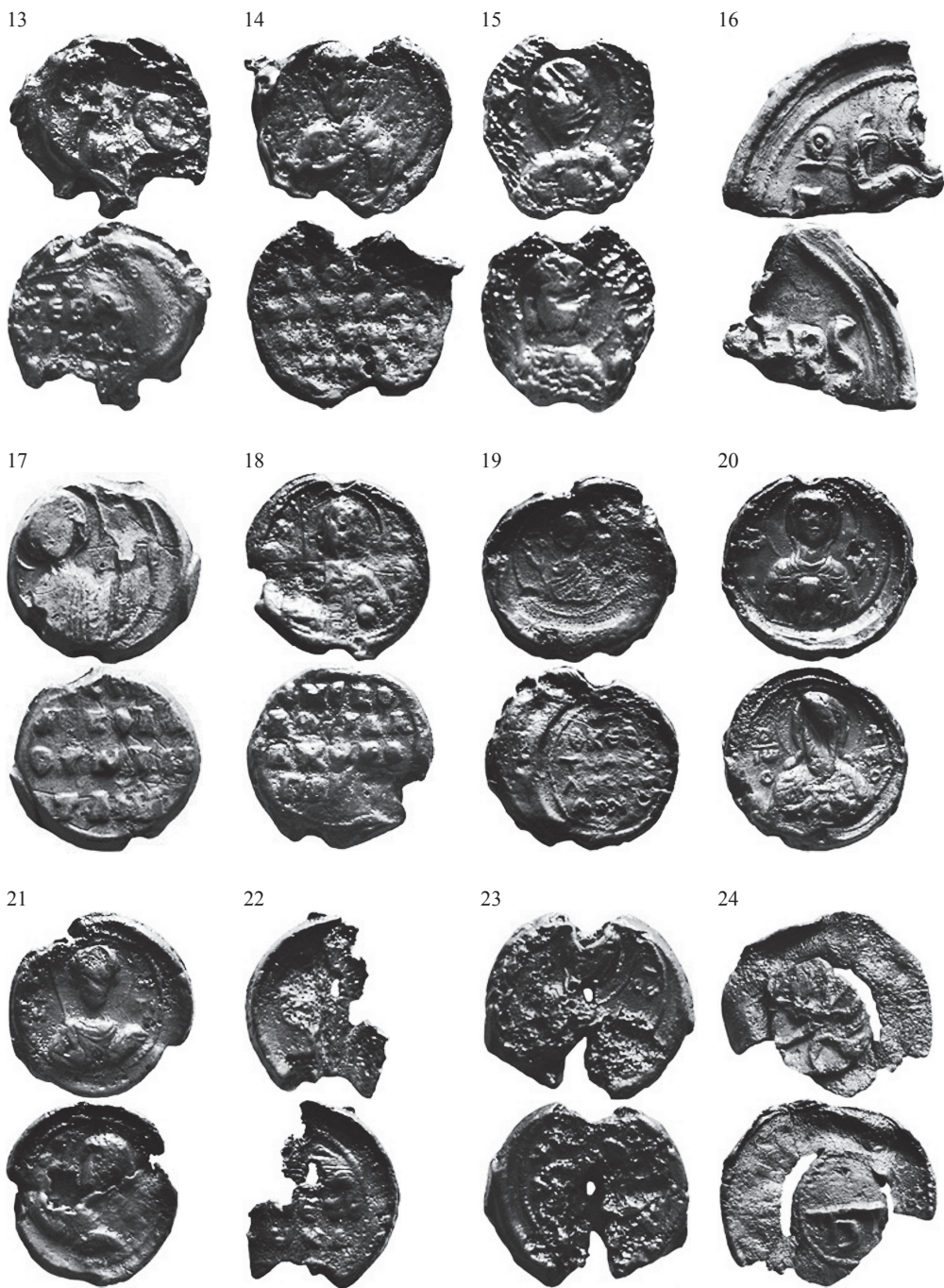


11



12





25



26



27



28



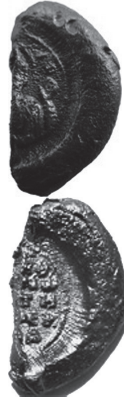
29



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31



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34



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37



38



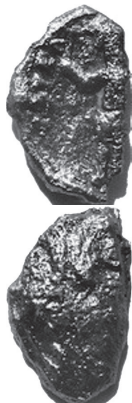
39



40



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46



47



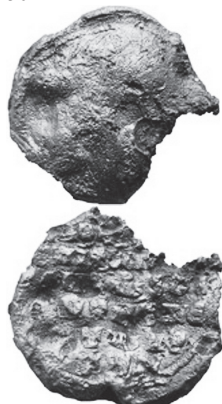
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66



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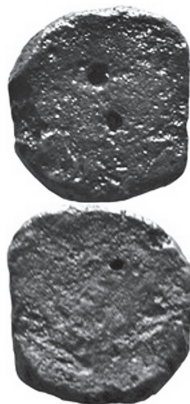
69



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72



73



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75



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77



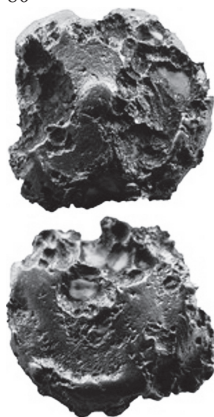
78



79



80



DIE GRIECHISCHE VITA PAPST MARTINS (BHG 2259), MAXIMUS CONFESSOR UND DAS CONCILIUM QUINISEXTUM (691/2)

Seitdem W. Lackner im Jahre 1967 nachwies,¹ dass die bis dahin das Maximusbild bestimmende griechische Vita² des Confessors hinsichtlich seiner ersten Lebensjahrzehnte – mit vornehmer konstantinopolitanischer Herkunft, höherer Bildung und weltlicher Karriere am Hof – erst im 10. Jh. nach dem Muster der Vita des Theodoros Studites (759-826)³ frei erfunden worden ist, war Maximus' Herkunft grundsätzlich in Frage gestellt. Als S. Brock dann im Jahre 1973 eine syrische Vita des Maximus vom Ende 7./Anfang 8. Jh. edierte,⁴ die nicht nur mit einer palästinischen Herkunft und Jugend ein deutlich anderes Bild präsentierte, war die Klärung der offensichtlichen Widersprüche zu einem Forschungsdesiderat geworden. Dabei geriet zuerst die Analyse der weiteren Quellen zum monenergetisch-monotheletischen Streit und zur Biographie des Maximus in den Blick, insbesondere die Angaben bei Anastasios Sinaites,⁵ Theophanes Confessor⁶ und in den verschiedenen epitomierten hagiographischen Varianten einer *Passio* oder/und *Vita Maximi* u.a. in Menologien, Synaxarien u.a.m.⁷ Eine rege Editionstätigkeit führte zu kritischen Editionen der grundlegenden Dokumente für die letzten Lebensjahre des Maximus vom 1. Prozess des Jahres 655 bis zu seinem Tod am 13.8.662 und ebenso zu einer Edition der aus dem 11. Jh. stammenden Langfassung der griechischen

¹ W. LACKNER, *Zu Quellen und Datierung der Maximosvita (BHG³ 1234)*, in *AB*, 85 (1967), S. 285-316.

² *BHG* 1234; *PG* 90, 68-109. R. DEVREESE, *La vie de S. Maxime le Confesseur et ses recensions*, in *AB*, 46 (1928), S. 5-49. Cf. F. WINKELMANN, *Der monenergetisch-monotheletische Streit (BBS, 6)*, Berlin, 2001, Nr. 171.

³ Es handelt sich um Recensio A der Vita. Cf. D. KRAUSMÜLLER, *Vitae B, C and A of Theodore the Stoudite: their Interrelation, Dates, Authors and Significance for the History of the Stoudios Monastery in the Tenth Century*, in *AB*, 131 (2013), S. 280-298.

⁴ Aus dem *Codex British Museum Add. 7192*. S. BROCK, *An Early Syriac Life of Maximus the Confessor*, in *AB*, 91 (1973), S. 299-346 (= IDEM, *Syriac Perspectives on Late Antiquity*, London, 1984, Nr. XII). Cf. WINKELMANN, *Streit* [wie Anm. 2], Nr. 172.

⁵ Anastasius Sinaita, *Sermones in constitutionem hominis secundum imaginem Dei*, 3. 1 (S. 55-61, UTHEMANN [CCSG, 12]).

⁶ Theophanes, *Chronographia*, S. 329, 21 – 332, 19 (DE BOOR, Leipzig, 1883).

⁷ Vgl. zum Forschungsstand bis 1998: W. BRANDES, *Anmerkungen zu den Quellen zur Biographie des Maximus Homologetes*, in *PmbZ. Prolegomena*, Berlin – New York, 1998, S. 171-179.

Vita („Recensio III“).⁸ Die damit engstens verbundene Erforschung der Quellen zur *Passio* und *Vita* des zweiten Hauptprotagonisten des monenergetisch-monotheletischen Streites, Papst Martin I. (649–653 †16.9.655), wurde durch die kritische Edition des „Dossiers“ über Prozess, Exil und Tod Martins vorangetrieben, das im 9. Jh. von Anastasius Bibliothecarius ins Lateinische übersetzt worden war.⁹

Für die noch ausstehende Edition aller hagiographischen Texte zur *Passio* und *Vita* des Maximus hat deren Herausgeber, B. Roosen, im Jahre 2010 eine umfassende Untersuchung zu den literarischen Abhängigkeiten dieser in den letzten Jahrzehnten vieldiskutierten Quellen vorgelegt.¹⁰ In Aufnahme einer Hypothese von W. Lackner kommt er zu dem Ergebnis, dass am Anfang der gesamten hagiographischen Tradition eine nicht mehr erhaltene „Urpassio“ gestanden habe, die noch vor der ältesten erhaltenen epitomierten *Vita Maximi*, dem sog. *Compendium Vindobonense* (BHG 1236; CPG 7707.3) aus dem 9. Jh., anzusetzen sei.¹¹ Wegen textlicher Parallelen des *Compendium Vindobonense*, der *Passio* im Synaxarium des *Codex Patmensis* 266,¹² das im 9./10. Jh. in Palästina zu verorten sei, und der *Passio* im *Synaxarium Constantinopolitanum* aus der Mitte des 10. Jh.s¹³ mit der griechischen *Vita* Papst Martins (BHG 2259) zieht Roosen den m.E. überzeugenden Schluss, dass die postulierte „Urpassio“ des Maximus im zeitlichen und geographischen Umfeld der Entstehung der griechischen *Vita* Martins anzusetzen und auch denselben Kreisen zuzuordnen sei.¹⁴ Bei der Lokalisierung dieser Kreise entscheidet er sich mit den Argumenten P. Contes¹⁵ für Jerusalem/Palästina, „a region, where the innerchalcedonian tensions between dyothelites and the emerging

⁸ P. ALLEN – B. NEIL (edd.), *Scripta saeculi VII vitam Maximi Confessoris illustrantia, una cum latina interpretatione Anastasii Bibliothecarii iuxta posita* (CCSG, 39), Turnhout – Leuven, 1999; EAEDEM (edd.), *Maximus the Confessor and his Companions. Documents from Exile. Edited and translated by P. Allen and B. Neil* (= *Oxford Early Christian Texts*), Oxford, 2002; EAEDEM, *The Life of Maximus the Confessor. Recension 3* (*Early Christian Studies* 6), Brisbane, 2003. Vgl. weiterhin: B. ROOSEN, *On the Recent Edition of the Disputatio Bizyae*, in *JÖB*, 51 (2001), S. 113-131; IDEM, *The Three Flyleaves of Vaticanus, Palatinus graecus 15. A contribution to the manuscript tradition primarily of the Relatio Motionis [CPG 7736], but also of two vitae [BHG 955 and 482]*, in B. JANSSENS – B. ROOSEN – P. VAN DEUN (edd.), *Philomathestatos. Studies in Greek Patristic and Byzantine Studies* (OLA, 137), Leuven, 2004, S. 523-532.

⁹ B. NEIL, *Seventh-Century Popes and Martyrs. The Political Hagiography of Anastasius Bibliothecarius* (*Studia Antiqua Australiensia*, 2), Turnhout, 2006.

¹⁰ B. ROOSEN, *Maximi Confessoris Vitae et Passiones Graecae: The Development of a Hagiographic Dossier*, in *Byz.*, 80 (2010), S. 408-460.

¹¹ *Ibidem*, S. 421-426.

¹² *Ibidem*, S. 420-421.

¹³ *Ibidem*, S. 414-417.

¹⁴ *Ibidem*, S. 427-433.

¹⁵ P. CONTE, *Il sinodo Lateranense dell'ottobre 649. La nuova edizione degli Atti a cura di Rudolf Riedinger. Rassegna critica di fonti dei secoli II-XII*, Vaticano, 1989, S. 235-249 („12. ‚Vita‘ Graeca di Martino“).

monothelite Maronite church continued long after the sixth Oecumenical Council“.¹⁶ Die erste hagiographische *Passio Maximi* („Urpasio“) mit der Angabe einer führenden Stellung am kaiserlichen Hof in Konstantinopel sei der dort ebenfalls entstandenen monothelitischen syrischen *Vita Maximi* mit ihrem Maximus diskreditierenden Bericht, Kind einer unehelichen Beziehung eines Samaritaners mit einer persischen Sklavin zu sein, entgegengesetzt worden. Roosen hat allerdings für seinen Anschluss an die von Conte vertretene Lokalisierung der griechischen *Vita Martini* in Palästina keine weiteren Argumente ins Feld geführt, obwohl B. Neil diese wieder in Frage gestellt hat.¹⁷ Im Folgenden sollen solche Argumente benannt werden, indem u.a. Ergebnisse der in den letzten Jahrzehnten erfolgten Erforschung des Concilium Quinisextum (691/2)¹⁸ für diese Fragen fruchtbar gemacht werden.

Ich werde dazu 1. die für ihre Lokalisierung entscheidenden Passagen der griechischen *Vita Martini* kurz vorstellen und die bisherigen Diskussionen zur Provenienzfrage skizzieren. In einem zweiten Abschnitt werde ich in Weiterführung, Korrektur und Ergänzung der Analyse von P. Conte fünf Argumente vortragen, die eine östliche palästinische Provenienz mehr als wahrscheinlich machen.

1. DIE KAP. 13 UND 14 DER GRIECHISCHEN VITA PAPST MARTINS I. (BHG 2259) UND IHRE PROVENIENZ: STATUS QUAESTIONIS.

Ein besonderes Merkmal der von P. Peeters 1933 nach dem *Codex Patmiacus* 254 erstmals edierten¹⁹ *Vita* besteht darin, dass sie nicht mit Kap. 12 und dem Bericht über den Tod und die Bestattung des Papstes im Blachernenkloster

¹⁶ ROOSEN, *Maximi Confessoris Vitae et Passiones Graecae* [wie Anm. 10], S. 432 mit Anm. 89.

¹⁷ NEIL, *Seventh-Century Popes* [wie Anm. 9], S. 109 (cf. *infra*).

¹⁸ Vgl.: V. LAURENT, *L'oeuvre canonique du concile in Trullo*, in *REB*, 13 (1965), S. 7-41; H. OHME, *Das Concilium Quinisextum und seine Bischofsliste* (Arbeiten zur Kirchengeschichte, 56), Berlin – New York, 1990; G. NEDUNGATT – M. FEATHERSTONE (edd.), *The Council in Trullo Revisited* (Kanonika 6), Roma, 1995; H. OHME, *Die sogenannten „antirömischen Kanones“ des Concilium Quinisextum - Vereinheitlichung als Gefahr für die Einheit der Kirche*, in NEDUNGATT – FEATHERSTONE, *The Council in Trullo Revisited*, S. 307-321; H. OHME, *Concilium Quinisextum – Das Konzil Quinisextum* (Fontes Christiani, 82), Turnhout, 2006; H. OHME, *In tempore. Weichenstellungen für die Edition des Concilium Quinisextum (691/2)*, in *Annuario Historiae Conciliorum*, 41 (2009), S. 1-68; H. OHME, *Nisi fallimur. Anmerkungen zu kaiserlichen Unterzeichnungsformen auf den Synoden des 7.-9. Jh.s.*, in *Annuario Historiae Conciliorum*, 42 (2010), S. 241-290; E. BRUNET, *La Ricezione del Concilio Quinisesto (691-692) nelle fonti occidentali (VII-IX se c.). Diritto-Arte-Teologia* (Autour de Byzance, 2), Paris, 2011; H. OHME (ed.), *Concilium Constantinopolitanum a. 691/2 in Trullo habitum* (Concilium Quinisextum) (ACO, Series Secunda. Volumen Secundum, Pars Quarta), Berlin – Boston, 2013.

¹⁹ P. PEETERS, *Une vie grecque du pape S. Martin I*, in *AB*, 51 (1933), S. 225-262.

außerhalb Chersons, des Ortes seiner Verbannung, endet, sondern noch über zwei weitere Kapitel verfügt. In Kap. 13²⁰ bietet der Text eine summarische Darstellung des VI. Ökumenischen Konzils (680/81). Nach der Feststellung, dass Konstantin IV. (668-685) „die heilige und ökumenische Synode der 168 (ρξή´) heiligen Väter versammelt“ hatte, listet der Text detailliert die dort Anathematisierten auf, an deren Spitze – vor den Konstantinopler Patriarchen – „Patriarch Honorius von Rom“ steht. Es folgt in Zitatform eine Kurzfassung des Horos der Synode, die sich so nicht in deren Akten²¹ findet:

So wie wir zwei Naturen bei der Inkarnation verkünden und glauben, so muss man auch gemäß dem Unterschied der Naturen – nämlich der göttlichen und der menschlichen – zwei Willen und Wirksamkeiten anbeten und verherrlichen.²²

Das sich anschließende Schlusskapitel Kap. 14 thematisiert das Concilium Quinisextum (691/2), um dann mit einem Schlussgebet die gesamte Vita zu beenden. Zum Quinisextum wird gesagt, dass Kaiser Justinian II. (685–695.705–711)²³ „eine Synode von 240 (σµ´) heiligen Vätern“ einberief, die 1. „die Gültigkeit der heiligen sechs Synoden bestätigte (ἐκύρωσεν)“, aber auch 2. „eine Anzahl von 102 (ρβ´) kanonischen Kephalaia festsetzte“.²⁴ Danach wird der can. 82 des Quinisextums mit folgender Inhaltsangabe besonders hervorgehoben:

In diesen (sc. Kanones) wird in Kephalaion 82 über die verehrungswürdigen und heiligen Ikonen (περὶ τῶν σεπτῶν καὶ ἁγίων εἰκόνων) vorgebracht, dass sie gemäß alter Anordnung anerkannt und verehrungswürdig sind (ἀποδεκτὰς καὶ σεπτὰς εἶναι). Ist aber das Lamm als Vorzeichen (εἰς τύπον) Christi dargestellt, so haben sie festgesetzt, dass dieser (jetzt) nach dem Bild seiner göttlichen Menschwerdung dargestellt wird.²⁵

Das Schlussgebet lautet:

Christus unser Gott, der du deine heilige Kirche mit deinem makellosen Blut losgekauft hast und sie auf den Felsen des orthodoxen Glaubens gegründet hast (τῇ πέτρᾳ τῆς ὀρθοδόξου πίστεως αὐτὴν θεμελιώσας), bewahre sie auch jetzt (καὶ νῦν) ohne zu wanken vor jeder Häresie.

²⁰ PEETERS, *Une vie grecque* [wie Anm. 19], S. 262.

²¹ R. RIEDINGER (ed.), *Concilium Universale Constantinopolitanum Tertium* (ACO, Series Secunda. Volumen Secundum, Pars Prima et Secunda), Berlin, 1990, 1992.

²² PEETERS, *Une vie grecque* [wie Anm. 19], S. 262, 19-22.

²³ *PmbZ* 3556.

²⁴ PEETERS, *Une vie grecque* [wie Anm. 19], S. 262, 24-27. PEETERS hatte die Angabe ρβ´ des *Codex Patmiacus* 254 irrtümlich als ρµ´ gelesen. Den Hinweis verdanke ich B. ROOSEN. CONTE [cf. Anm. 15] argumentierte mit der Zahl 140 (ρµ´).

²⁵ *Ibidem*, S. 262, Z. 27-31: ἐν οἷς φέρεται ἐν κεφαλαίῳ πβ´ περὶ τῶν σεπτῶν καὶ ἁγίων εἰκόνων, ἀποδεκτὰς καὶ σεπτὰς εἶναι κατὰ τὴν ἀρχαίαν θεσμοθεσίαν, τὸν δὲ ἄμνον τὸν εἰς τύπον τοῦ Χριστοῦ ἀνιστορούμενον, κατὰ τὴν εἰκόνα τῆς αὐτοῦ θείας σαρκώσεως τοῦτον ἱστορεῖσθαι ἐθέσπισθαι.

Es folgt eine Schlussdoxologie.

Es ist deutlich, dass vor allem diese beiden Schlusskapitel für die zeitliche Einordnung und Provenienz der Vita von zentraler Bedeutung sind. Peeters hatte wegen der Erwähnung von can. 82 des Quinisextums am Schluss bereits den richtigen Schluss gezogen, dass dieser Kanon „sans nul rapport avec l'hérésie monothélite et avec la mémoire de S. Martin, avait pour l'hagiographe et ses lecteurs un intérêt d'actualité“.²⁶ Er hat die Entstehung deshalb nach dem Beginn des Bilderstreits angesetzt, den er mit der damaligen *communis opinio* mit dem Jahr 726 beginnen ließ. So schlug er den Zeitraum der Jahre 730 bis 740 als Entstehungszeit vor und nahm einen griechischen Autor an, ohne sich geographisch näher festzulegen.²⁷ Peeters hatte die Erwähnung des Quinisextums als solche allerdings als „moins naturellement appelée par le sujet“ bezeichnet, war doch für ihn der damaligen westlichen Sicht der Synode entsprechend das II. Trullanum vor allem „très hostile à la discipline occidentale et la primauté romaine“.²⁸

C. Mango hat sich dann 1973 ohne eingehende Analyse im Rahmen seiner tour d' horizon über die griechische Kultur im Abendland des 8. Jh.s auch zur griechischen Vita Martini geäußert.²⁹ Er ordnete sie zwar dem „œuvre littéraire“ der griechischen Kolonie im Rom zu, nannte aber selbst auch Gründe, die eher gegen eine römische Provenienz sprechen. So sah er das Fehlen von Informationen zur Karriere Martins vor der Lateransynode darin begründet, dass der Autor keinen Zugang zu den lateinischen Quellen hatte, anscheinend noch nicht einmal zum Liber Pontificalis.³⁰ Weiterhin seien die festzustellenden Latinismen nicht notwendigerweise durch einen Aufenthalt im Westen zu erklären.³¹ Die von ihm aufgestellte Behauptung,³² dass der Autor den can. 82 inhaltlich in sein Gegenteil verkehrt hätte, lässt sich allerdings nicht am Text verifizieren. J. M. Sansterre hat sich im Jahre 1983 dieser römischen Lokalisierung der Vita im Milieu der griechischen Klöster Roms angeschlossen.³³

²⁶ PEETERS, *Une vie grecque* [wie Anm. 19], S. 252.

²⁷ *Ibidem*.

²⁸ *Ibidem*.

²⁹ C. MANGO, *La culture grecque et l'occident au VIII^e siècle*, in *I problemi dell' occidentale nel secolo VIII (Settimane di studio del centro italiano di studi sull'alto medioevo, XX)*, Spoleto, 1973, S. 683-721, 703-704.

³⁰ *Ibidem*, S. 703.

³¹ *Ibidem*, S. 704.

³² *Ibidem*, S. 704.

³³ J.-M. SANSTERRE, *Les moines grecs et orientaux à Rome aux époques byzantine et carolingienne (milieu du VI^e s.-fin du IX^e s.)*, Bruxelles, 1983, S. 138-139, 181-182.

Bei seiner Auseinandersetzung mit der kritischen Edition der Lateransynode durch R. Riedinger³⁴ hat P. Conte im Jahre 1989 eine sehr ausführliche Analyse der *Vita Martini* vorgelegt.³⁵ Er konnte dabei eine ganze Reihe gewichtiger Gründe benennen, die eine palästinische/Jerusalemener Provenienz wahrscheinlich machen. Bei seiner Analyse der von der *Vita Martini* herangezogenen Quellen³⁶ hat er zutreffend erkannt, dass mehrere Indizien (s.u.) für eine Abhängigkeit von der Anastasios Sinaïtes (ca. 610-nach 701)³⁷ zugeschriebenen *Synopsis de haeresibus et synodis* sprechen. Bedauerlicherweise aber hat er dabei die bereits 1982 erschienene kritische Edition³⁸ der *Synopsis* durch K.-H. Uthemann nicht berücksichtigt und ist so zu einigen Fehlschlüssen gelangt.³⁹ Richtig gesehen hatte er, dass die in der Tradition singuläre Angabe von 168 Synodalen beim III. Constantinopolitanum, die merkwürdige Reihung der dort Anathematisierten und auch die knappe Zusammenfassung des dyotheletischen Dogmas der *Synopsis* entstammen.⁴⁰ Zutreffend ist auch die von Conte bestätigte und erweiterte Beobachtung J. M. Sansterres,⁴¹ der eine besonders hervorgehobene Bedeutung der östlichen Äbte und Mönche auf der Lateransynode in §1 und §2 der *Vita Martini* festgestellt hatte.⁴² So heißt es von Maximus – hier als „ὁ ὄσιος Μάξιμος ὁ ὁμολογητῆς“ tituliert –, dass er es gewesen sei, der den „hochheiligen römischen Papst Martin“ „veranlasst“/„zugerüstet“ habe (παρασκευάζει), die Lateransynode einzuberufen und die Anathemata auszusprechen.⁴³ Auf der Synode seien „die Bischöfe und die Äbte und Mönche aus dem ganzen Osten aufgetreten und belehrten durch Schriften und mündliche Mitteilung über die äußerst frevelhafte Häresie“.⁴⁴ Überdies wird auch noch ein Auszug aus dem *Libellus*⁴⁵ des

³⁴ R. RIEDINGER (ed.), *Concilium Lateranense a. 649 celebratum* (ACO, Series Secunda. Volumen Primum), Berlin, 1984.

³⁵ Cf. *supra* Anm. 15.

³⁶ CONTE, *Il Sinodo* [wie Anm. 15], S. 238-240.

³⁷ *PmbZ* 268; Zu Anastasios cf. K.-H. UTHEMANN, *Anastasios Sinaïtes. Byzantinisches Christentum in den ersten Jahrzehnten unter arabischer Herrschaft* (Arbeiten zur Kirchengeschichte, 125), Berlin – Boston, 2015.

³⁸ K.-H. UTHEMANN, *Die dem Anastasios Sinaïtes zugeschriebene Synopsis de haeresibus et synodis. Einführung und Edition*, in *Annuario Historiae Conciliorum*, 14 (1982), S. 58-94.

³⁹ Auf der Grundlage der von ihm herangezogenen Ausgabe von J. B. PITRA, *Iuris ecclesiastici Graecorum Historia et Monumenta II*, Romae, 1868, S. 257-271.

⁴⁰ Cf. *Synopsis de haeresibus et synodis*, S. 85, Z. 12, 37-38; S. 86, Z. 3-7 (UTHEMANN [wie Anm. 38]).

⁴¹ SANSTERRE, *Les moines* [wie Anm. 33], S. 139, 271.

⁴² CONTE, *Il Sinodo* [wie Anm. 15], S. 240, 247.

⁴³ PEETERS, *Une vie grecque* [wie Anm. 19], S. 254, 7-9.

⁴⁴ *Ibidem*, S. 254, 16-19.

⁴⁵ ACO, ser. II. 1 (RIEDINGER [wie Anm. 34]), S. 38, Z. 10 – 46, Z. 36; WINKELMANN, *Streit* [wie Anm. 2], Nr. 82.

Bischofs Stephan von Dor zitiert,⁴⁶ der auf der 2. Sitzung der Synode vorgelesen worden war. Damit wird der Jerusalemer Beitrag zur Lateransynode ähnlich wie in der *Synopsis* hervorgehoben, die ausdrücklich erwähnt hatte, dass das VI. Ökumenische Konzil die *Synodica* des Patriarchen Sophronios zu den Akten genommen hat.⁴⁷ Nachdrücklich und völlig zutreffend hat Conte weiterhin die Fehlinterpretation C. Mangos zur Wiedergabe von can. 82 des Quinisextums in der *Vita Martini* zurückgewiesen.⁴⁸ Es handelt sich vielmehr um „una sintesi molto puntuale“.⁴⁹ Schließlich hat Conte darauf hingewiesen, dass der *Codex unicus* der Vita aus Patmos stammt und die externen Bezugnahmen auf die Vita alle griechischer Provenienz sind. Es wird keine einzige lateinische Quelle zitiert einschließlich des Liber Pontificalis! Anastasius Bibliothecarius ist mehr als 100 Jahre später bei seiner Suche nach Material für seine Darstellung des *Passio* Martins weder in Rom noch in Konstantinopel auf diese Vita gestoßen.⁵⁰ Die Entstehung der Vita setzte Conte im Kontext des Ikonoklasmus „kurz vor 730 oder nach 754“ an, der hinter der im Schlussgebet erwähnten Häresie stehe.⁵¹ B. Roosen hat sich jetzt Conte angeschlossen und plädiert als Ergebnis seiner Untersuchung für eine parallele Entstehung der *Vita Martini* und der „Urpasio“ des Maximus in denselben palästinischen Kreisen im selben Zeitraum, „roughly speaking the first half of the eighth century“.⁵²

B. Neil hat nun jedoch im Jahre 2006 gemeint, quasi mit einem Federstrich alle Argumente Contes beiseite schieben zu können. Sie stellt den ikonoklastischen Kontext grundsätzlich in Frage und will die Vita Martini im zeitlichen Kontext des monotheletischen Revirements unter Philippikos Bardanes (711-713) ansetzen, womit die *καὶ νῦν* herrschende Häresie des Schlussgebetes gemeint sei.⁵³ Dabei hält sie die Erwähnung des Quinisextums für „a very strange choice of subject for the conclusion of the Life of Martin“.⁵⁴ Ohne Berücksichtigung der neueren Forschungen zum Quinisextum begründet sie dies mit der von der Synode in can. 36 vorgenommenen Erneuerung der Privilegien des Patriarchates Konstantinopel und

⁴⁶ PEETERS, *Une vie grecque* [wie Anm. 19], S. 254, 25-32.

⁴⁷ Cf. *Synopsis de haeresibus et synodis*, S. 85, Z. 41 – 86, Z. 2 (UTHEMANN [wie Anm. 38]).

⁴⁸ CONTE, *Il Sinodo* [wie Anm. 15], S. 242-243 mit Anm. 56. Cf. *ACO*, ser. II. 2, 4 (OHME [wie Anm. 18]), S. 54; OHME, *Concilium Quinisextum (Fontes Christiani, 82)* [wie Anm. 18], S. 106-107; L. BRUBAKER – J. F. HALDON, *Byzantium in the Iconoclast Era ca. 680–850: A history*, Cambridge, 2011, S. 61-64.

⁴⁹ CONTE, *Il Sinodo* [wie Anm. 15], S. 242.

⁵⁰ *Ibidem*, S. 245-246.

⁵¹ *Ibidem*, S. 248.

⁵² ROOSEN, *Maximi Confessoris Vitae* [wie Anm. 10], S. 427-433, 432.

⁵³ NEIL, *Seventh-Century Popes* [wie Anm. 9], S. 105-109, 109.

⁵⁴ *Ibidem*, S. 108.

den sich gegen stadtrömische Praktiken wendenden can. 13 und can. 55 zum Zölibat und zur römischen Fastenpraxis.⁵⁵ Sie geht schließlich so weit, dass sie mit der Möglichkeit rechnet, das gesamte Kap. 14 sei ein späterer Zusatz ohne Relevanz für die Vita.⁵⁶ Dem ist aber grundsätzlich zu widersprechen.

2. NEUE BEOBACHTUNGEN ZUR ÖSTLICHEN PALÄSTINISCHEN PROVENIENZ DER GRIECHISCHEN VITA MARTINI

1. Das Concilium Quinisextum des Jahres 691/2 gehört nach seinem Selbstverständnis und seiner Stellung in der orthodoxen Tradition engstens mit dem VI. Ökumenischen Konzil (680/1) zusammen. Es verstand sich als kanonische Ergänzung des V. und VI. Konzils; seine Kanones werden im Osten seit dem 8. Jh. als Kanones des VI. Konzils gezählt. Darüber hinaus aber bestand das Werk dieser Synode nach dem Willen Kaiser Justinians II. nicht allein in der notwendig gewordenen synodalen Erneuerung und Kodifizierung des orthodoxen Kirchenrechts. Es sind auch nicht antirömische Intentionen gewesen, die das kanonische Werk geprägt haben, sondern eine allgemeine Vereinheitlichungstendenz der Normen kirchlichen Lebens nach byzantinischem Muster. Von ebenso grundlegender Bedeutung aber war die von der Synode in can. 1 vorgenommene Bestätigung aller bisherigen sechs Ökumenischen Synoden.⁵⁷ Hierbei kommt der Bestätigung der antimonotheletischen Konstantinopler Synode von 680/1 besondere Bedeutung zu, war doch deren Rezeption im Byzantinischen Reich schon wegen der dort zugestandenen Anathematisierung von vier Ökumenischen Patriarchen des 7. Jh.s immer noch nicht völlig gesichert. Justinian II. hatte nach seiner Thronbesteigung im Jahre 685 gleich Ende 686/Anfang 687 eine Reichsversammlung zur Bestätigung der Beschlüsse und der kaiserlichen Inobhutnahme der Akten des VI. Konzils durchgeführt.⁵⁸ Er hat bei dieser Gelegenheit den von seinem

⁵⁵ ACO, ser. II, 2, 4 (OHME [wie Anm. 18]), S. 39, Z. 30-31, 46. Zu diesen Kanones cf. H. OHME, *Concilium Quinisextum (Fontes Christiani, 82)* [wie Anm. 18], S. 140-143.128. 82-84.

⁵⁶ „One should also consider the possibility that ch. 14 was added to the text at a later date, and has no relevance at all to the agenda of the hagiographer“: NEIL, *Seventh-Century Popes* [wie Anm. 9], S. 109.

⁵⁷ ACO, ser. II, 2, 4 (OHME [wie Anm. 18]), S. 23, Z. 1-15.

⁵⁸ F. DÖLGER – A. E. MÜLLER, *Regesten der Kaiserurkunden des oströmischen Reiches. I,1 Regesten 565–867*, 2. Aufl. besorgt u. Mitarbeit v. J. PREISER-KAPELLER u. A. RIEHLE v. A. E. MÜLLER, München, 2009, Nr. 256 a; ACO, ser. II, 2, 2 (RIEDINGER [wie Anm. 18]), S. 886, Z. 3 – S. 887, Z. 21. Cf. J. L. VAN DIETEN, *Geschichte der Patriarchen von Sergios I.*

Vater wohl wegen Widerstandes gegen dessen Konzilspläne 679 abgesetzt und von ihm selbst wieder in sein Amt eingesetzten Patriarchen Theodoros I. (677–697.686–687)⁵⁹ zusammen mit den wichtigsten Vertretern von Staat, Militär und Kirche die Akten des VI. Konzils unterschreiben lassen, darunter wohl 130 Bischöfe.⁶⁰ Es ist kein Zufall, dass diese Reichsversammlung dann auch in can. 1 eigens erwähnt wird.⁶¹ Die Außerkraftsetzung des III. Constantinopolitanums und Verbrennung seiner Akten gleich nach dem Sturz Justinians II. durch Philippikos Bardanes machen diese labile Situation auch noch für den Anfang des 8. Jh.s deutlich.

Es ist diese Reichsversammlung von 686/7, die am Ende der *Synopsis* erwähnt wird, und nicht das Quinisextum, wie Conte noch irrtümlich annahm.⁶² Er hatte sich dabei auf die Angaben von Pitra verlassen, der diesen Schlusspassus der *Synopsis* bereits falsch deutete und deswegen wohl auch die im handschriftlichen Text enthaltenen Zahl $\rho\lambda'$ (130) zu $\sigma\lambda'$ (230) konjizierte,⁶³ wohl in der Annahme, so die Teilnehmerzahl des Quinisextums besser zu treffen. Mit dieser falschen Zahl argumentierte nun Conte. Die *Synopsis* bricht jedenfalls vor dem Quinisextum ab und ist deshalb vor 691/2 zu datieren. Die griechische *Vita Martini* ist damit in der Darstellung des Quinisextums nicht von der *Synopsis* abhängig.

Es ist jedenfalls ganz sachgemäß, wenn die *Vita* in Kap. 14 bei der summarischen Darstellung des Quinisextums an erster Stelle hervorhebt, dass diese Synode die Gültigkeit der sechs Synoden bestätigte. Aus diesem Grund gehören auch die Kapitel 13 und 14 engstens zusammen. Wollte man Kap. 14 als späteren Zusatz betrachten, müsste man dies m.E. auch von Kap. 13 sagen. Dies ist aber ganz unwahrscheinlich, dokumentiert doch der Bericht über die schlussendliche Durchsetzung des Dyotheletismus auf einer

bis Johannes VI. (610–715), Amsterdam, 1972, S. 146–148; G. DE GREGORIO – O. KRESTEN, *Il Papiro conciliare P. Vindob. G.3: Un 'Originale' sulla via da Constantinopoli a Ravenna (e a Vienna)*, in L. PANI – C. SCALON, *Le Alpi porta d'Europa. Scritture, Uomini, Idee da Giustiniano al Barbarossa. Atti del Convegno internazionale di studio dell' Associazione italiana dei Paleografi e Diplomatisti (Cividale del Friuli (5.–7.10.2006))*, Spoleto, 2009, S. 233–379, 322–333; OHME, *In tempore* [wie Anm. 18], S. 22–26. Zu den Teilnehmern gehörte auch ein päpstlicher Apokrisiarios.

⁵⁹ *PmbZ* 7954; VAN DIETEN, *Patriarchen* [wie Anm. 58], S. 125–129, 146–148.

⁶⁰ *Synopsis de haeresibus et synodis*, §26 (S. 86, Z. 17–23, UTHEMANN [wie Anm. 38]). Vgl. dazu OHME, *In tempore* [wie Anm. 18], 24 mit Anm. 124.

⁶¹ Es heißt dort, dass das VI. Konzil „auf bedeutendere Weise Rechtskraft empfing, weil der fromme Kaiser (sc. Justinian II.) dessen Akten zu ihrer Sicherheit in alle Ewigkeit mit Siegeln bestätigte“. Vgl. *ACO*, ser. II, 2, 4 (OHME [wie Anm. 18]), S. 23, Z. 3–5.

⁶² CONTE, *Il Sinodo* [wie Anm. 15], S. 239, 242.

⁶³ Vgl.: *Synopsis de haeresibus et synodis*, ed. UTHEMANN [wie Anm. 38], krit. Apparat zur Stelle.

Ökumenischen Synode in der Perspektive der *Vita* die endgültige Rehabilitierung dieses Papstes und die Rechtfertigung seines Kampfes, die ihn zu einem anzuerkennenden Märtyrer der Orthodoxie gemacht habe. Deshalb steht hier auch das dyotheletische und dyoenergetische Dogma in freier Zusammenfassung am Ende von Kap. 13.

2. In diesem Zusammenhang ist bereits Sansterre und Conte aufgefallen, dass in Kap. 13 die vom VI. Konzil Anathematisierten in einer ungewöhnlichen Reihenfolge mit folgender Formulierung aufgelistet werden:

auf ihr (sc. der VI. Synode) wurden die boshaften Verfechter und Urheber der Häresie der Monotheleten anathematisiert, die Patriarchen Honorius von Rom, Sergios von Konstantinopel, Pyrrhos, Paulos und Petros – auch sie Vorsteher von Konstantinopel –, Kyros von Alexandrien, der zuvor Metropolit von Phasis war, Theodoros von Pharan, Makarios von Antiochien und dessen Schüler Stephanos sowie Polychronios.⁶⁴

Der Horos des VI. Konzils hatte demgegenüber folgendermaßen formuliert:

Theodoros, den ehemaligen Bischof von Pharan, Sergios, Pyrrhos, Paulos und Petros, die ehemaligen Vorsteher dieser kaiserlichen Stadt, ferner auch Honorius, den ehemaligen Papst des Alten Rom, Kyros, den ehemaligen Bischof von Alexandrien, und Makarios, der jüngst noch Vorsteher von Antiochien war, sowie dessen Schüler Stephanos.⁶⁵

Das bedeutet, dass die *Vita* Papst Martins die Anathematisierten nicht mehr wie der Horos von 681 im Sinne einer „genetischen“ Reihenfolge auflistet: mit dem „Häresiarchen“ Theodoros von Pharan an der Spitze, gefolgt von den vier Konstantinopler Patriarchen und Honorius als „ehemaliger Papst des Alten Rom“, der dann in der Mitte aller Anathematisierten zu stehen kommt. Die Rangfolge der *Vita* findet sich nun bereits in der *Synopsis*⁶⁶ und ist ein wichtiges Indiz der Abhängigkeit. Wie aber ist diese Veränderung zu verstehen? Conte hatte einfach eine „hierarchische Reihenfolge“ attestiert und dahinter die Absicht vermutet, Anastasios Sinaites habe damit eine „responsabilità primaria‘ di Roma“ zum Ausdruck bringen wollen.⁶⁷ Meines Erachtens wird hier einfach im Sinne der byzantinischen Pentarchie aufgezählt, die seit Justinian I. staatskirchenrechtlich verankert war.⁶⁸

⁶⁴ PEETERS, *Une vie grecque* [wie Anm. 19], S. 262, Z. 12-18.

⁶⁵ ACO, ser. II, 2, 2 (RIEDINGER [wie Anm. 21]), S. 772, Z. 6-10.

⁶⁶ *Synopsis de haeresibus et synodis*, §25 (S. 86, 3-7, UTHEMANN [wie Anm. 38]).

⁶⁷ CONTE, *Il Sinodo* [wie Anm. 15], S. 241-242.

⁶⁸ Vgl. dazu: F. GAHBAUER, *Die Pentarchie* (Frankfurter Theologische Studien, 42), Frankfurt/M., 1993, S. 71-74; H. OHME, Art. *Pentarchie*, in *Die Religion in Geschichte und Gegenwart*, 4. Aufl., 6 (2003), Sp. 1089.

Dafür spricht neben der Reihenfolge der Patriarchate auch die Bezeichnung des römischen Bischofs als „Patriarch von Rom“. Dies hat nun zur Folge, dass Honorius an der ersten Stelle zu stehen kommt und überdies hier mit der Bezeichnung „Patriarch“ seines Papsttitels verlustig gegangen ist. M.E. ist dies ohne weitere Hintergedanken einfach „pentarchisch“ erfolgt, hat aber in römischer Perspektive – hier jedenfalls – eine unerwünschte prominente Stellung des Papstes zur Folge. Es scheint mir sehr unwahrscheinlich zu sein, dass ein griechischer Autor in Rom sich mit solchen Formulierungen in diesem Zusammenhang gegen das römisch-papale Selbstverständnis gestellt haben sollte.

Dazu kommt ein weiterer Aspekt, der m.E. eine römische Provenienz des Textes zusätzlich unwahrscheinlich macht. Das Schlussgebet sagt von Christus, dass er seine Kirche „auf den Felsen des orthodoxen Glaubens gegründet“ habe. Damit wird implizit das „Felsenwort“ Jesu von Mt 16,16-18 aufgerufen, das an Petrus gerichtet ist und nach dessen Bekenntnis bei Caesarea Philippi die Zusage enthält, „auf diesen Felsen“ die Kirche zu gründen. In der im 7. Jh. bereits traditionellen römischen Papatologie ist Mt 16,16-18 selbstverständlich immer auf Petrus als Felsen bezogen worden, der in seinem Nachfolger handelt und wirkt. Ein einziges Beispiel mag hier reichen. So schrieb Papst Agatho I. (678-681) im Frühjahr 680 an Kaiser Konstantin IV. auf dessen Einladung zu Einigungsverhandlungen zur Beendigung des Streites, der Kaiser möge doch seine Hand nach der apostolischen Lehre ausstrecken,

die der Mitarbeiter (*cooperator*) unserer frommen Bemühungen, der selige Apostel Petrus, überliefert hat, nicht damit sie unter einen Scheffel gestellt, sondern heller als eine Posaune in der ganzen Welt verkündet würde, weil sein wahres Bekenntnis vom Vater aus dem Himmel offenbart wurde, weshalb Petrus vom Herren aller als selig verkündet worden ist, dem vom selben Erlöser aller die geistlichen Schafe der Kirche zu weiden dreimal anvertraut wurden. Dessen apostolische Kirche ist niemals – weil er (sc. Petrus) Beistand gewährte – in irgendeine Richtung des Irrtums vom Weg der Wahrheit abgewichen. Dessen Autorität als Fürst (*princeps*) aller Apostel haben immer die ganze katholische Kirche Christi und die Ökumenischen Synoden treu hochgehalten, und dessen Lehre sind alle ehrwürdigen Väter in allem gefolgt und haben sie hochgeschätzt.⁶⁹

Hier wird die in Anspruch genommene Apostolizität des dyotheletischen Bekenntnisses eindeutig aus der Autorität des Apostels Petrus abgeleitet und mit den klassischen drei neutestamentlichen „Beweisstellen“ Mt 16,16-18, Joh 21,15-17 und Lk 22,32 begründet. Das Bekenntnis des Papstes gewinnt in römischer Sicht seine Autorität, weil es das Bekenntnis des Petrus ist, der

⁶⁹ ACO, ser. II, 2, 2 (RIEDINGER [wie Anm. 21]), S. 63, Z. 9-15.

als *Cooperator* des römischen Bischofs – wie immer, so auch jetzt – seinen Beistand gewährt.

Insofern wäre bei römischer Provenienz eines im Kampf gegen die Häresie zum Märtyrer gewordenen Papstes, dessen *Vita* dies zum Zwecke seiner Verehrung als Märtyrer und Heiliger schildert, am Ende – wenn denn nun Mt 16,16-18 aufgerufen wird – eine Deutung auf die Petrusnachfolge mit Fug und Recht zu erwarten. Die *Vita* spart ja nicht mit hagiographischen Superlativen, die durchaus auf die Apostolizität seines Amtes und auch die Nachfolge Petri im Lehramt Bezug nehmen.⁷⁰ Aber der Papst wird eben als „Säule“ des orthodoxen Glaubens bezeichnet und nicht als „Felsen“. Der Felsen, auf dem Christus seine Kirche gründet, ist nach östlichem Verständnis allein der orthodoxe Glaube. Dies entspricht auch völlig der Haltung des Maximus Confessor, der bekanntlich wie kein anderer östlicher Theologe vor und nach ihm Autorität, Primat und Privilegien der römischen Kirche betont hat, die seines Erachtens das einzig übriggebliebene Bollwerk gegen die monotheletische Häresie war.⁷¹ Damit ist aber bei Maximus stets die *Ecclesia Romana* in all ihren Gliedern gemeint und nicht der Papst als ihr Repräsentant. „L'idée que celui-là soit le vicaire de Pierre [...] est absente de la pensée de Maxime.“ „Lorsqu'il évoque ‚la pierre‘ sur laquelle est solidement fondée l'Eglise, comme la plupart des Pères il n'a pas en vue la personne de Pierre, mais sa droite confession de foi dans le Christ.“⁷² Ganz in diesem Sinne hat auch Anastasios Monachos nach dem 19.4.658 im Auftrag des Maximus an die griechischen Mönche von Cagliari geschrieben, damit sie in Rom gegen die Kompromissformel des Konstantinopler Patriarchen Petros vorstellig werden. Er forderte sie auf, so schnell wie möglich nach Rom zu gehen, um „die frommen wie ein Felsen feststehenden Männer des Alten Rom“ zu beknien, alles zu unternehmen, um den orthodoxen Glauben vor aller Neuerung zu bewahren.⁷³ In östlicher Perspektive ist der Felsen von Mt 16,16-18 nicht Petrus und sein Nachfolger, sondern der orthodoxe Glaube. Das Gebet am Ende der *Vita* Martins gehört

⁷⁰ Cf. z.B.: Kap. 12 (S. 261, 24-25): ὁ αὐτὸς ἀγιώτατος καὶ τρισμακάριος ἀποστολικὸς πάπας Ῥώμης Μαρτίνος; Kap. 3 (S. 255, 17-18): Ὅπως δὲ ἐκ τῆς καθέδρας τοῦ ἀγίου ἀποστόλου Πέτρου ὡσπερ στρουθίον ἠρπάγη; Kap. 1 (S. 253, 5): ὁ στῦλος τῆς ὀρθοδόξου πίστεως. CONTE (*Il Sinodo* [wie Anm. 15], S. 244-245) meinte, diese Titulaturen seien „getränkt mit einer Anerkennung des päpstlichen Primates“. In seiner römisch-primatialen Argumentation geht jedoch die deutlich andere östliche Perspektive auf Mt 16, 16-18 unter.

⁷¹ Cf. J.-C. LARCHET, *Saint Maxime le Confesseur*, Paris, 2003, S. 198-210; IDEM, *Maxime le Confesseur, médiateur entre l'Orient et l'Occident*, Paris, 1998, S. 125-201.

⁷² LARCHET, *Saint Maxime le Confesseur* [wie Anm. 71], S. 200-201.

⁷³ *Epistola ad monachos calaritanos*, S. 169, Z. 104-105 (ALLEN – NEIL [CCSG, 39] [wie Anm. 8]).

deshalb ganz in die dyotheletischen Kreise des Ostens. Dass diese Kreise aber auch geographisch im Osten zu suchen sind, machen weitere Beobachtungen deutlich.

3. Die Zahl 168 ($\rho\zeta\eta'$) als Teilnehmerzahl des VI. Ökumenischen Konzils ist – wie gesagt – ein Indiz der Abhängigkeit von der *Synopsis*. Sie entspricht allerdings nicht der in die Tradition eingegangenen Teilnehmerzahl 170 ($\rho\theta'$) der Synode.⁷⁴ Damit wird deutlich, dass zum Zeitpunkt der Abfassung der *Synopsis* wenige Jahre nach dem III. Constantinopolitanum die Teilnehmerzahl dieser Synode noch nicht normiert war. Die Teilnehmerzahlen der 18 Sitzungen variieren insgesamt äußerst stark und erreichen zum Abschluss der Synode ihren Höchststand, den R. Riedinger mit 166 Teilnehmern beziffert hat.⁷⁵

Conte hat nun in der Abhängigkeit der *Vita* von der *Synopsis* ein weiteres Argument für eine Jerusalemer Provenienz gesehen,⁷⁶ insofern das Sinaikloster zum Jurisdiktionsbereich des Jerusalemer Patriarchates gehörte. Er ging allerdings noch mit Pitra von einer einheitlichen Verfasserschaft der *Synopsis* aus. Dies ist nach der Analyse von Uthemann nicht mehr möglich. Die sich daraus ergebenden Konsequenzen müssen deshalb in die vorliegende Fragestellung mit einbezogen werden. Uthemann ist „auf Grund auffälliger Parallelen zum Hodegos“ zu dem Ergebnis gekommen, dass die §§1-14 der *Synopsis* „Anastasios Sinaites selbst nicht abgesprochen werden können“.⁷⁷ Anders sieht es allerdings mit den §§17-26 aus, also gerade jenem Teil, der dem monotheletischen Streit und dem VI. Konzil gewidmet ist. Denn diese Teile verraten „detaillierte Kenntnisse, die in einem eigentümlichen Kontrast zur dürftigen und recht ungenauen Darstellung des Monotheletismus im sog. *Sermo III*“ des Sinaiten aus dem Jahre 701 stehen.⁷⁸ Aus einer Bemerkung in §12 der *Synopsis* sei allerdings zu schließen, dass die *Synopsis* „von Anfang an auch eine Geschichte des Monotheletismus geboten haben muß“.⁷⁹ So kommt Uthemann zu der Schlussfolgerung, dass „ein anderer Autor, der offenbar Zeitgenosse des Sinaiten war“ mit der jetzt vorliegenden

⁷⁴ OHME, *Das Concilium Quinisextum und seine Bischofsliste* [wie Anm. 18], S. 325 mit Anm. 18.

⁷⁵ RIEDINGER, *ACO*, ser. II, 2, 2 [wie Anm. 21], *Einleitung*, S. XIX. Cf. IDEM, *Die Präsenz- und Subskriptionslisten des VI. Oekumenischen Konzils (680/1) und der Papyrus Vind.G.3 (Abhandlungen der bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, philosophisch-historische Klasse, Neue Folge, 85)*, München, 1979.

⁷⁶ CONTE, *Il Sinodo* [wie Anm. 15], S. 240, 247.

⁷⁷ UTHEMANN, *Synopsis de haeresibus et synodis* [wie Anm. 38], S. 72.

⁷⁸ *Ibidem*, S. 68-69.

⁷⁹ *Ibidem*, S. 70.

Fassung des monotheletischen Streites und des VI. Konzils die entsprechenden Kapitel des Anastasios verdrängt habe.⁸⁰

Vergleicht man die in *Sermo III,1* gebotene Information mit den §§17-26 der *Synopsis*, so überzeugt die Argumentation von Uthemann sofort. Es fällt vor allem auf, dass Anastasios in *Sermo III,1* die Verbannung von Papst Martin und die Amputationstrafen an Maximus und seinen Schülern – deren Namen er noch nicht einmal erwähnt – in geschichtstheologischer Perspektive ganz auf das darauf folgende Strafhandeln Gottes hin interpretiert.⁸¹ Vor allem aber kommt Sophronios in der Frühgeschichte des Streites bei Anastasios gar nicht vor, und Papst Honorius wird übersprungen, so dass in anachronistischer Weise Patriarch Sergios schon in Briefverkehr mit Papst Martin steht.⁸² Demgegenüber wird in den ausgetauschten §§17-26 der *Synopsis* nicht nur Papst Martin und die Lateransynode erwähnt (§20), sondern sehr ausführlich die Bedeutung des Sophronios in der Auseinandersetzung mit Kyros von Alexandrien und Sergios geschildert (§19) und die Aufnahme der Synodika „τοῦ ἐν μακαρίᾳ τῇ μνήμῃ Σωφρονίου“ in die Akten des VI. Konzils betont (§25). Darüber hinaus wird ausführlich Person und Werk und Schicksal des Maximus – unter Betonung seines Mönchstandes⁸³ und Erwähnung seiner beiden Schüler Anastasios Monachos und Anastasios Apokrisiarios – geschildert (§21). Dabei trägt die Darstellung des Leidensweges von Papst Martin und der verstümmelt nach Lazikē Exilierten hagiographischen Charakter. So wird über Martin gesagt:

Deswegen (sc. wegen der Lateransynode) wird er aus der Stadt Rom fortgeschleppt und nach Byzanz gebracht, und indem der Vollkommen-Apostolische den Kampf zur Unsterblichkeit durchkämpfte (διαθλήσας), wurde er für immer zur Verbannung verurteilt, in welcher er das erwartete und vielgepriesene Ende (ἀοιδίμων τέλος) des Lebens erlangte.

Maximus aber [...] empfängt zusammen mit seinen beiden Schülern, den Anastasioi, das Erbe Martins, würdig der Erkenntnis und der Tat nach. Meinte man, dass es dem Augenschein nach sinnlos sei zu sterben, so gaben sie doch ihre Seelen sowie das irdische Leben in die Hand Gottes. Maximus übertraf alle, deren Gedenken jemals wegen ihrer Geisteskraft fortlebt; er schmückte das Leben mit (seinem) Leben – dies nämlich ist die kämpferische Erkenntnis! Als sie (sc. die Gegner) Anstalten machten, sie in vielfältiger Weise durch Angst,

⁸⁰ *Ibidem*, S. 72-73.

⁸¹ K.-H. UTHEMANN (ed.), *Sermo adv. Monotheletas qui communiter dicitur Homilia tertia de creatione hominis* (CCSG, 12), S. 84-101. Cf. H. OHME, *Die Bedeutung der Geschichtstheologie im monenergetisch-monotheletischen Streit*, in *Zeitschrift für Theologie und Kirche*, 112 (2015), S. 27-61.

⁸² Anastasios Sinaita, *Sermones in constitutionem hominis secundum imaginem Dei*, 3. 1, Z. 34-65 (S. 56-58, UTHEMANN [CCSG 12]).

⁸³ ... μονάζων τὸ σχῆμα: §21 (84,25, UTHEMANN).

Schmeichelei und Versprechungen abzubringen (sc. von ihren Überzeugungen), setzten sie sich doch keineswegs durch. Vielmehr hielten sich jene davon fern und ließen die Wellen sich wie an einem Stein brechen. Die Gottlosen schnitten die Zunge ab und amputierten Hand und Füße (!) und schickten so den verstümmelten und blutüberströmten Kämpfer (ἀθλητήν) unversorgt in die Region Lazikē. Einen jeden der Schüler exilierten sie an einen anderen Ort. In gleicher Weise wie der Lehrer bestraft, trennten die von ruchloser Gesinnung Beherrschten sie, den einen dem Stand nach Presbyter, den anderen richteten sie durch schwerste Misshandlungen übel zu.⁸⁴

Deutlich steht hier das persönliche Schicksal und die Bewährung der Verurteilten im Zentrum des Interesses. Trotz aller hagiographischen Anklänge und auch Übertreibungen⁸⁵ werden den gepriesenen Kämpfern für die Wahrheit hier die entsprechenden Titulaturen ἅγιος oder ὅσιος aber noch nicht verliehen! Das bedeutet, dass ca. drei Jahrzehnte nach dem Tode der Genannten in der vor 691/2 entstandenen Überarbeitung der Synopsis⁸⁶ Indizien für eine beginnende Heiligenverehrung vorliegen, die sich allerdings mit der öffentlichen Vergabe der Titulaturen noch zurückhält. Der Überarbeiter hatte Zugang zu der Schrift des Sinaiabtes und korrigierte diese unter Betonung des Mönchsstandes und des Jerusalemer Beitrages zur Überwindung des Monenergismus-Monothetismus. Unter Berücksichtigung dieser überarbeiteten *Synopsis* entstand wenige Jahrzehnte später die griechische *Vita* Papst Martins.

4. Am Concilium Quinisextum nahmen neben Kaiser Justinian II. 226 Bischöfe teil, die 102 (ρβ´) Kanones beschlossen haben.⁸⁷ Eine große Zahl auch ältester Handschriften überliefert die Zahl 227 (σκζ´), für die es verschiedene Erklärungsmöglichkeiten gibt.⁸⁸ Daneben tauchen in der handschriftlichen Überlieferung eine Reihe weiterer Zahlen zu den Teilnehmern auf. Diese sind entweder Folge von kopialem Verschreibungen der Zahl σκζ´ (κζ´; ρκκ´; σκγ´; κ´), oder sie gehen auf die Zuordnung des Quinisextums zum V. oder VI. Ökumenischen Konzil zurück, indem deren Teilnehmerzahlen (ρξε´ oder ρξδ´; ρό) in die Überschrift zum Quinisextum eingewandert sind.⁸⁹ Die griechische *Vita Martini* bietet die Teilnehmerzahl 240 (σμ´). Diese ist nur in einer einzigen Handschrift überliefert. Es handelt sich

⁸⁴ *Synopsis de haeresibus et synodis* §§20.21 (84, 21-39, UTHEMANN).

⁸⁵ Die Füße wurden bekanntlich nicht amputiert.

⁸⁶ UTHEMANN, *Synopsis de haeresibus et synodis* [wie Anm. 38], S. 73, datiert „zwischen 687 und 692“.

⁸⁷ Cf. *ACO*, ser. II. 2, 4 (OHME [wie Anm. 18]), S. 60-61, 86, *Einleitung*, S. LIII-LVI.

⁸⁸ Cf. *ACO*, ser. II. 2, 4, *Einleitung*, S. LV.

⁸⁹ Cf. H. OHME, *Das Concilium Quinisextum und seine Bischofsliste* [wie Anm. 18], S. 324-327.

dabei um den *Codex Hiersolymitanus monasterii τοῦ Σταυροῦ 2*,⁹⁰ aus dem 10. Jh., dessen Subskriptionsliste selbst allerdings nur 217 Unterschriften enthält. In einem ikonophilen Scholion am Anfang der Subskriptionsliste werden jedoch dem Quinisextum 240 Väter zugewiesen.⁹¹ Dieses Scholion zusammen mit weiteren in der handschriftlichen Überlieferung enthaltenen ikonoklastischen und antiikonoklastischen Scholien⁹² macht deutlich, dass das Quinisextum im 8. Jh. in die Kontroverse zwischen Ikonodulen und Ikonoklasten geraten war. Der Streit spitzte sich auf die Frage zu, ob diese Synode und ihre Beschlüsse an der Autorität des VI. Ökumenischen Konzils Anteil haben und insofern Kanones einer Ökumenischen Synode seien, oder ob es sich bei diesen Beschlüssen eher um kaiserliche Erlasse handele, die durch kaiserliche Autorität im Einzelfall auch korrigiert werden könnten. Argumentiert wurde dabei mit der Teilnehmerzahl und dem zeitlichen Abstand zwischen beiden Synoden.⁹³ Im Hintergrund dieses Streites stand die Geltung von can. 82 des Quinisextums, den die Ikonodulen als zentrales Argument für die Bilderverehrung der anerkannten synodalen Tradition ins Feld führten und dessen Autorität von den Ikonoklasten in Frage gestellt wurde.⁹⁴

Außerhalb der handschriftlichen Tradition des Quinisextums begegnet die Teilnehmerzahl 240 neben der griechischen *Vita Martini* im *Apologeticus minor* des Patriarchen Nikephoros I. (806-815),⁹⁵ ebenfalls im Kontext der Verteidigung der trullanischen Kanones gegen deren Infragestellung. Für Nikephoros sind sie „οἱ τῆς ἁγίας ἔκτης συνόδου“. Der *Apologeticus minor* wurde ca. 814 geschrieben. Schließlich wird die Zahl 240 auch noch im *Synodicon vetus* als Teilnehmerzahl des Quinisextums geboten,⁹⁶ das demgegenüber beim VI. Ökumenischen Konzil gar keine Angaben zur Teilnehmerzahl macht. M.E. handelt es sich bei dieser Hervorhebung einer großen Teilnehmerzahl auf dem Quinisextum selbst in dem nach 887 entstandenen *Synodicon vetus* noch um einen Nachklang der Auseinandersetzung um das Quinisextum während des Ikonoklasmus. Es ist jedenfalls deutlich, dass die Zahl 240 keinen Anhaltspunkt an der tatsächlichen Anzahl der Teilnehmer dieser Synode hat. Ihr Ursprung ist vielmehr in der Diskussion über die Autorität des Quinisextums zu suchen, bei der hier

⁹⁰ Cf. zu dieser Handschrift *ACO*, ser. II. 2, 4, *Einleitung*, S. XXIV.

⁹¹ *ACO*, ser. II. 2, 4, S. 13, Z. 6 („*Scholion IV*“).

⁹² Cf. *ACO*, ser. II. 2, 4, S. 10-14.

⁹³ Cf. *ACO*, ser. II. 2, 4, *Einleitung* (OHME [wie Anm. 18]), S. LXIII-LXVIII.

⁹⁴ Cf. *Ibidem*, LXXXII.

⁹⁵ *PG* 100, 845C-848B. Zu Nikephoros cf. *PmbZ* 5301.

⁹⁶ J. DUFFY – J. PARKER (edd.), *The Synodicon vetus (CFHB, Ser. Washingtonensis, XV)*, Washington, 1979, Nr. 143, Z.1-3. Cf. OHME, *Das Concilium Quinisextum und seine Bischofsliste* [wie Anm. 18], S. 327-329.

offensichtlich von den Verteidigern der Ikonen mit einer das VI. Konzil noch weit übersteigenden „riesigen“ Teilnehmerzahl argumentiert wurde. Diese Diskussion ist aber ausweislich der handschriftlichen Überlieferung ganz im byzantinischen Kontext zu verorten. Es hat noch im 9. Jh. nach der Auskunft von Anastasius Bibliothecarius keine lateinische Übersetzung der Akten des Quinisextums in Rom gegeben.⁹⁷ Insofern ist diese Zahl ein wichtiges Indiz für eine östliche Provenienz der griechischen *Vita Martini*.

5. Schließlich entspricht auch die exklusive Hervorhebung von can. 82 aus den 102 Kanones des Quinisextums ganz dieser östlich-byzantinischen Diskussionslage des 8. Jh.s., die auf dem VII. Ökumenischen Konzil Patriarch Tarasios sogar zu einer detaillierten Stellungnahme nötigte⁹⁸ und can. 82 zum meistzitierten Traditionszeugen der Bilderverehrung auf dem II. Nicaenum machte. Aber auch nach 787 wurde diese Diskussion noch weitergeführt, wie ein bei Theophanes Confessor (†818) auftauchender ikonoklastischer Einschub deutlich macht.⁹⁹ Es ist eben der can. 82,¹⁰⁰ in dem sich erstmals die Argumentation findet, dass das Bild Christi wegen seiner Inkarnation geradezu notwendig sei. Das Quinisextum nahm daran Anstoß, dass „auf manchen Abbildungen der verehrungswürdigen Ikonen“ Johannes der Täufer nach Joh 1,29.36 mit einem Lamm dargestellt wird. In Aufnahme typologischer Exegese des Alten Testaments wird das Lamm als „*Typos*“ des Kommenden betrachtet, dem nun die Darstellung des Menschgewordenen als „Gnade und Wahrheit“ und Erfüllung vorzuziehen sei (vgl. Joh 1,17; Hebr 10,1). Insofern trifft der zweite Teil der summarischen Wiedergabe des Kanons in Kap. 14 der *Vita Martini* ganz die Aussage des Kanons.¹⁰¹ Der erste Teil ist allerdings eine der Situation geschuldete typische Überinterpretation des Kanoninhaltes. Denn aus der Anfangsformulierung von can. 82 „*Ἐν τισὶ τῶν σεπτῶν εἰκόνων...*“ wird die Konsequenz gezogen, dass dieser Kanon am Ende des 7. Jh.s über eine noch unstrittige „Verehrung“ von Ikonen entschieden habe und dafür dann auch noch hohes Alter beansprucht.¹⁰²

⁹⁷ Cf. *ACO*, ser. II. 2, 4, *Einleitung*, S. LXXXIII-LXXXIV.

⁹⁸ *ACO*, ser. II. 3, 2 (LAMBERZ), S. 346, Z. 17 – 348, Z. 5. Cf. *ACO*, ser. II. 2, 4, *Einleitung* LXIII-LXIV.

⁹⁹ Theophanes, *Chronographia*, AM 6177 (S. 361, Z. 17 – 362, Z. 31, DE BOOR, Leipzig, 1883). Cf. *ACO*, ser. II. 2, 4, *Einleitung*, S. LXIV-LXV).

¹⁰⁰ Cf. *supra*, Anm. 48.

¹⁰¹ Cf. *supra*, Anm. 25

¹⁰² *Ibidem*.

Damit spricht m.E. alles dafür, dass wir für die Entstehung der griechischen *Vita* Papst Martins eine östliche Provenienz im Zusammenhang mit dem Ikonoklasmus anzunehmen haben. Fragt man nun nach einer näheren zeitlichen Einordnung der *Vita*, so bietet sich dafür die Regierungszeit Leons III. (717-741) nicht an.¹⁰³ Denn für eine „ikonoklastische“ Politik im eigentlichen Sinn gibt es in diesem Zeitraum keine haltbaren Indizien. Schon gar nicht gibt es eine lehrmäßige Formulierung, die den Begriff „Häresie“ des Schlussgebetes der *Vita* rechtfertigen könnte. Es hat im Jahre 726 kein kaiserliches Edikt gegen die Bilder gegeben.¹⁰⁴ Ebenso hat es unter Leon keine Verfolgung oder Zerstörung oder systematische Entfernung von Bildern gegeben. Es ging vor allem darum, den Gefahren des Missbrauchs der den Bildern entgegengebrachten Proskynese zu begegnen.¹⁰⁵ Dieser Zustand sollte sich erst in der Regierungszeit Konstantins V. (741-775) ändern,¹⁰⁶ in dessen um 750 verfassten sog. *Peuseis* man einen ersten Entwurf einer bilderfeindlichen Theologie erblicken kann. Traditionell wird angenommen, dass damit das vom Kaiser im Jahre 754 durchgeführte ikonoklastische Konzil von Hiereia vorbereitet werden sollte.¹⁰⁷ Neuerdings wird aber darauf hingewiesen, dass hinter den *Peuseis* eher die katastrophale Erfahrung der großen Pest von 746/7–749/50 stand. Der Kaiser habe darin eine Strafe Gottes erblickt, die ihn zu einer Verschärfung der Maßnahmen seines Vaters führte. Konstantin hat dann reichsweit öffentliche Versammlungen abhalten lassen, auf denen in der Regel wohl Bischöfe die bilderfeindlichen Thesen proklamierten, wobei es auch zum Streit mit Verteidigern der Bilder kam.¹⁰⁸ Erst in diesem Kontext sind auch die drei Λόγοι ἀπολογητικοί¹⁰⁹ des Jerusalemer Mönches Johannes von Damaskus († vor 754) „gegen diejenigen, die die hl. Ikonen verleugnen“ anzusetzen.¹¹⁰ Für unsere Fragestellung ist

¹⁰³ Zur Frage eines „Ikonoklasmus“ unter Leon III. cf. BRUBAKER – HALDON, *Byzantium in the Iconoclast Era* [wie Anm. 48], S. 69-155.

¹⁰⁴ *Ibidem*, S. 119-125

¹⁰⁵ Cf. *Ibidem*, S. 151-155.

¹⁰⁶ Cf. *Ibidem*, S. 156-176.

¹⁰⁷ So noch: H. G. THÜMMEL, *Die Konzilien zur Bilderfrage im 8. und 9. Jahrhundert. Das 7. Ökumenische Konzil in Nikaia 787*, Paderborn, 2005, S. 65-68.

¹⁰⁸ So BRUBAKER – HALDON, *Byzantium in the Iconoclast Era* [wie Anm. 48], S. 179-183.

¹⁰⁹ B. KOTTER (ed.), *Die Schriften des Johannes von Damaskos*, Band 3: *Contra imaginum calumniatores orationes tres*, (PTS, 17), Berlin – New York, 1975.

¹¹⁰ Traditionell wurden die *Logoi* früh nach 726 und 730 datiert. Cf. THÜMMEL, *Die Konzilien zur Bilderfrage*, [wie Anm. 107], S. 46f, 54. Es mehren sich jedoch die Stimmen, die im 1. Logos eine Antwort auf die *Peuseis* und den 2. Logos in Erwartung der bevorstehenden Synode von Hiereia geschrieben sehen und von daher zu einer späteren Datierung gelangen. Cf. P. SPECK, *Artabados, der rechtgläubige Vorkämpfer der göttlichen Lehren (Poikila Byzantina, 2)*, Bonn, 1981, S. 179-243; IDEM, *Bild und Bilderstreit in Byzanz*, in *Die Macht der Bilder*, in M. BRANDT – A. EFFENBERGER, *Katalog*, Hildesheim, 1998, S. 56-67; BRUBAKER – HALDON, *Byzantium in the Iconoclast Era* [wie Anm. 48], S. 120, 183-187.

bemerkenswert, dass Johannes von Damaskus in seinem 2. Logos und dann auch im dritten unter den am Ende aufgeführten Chreseis für die Ikonenverehrung eine Passage aus der *Disputatio Bizyae cum Theodosio* (CPG 7735) des Maximus aufgenommen hat.¹¹¹ Es handelt sich um jene Passage am Ende des ersten Gespräches in Bizye am 24.8.656, bei dem es zu einer Einigung mit Bischof Theodosios von Kaisareia gekommen war und daraufhin alle zu einem Dankgebet niederknieten und zur Bestätigung des Gesagten das Evangelium, das Kreuz, eine Christus- und eine Marienikone küssten und mit den Händen berührten.¹¹² Diese Textpassage ist in der Tat ein wichtiges Zeugnis für eine in der Mitte des 7. Jh.s praktizierte Proskynese von Ikonen.¹¹³ Das VII. Ökumenische Konzil hat dann dieses Testimonium in seinen Traditionsbeweis mit aufgenommen und zur Feststellung der Authentizität des Textes aus verschiedenen βίβλοι zweimal verlesen lassen.¹¹⁴ Der can. 82 des Quinisextums wurde unmittelbar danach verlesen! Das bedeutet, dass am Ende der vierziger Jahre des 8. Jh.s in Jerusalem ein Grundtext aus dem Dossier der Dokumente¹¹⁵ über die *Passio* des Maximus so gut bekannt war, dass eine für dessen *Passio* eigentlich nebensächliche Stelle dem aktuellen Anlass des Bilderstreites unmittelbar dienstbar gemacht werden konnte. In *Imag.* II 65 wird Maximus merkwürdigerweise in der Überschrift ohne weitere hagiographische Titulatur einfach als „φιλόσοφος καὶ ὁμολογητῆς“ bezeichnet, während er in *Imag.* III 131 in der Überschrift als ἄββας bezeichnet wird, das Zitat dann aber eingeführt wird mit der Wendung: „Ὁ ὄσιος Μάξιμος εἶπεν“. Vielleicht mag es als gewagt erscheinen, zwischen der zweiten und der dritten Fassung der Logoi des Damaszeners einen Impuls für eine Forcierung der Heiligenverehrung des Maximus anzunehmen. Immerhin aber steht der dritte Logos des Johannes unter dem Verdacht, eine spätere Kompilation zu sein.¹¹⁶ Ausweislich der von B. Roosen analysierten¹¹⁷ hagiographischen Überlieferung der *Vitae* und *Passiones* des Maximus Confessor hatte dessen Verehrung zu dieser Zeit immer noch keine offizielle Anerkennung in der Kirche des Byzantinischen Reiches erlangt. Sie wird

¹¹¹ *Imag.* II, 65; *Imag.* III, 131 (S. 164, 196, KOTTER III [wie Anm. 109]).

¹¹² *Disputatio Bizyae*, S. 117, Z. 462-467 (ALLEN – NEIL [CCSG, 39] [wie Anm. 8]); cf. *ibidem*, S. 133, Z. 648-651.

¹¹³ Für die Annahme einer Interpolation dieser Stellen wie W. BRANDES vermutete (*IDEM, Anmerkungen* [wie Anm. 7], S. 176 mit Anm. 43) besteht m.E. kein Anlass.

¹¹⁴ *ACO*, ser. II, 3, 2, S. 340, Z. 9 – 342, Z. 19 (LAMBERZ).

¹¹⁵ Cf. ALLEN – NEIL, *Scripta Saeculi VII* [wie Anm. 7], *Introduction*, S. XIV-XXIII.

¹¹⁶ Cf. P. SPECK, *Wunderheilige und Bilder*, in *IDEM, Varia III (Poikila Byzantina)*, 11 Bonn, 1991, S. 163-247, 195; BRUBAKER – HALDON, *Byzantium in the Iconoclast Era* [wie Anm. 48], S. 120, Anm. 170.

¹¹⁷ Vide *supra*, Anm. 10.

sich wohl auf die Kreise des sabbaitischen Mönchtums¹¹⁸ beschränkt haben. Die Abfassung einer konzisen *Passio* aber war für eine weitere Verbreitung des Maximus-Kultes eine wesentliche Voraussetzung.

Der nur auf den ersten Blick überraschende Abschluss der griechischen *Vita* Papst Martins mit dem Quinisextum und dessen can. 82 sowie einem Verweis auf eine καὶ ὅν herrschende „Häresie“ und die Benutzung eines Zitates aus der *Disputatio Bizyae* durch Johannes von Damaskus legen m.E. den Schluss nahe, dass das Aufkommen einer lehrmäßig abgesicherten ikonoklastischen Religionspolitik im Byzantinischen Reich ab ca. 750 und deren Erhebung zum Reichsdogma ab 754¹¹⁹ einen Aktualisierungsschub für die Märtyrerverehrung der beiden Hauptprotagonisten des monenergetisch-monothelischen Streites, Maximus Confessor und Papst Martin I., zur Folge gehabt hat. Deren Autorität als immer noch nur lokal verehrte Märtyrer der Orthodoxie sollte nun auch gegen die καὶ ὅν aufkommende Häresie ins Feld geführt werden. Angesichts der von P. Conte entfalteten und hier weitergeführten Beobachtungen spricht m.E. alles dafür, dass dies in Palästina/Jerusalem erfolgt ist.

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SUMMARY

The first *Passio Maximi Confessoris* (“Urpassio”), which has not survived, was written in Palestine/Jerusalem in the middle of the 8th century at the same time as the *Passio Martini pp.* (BHG 2259). The present article confirms, complements, and extends the research by B. ROOSEN (*Byz.*, 80) and P. CONTE (1989) through new insights gleaned from an analysis of the Concilium Quinisextum (691/2) and the *Synopsis de haeresibus et synodis* by Anastasios Sinaites, thereby refuting the position of B. NEIL (2006). Consequently, it would now seem untenable to maintain that BHG 2259 was written in Rome.

¹¹⁸ Zu dessen Bedeutung in diesem Zusammenhang cf. CHR. BOUDIGNON, *Le pouvoir de l’anathème ou Maxime le Confesseur et les moines palestiniens du VII^e siècle*, in A. CAMPLANI – G. FILORAMO (edd.), *Foundations of Power and Conflict of Authority in Late Antique Monasticism* (OLA, 157), Leuven – Paris – Dudley, MA, 2007, S. 245-274.

¹¹⁹ Cf. *Die ikonoklastische Synode von Hiereia 754. Einleitung, Text, Übersetzung und Kommentar ihres Horos*, besorgt v. T. KRANNICH – CHR. SCHUBERT – C. SODE (*Studien und Texte zu Antike und Christentum*, 15), Tübingen, 2000.

AN UNEDITED DISCOURSE ON THE FOUR CARDINAL
VIRTUES AND ON THE MONASTIC INSTITUTION BY
KALLISTOS I, PATRIARCH OF CONSTANTINOPLE

Patriarch Kallistos I belongs to the group of personalities that significantly influenced the religious, ecclesiastic and social events around the middle of the 14th century.¹ At an early age he adopted the monastic life at Mt Athos and as a student of Gregory of Sinai he was initiated into the teachings of hesychasm.² As patriarch of Constantinople he developed

¹ Generally, on the life and work of the Patriarch of Constantinople Kallistos I, see S. EUSTRATIADIS, *Ὁ οἰκουμηνικός πατριάρχης Κάλλιστος ὡς ἐκκλησιαστικός ῥήτωρ*, in *Εκκλησιαστικός φάρος*, 8 (1911), pp. 112-137; E. KOURILAS, *Τὸ κέντρον τῶν ἀρχαίων ἡσυχαστῶν, ἡ Σκήτη τοῦ Μαγουλᾶ ἐν Ἄθῳ καὶ ὁ πατριάρχης Κάλλιστος ὁ Α΄*, in *Αγιορειτική Βιβλιοθήκη*, 18 (1953), pp. 127-134, 199-207, 275-282; 19 (1954), pp. 15-22; P. SYRKU, *K istorii ispravlenija knig v Bolgarii v XIV veke*, 1/1, *Vremja i žizn patriarcha Evfimija Teronovskago*, London, 1972 (repr. Sankt Petersburg, 1898), pp. XL-LXVII, 71-75; S. PAPADOPOULOS, *Κάλλιστος ὁ Α΄*, in *Θρησκευτική καὶ Ἠθική Ἐγκυκλοπαιδεία*, 7 (1965), pp. 264-265; *PLP* V, no. 10434; D. GONES, *Τὸ συγγραφικὸν ἔργον τοῦ οἰκουμηνικοῦ πατριάρχου Καλλίστου Α΄*, Athina, 1980, pp. 22-23 *et passim*; A. TALBOT – A. CUTLER, *Kallistos I*, in *ODB*, 1095; C. HANNICK, *Patriarch Kallistos als Hymnograph*, in *JÖB*, 40 (1990), pp. 331-348; C. BOUROUZIDES, *Ὁ οἰκουμηνικός πατριάρχης Κάλλιστος Α΄*, Serrai, 2002; N. PAPADEMETRIU-DOUKAS, *Κάλλιστος Α΄ καὶ Ἅγιον Ὅρος*, in *Θεολογία*, 74 (2003), pp. 721-729; A. DELIKARI, *Ἅγιος Γρηγόριος ὁ Σιναΐτης. Ἡ δράση καὶ ἡ συμβολή του στη διάδοση του Ἠσυχασμοῦ στα Βαλκάνια*, Thessaloniki, 2004, pp. 31-63 *et passim*; Metropolitan of Serrai and Nigrita THEOLOGOS, *Ὁ οἰκουμηνικός πατριάρχης Κάλλιστος Α΄*, in Metropolitan of Monemvasia and Sparta EUSTATHIOS – Archimandrite T. LAMPRINAKOS – A. ANESTIDES (eds), *Ἀντίδωρον τῷ μητροπολίτῃ Μεσσηνίας Χρυσοστόμῳ Θέμελῃ*, Kalamata, 2006, pp. 205-226; A. RIGO, *Callisto I patriarcha, I 100 (109) Capitoli sulla purezza dell'anima. Introduzione, edizione e traduzione*, in *Byz*, 80 (2010), pp. 333-407; C. PAIDAS, *Ψευδοπροφήτες, μάγοι καὶ αιρετικοὶ στο Βυζάντιο κατὰ τὸν 14^ο αἰώνα. Ἐπτά ἀνέκδοτες ομιλίες τοῦ πατριάρχου Κωνσταντινουπόλεως Καλλίστου Α΄*, in *Κείμενα Βυζαντινῆς Λογοτεχνίας*, 6, Athina, 2011, pp. 31-45; IDEM, *Editio princeps of an Unedited Dogmatic Discourse against the Barlaamites by the Patriarch of Constantinople Kallistos I*, *BZ*, 105 (2012), pp. 117-130; IDEM, *Μία ἀνέκδοτη ομιλία Περὶ δαειῶν τοῦ πατριάρχῃ Κωνσταντινουπόλεως Καλλίστου Α΄*, in B. LEONTARITOU – K. MPOURDARA – E. PAPAĞIANI (eds), *ΑΝΤΙΚΗΝΣΩΡ. Τιμητικὸς τόμος Σπύρου Ν. Τρσιάνου γιὰ τὰ ὀγδοηκοστὰ γενέθλιά του*, Athina, 2013, pp. 1247-1262; IDEM, *Οἱ κατὰ Γρηγορά ομιλίες τοῦ πατριάρχῃ Κωνσταντινουπόλεως Καλλίστου Α΄*, in *Βυζαντινὴ Φιλοσοφία καὶ Θεολογία*, 1, Athina, 2013.

² For a general overview of the hesychast theory and the hesychast controversy in the 14th century see J. BOIS, *Les hésychastes avant le XIV^e siècle*, *EO*, 5 (1901-1902), pp. 1-11; J. BOIS, *Grégoire le Sinaïte et l'hésychasme à l'Athos au XIV^e siècle*, *EO*, 5 (1901-1902), pp. 65-73; I. HAUSHERR, *La méthode d'oraison hésychaste*, in *Orientalia Christiana*, 9/2, 36, Rome, 1927; G. PODSKALSKY, *Zur Gestalt und Geschichte des Hesychasmus*, in *Ostkirchliche Studien*, 16 (1967), pp. 15-32; D. STIERNON, *Bulletin sur le palamisme*, *REB*, 30 (1972), pp. 231-337; J. MEYENDORFF, *L'hésychasme, problèmes de sémantique*, in P. LEVY – E. WOLFF (eds),

intensive activity during the period of the hesychast controversy, firmly battling against the heretic beliefs of Barlaam of Calabria, of Gregory Akindynos and of Nikephoros Gregoras. Simultaneously, he devoted all his strength to the struggle against the representatives of the Catholic Church, who at that time had infiltrated Byzantium and were trying to take advantage of the difficult position of the Byzantine Empire by converting members of the Orthodox Church to Roman Catholicism according to a well-organized plan.³ Following the example of many of his predecessors, Kallistos did not lead an ecclesiastic life detached from public life and the political events of his time. On the contrary, he intervened in the political events in the Empire, viz. as a pastor of the Church and with the purpose of preserving lawful order and serenity in the Empire, and he participated in crucial diplomatic missions.⁴ Besides all this, Kallistos naturally prioritized the preservation of tranquillity and calmness within the Orthodox Church, so that its folk could be guided safely on the road to salvation.

To achieve his goals Kallistos produced many comprehensive literary works, which proves his inexhaustible character, his rigid conviction, his intellectual perspicacity, his deep theological erudition, his literary talent and his sensitive character. A large part of his writings – the most

Mélanges d'histoire des religions offerts à H. Ch. Puech, Paris, 1973, pp. 543-547; IDEM, *Byzantine Hesychasm. Historical, Theological and Social Problems*, London, 1974; B. DENTAKES, 'Ἐπὶ συμβολικὰ κείμενα περὶ Ἠσυχασμοῦ, in 'Επιστημονικὴ Ἐπετηρὶς τῆς Θεολογικῆς Σχολῆς τοῦ Πανεπιστημίου Ἀθηνῶν, 22 (1975), pp. 713-784; M. HEPPELL, *The Hesychast Movement in Bulgaria: The Turnovo School and its Relations with Constantinople*, in *Eastern Churches Review*, 7 (1975), pp. 9-20; V. PHEIDAS, 'Ἐκκλησιαστικὴ Ἱστορία, II, Athina, 1983, pp. 190-227; ΤΙΑ ΚΟΛΒΑΒΑ, *Conversion from Greek Orthodoxy to Roman Catholicism in the Fourteenth Century*, *BMGS*, 19 (1995), pp. 120-134; A. RIGO, *Le origini delle tecniche psicofisiche d'orazione del Cristianesimo bizantino*, in A. VEGA et al. (eds), *Estética y Religión. El discurso del cuerpo y los sentidos*, Barcelona, 1998, pp. 257-266; B. DUPUY, *La pneumatologie de saint Grégoire Palamas*, in *Istina*, 44 (1999), pp. 354-367; G. PODSKALSKY, *Theologische Literatur des Mittelalters in Bulgarien und Serbien 865-1459*, München, 2000, pp. 236-270; C. G. CONTICELLO – V. CONTICELLO (eds), *La théologie byzantine et sa tradition*, vol. 2, Turnhout, 2002, pp. 35-130 (A. RIGO), pp. 131-182 (R.E. SINKEWICZ), pp. 189-314 (J. NADAL CAÑELLAS); M.-H. CONGOURDEAU, *Deux patriarches palamites en rivalité: Kallistos et Philothée*, in *Le Patriarcat œcuménique de Constantinople aux XIVe-XVe siècles: Rupture et continuité. Actes du colloque international (Rome 2005)*, Paris, 2007, pp. 37-53.

³ For a critical edition, a modern Greek translation and commentary of the *Contra Latinos* discourses by Patriarch Kallistos I, see PAIDAS, *Ψευδοπροφήτες, μάγοι και αιρετικοί* [see n. 1], pp. 50-63, 65, 158-401.

⁴ On the participation of Patriarch Kallistos I in the embassy to Elizabeth, widow of the Serbian ruler Stephen Dušan, see V. GUZELEV, *Der letzte bulgarisch-byzantinische Krieg (1364)*, in W. SEIBT, *Geschichte und Kultur der Palaiologenzeit*, Wien, 1996, pp. 29-32; A. RIGO, *La missione di Teofane di Nicea a Serre presso il despota Giovanni Uglješa (1367-1368)*, in *BBGG*, 52 (1997), pp. 113-128 (here 120); A. DELIKARI, *Άγιος Γρηγόριος ο Σιναΐτης* [see n. 1], pp. 40-41; THEOLOGOS, *Ὁ οἰκουμενικὸς πατριάρχης Κάλλιστος Α΄* [see n. 1], pp. 212-213; PAIDAS, *Ψευδοπροφήτες, μάγοι και αιρετικοί* [see n. 1], pp. 42-43.

comprehensive and most important to understand both the personality of Kallistos and the mid-14th-century ideological and theological developments – remained unedited until recently. Today, a substantial part of his writings has been edited and thus the personality and contribution of Patriarch Kallistos I to the leading religious and ecclesiastical events of his time can and must be re-examined and re-evaluated.

One of Kallistos' discourses that has remained unedited until now is the discourse *On the Four Cardinal Virtues and on the Monastic Institution*. This discourse is contained in two manuscript codices of Mt Athos, codex 8 of the Hilandar Monastery (ff. 319^r-324^r) and codex 1074 of the Panteleimon Monastery (ff. 202^v-206^r). Of these two, the Hilandar codex, which is dated to the 14th century, is the most important for the handwritten tradition of the discourse.⁵ Codex 1074 of the Panteleimon Monastery is dated to the 19th century and, as is apparent from its codicological note, it is a copy of codex 8 of the Hilandar Monastery, compiled in 1895 by Paul the calligrapher, a monk of the Great Lavra.⁶

The time of composition and delivery of the discourse edited here cannot be derived from any element in the text. With regard to the reason that led Patriarch Kallistos I to compose and deliver this discourse, the facts are definitely clearer. Gones had already correctly noted that this specific discourse was delivered by Kallistos to monks, probably in a monastery in the capital, to restore tranquillity and serenity, which apparently had been upset because of administrative differences (perhaps a contention for the office of the abbot or some other ecclesiastical or secular dignity).⁷ The conclusion that, in this case, Kallistos' audience consisted entirely of monks emerges on the one hand from the exposition of the discourse (characteristics and benefits of monastic life),⁸ and on the other from the fact that he draws his sources exclusively from ecclesiastical texts⁹ with an emphasis on the

⁵ S. LAMBROS, *Κατάλογος τῶν ἐν ταῖς βιβλιοθήκαις τοῦ ἁγίου Ὁρους ἐλληνικῶν κωδίκων*, I-II, Cambridge, 1895-1900, esp. I, pp. 28-29, dates codex 8 of the Hilandar Monastery (Athos. 229) to the 15th century, but, as I have argued elsewhere, it is more probable that this codex was compiled in the 14th century; see PAIDAS, *Οἱ κατὰ Γρηγορά ομιλίαι* [see n. 1], pp. 83-84.

⁶ This observation was made by LAMBROS, *Κατάλογος* [see n. 5], II, p. 428.

⁷ See GONES, *Τὸ συγγραφικὸν ἔργον* [see n. 1], pp. 246-247.

⁸ For example, see lines 5-10, 20-25, 42-47, 48-50, 104-112, 113-114, 119-130, 154-159.

⁹ The exclusive use of ecclesiastical sources is a characteristic that we encounter in all discourses by Kallistos, as he belonged to the circle of spiritual men who firmly believed that the wisdom of the divinely inspired texts could in no way be compared in value to texts inspired by human thought. See PAIDAS, *Μία ἀνέκδοτη ομιλία* [see n. 1], p. 1256; PAIDAS, *Οἱ κατὰ Γρηγορά ομιλίαι* [see n. 1], pp. 86-87. The only exception in the discourse edited here is the Platonic quotation on the four virtues, viz. valor, prudence, wisdom, justice, but Kallis-

Climax of St John of Sinai,¹⁰ a reading that was especially beloved in monastic circles. As for the goal that Kallistos tried to achieve with this discourse, Gones noted that the patriarch was trying to stigmatize the controversy and to settle the situation that had arisen in a specific monastic institution – which, in this case, was also his audience – because of the contention for some ecclesiastical or secular position.¹¹ However, there is no reference in the text that allows us to conclude that with this discourse Kallistos appealed only to monks of a particular monastery and not to a more general assembly of monks in the capital. If this eventuality cannot be excluded, it is possible that the discourse aimed at restoring unity and tranquillity in the circles of monks that had been shaken by Kallistos' deposition from the patriarchal see in 1352 and by the election in his place of Patriarch Philotheos Kokkinos by order of Emperor John Kantakouzenos. If this assumption is valid, it is possible that Kallistos, directly after the deposition of Philotheos Kokkinos and his reinstatement in the patriarchal see in November 1354 by Emperor John V Palaiologos, wanted to address the monks of the capital who had been disunited because of the alternation of individuals on the patriarchal see of Constantinople, and to restore serenity and unity among them.

With this discourse, Kallistos aims to remind the audience of the particularities of monastic life and to make it clear that the pursuit of the life of a monk is by definition totally different from the pursuit of the life of a layman. It makes sense for a layman to give great importance to earthly matters and to pursue earthly glory. For him the goal is to obtain the four virtues (valour, prudence, wisdom and justice), through which he will be admired and appreciated by his fellow men and will gain earthly glory. On the contrary, a monk should be distinguished for four different virtues: *τὴν εἰσαγωγικὴν, τὴν πρακτικὴν, τὴν θεωρίαν ἐν τοῖς οἴσι καὶ τὴν ἀνωτάτω θεωρίαν*, as through these he will be relieved from the weight of his flesh, he will be spiritually purified, he will become as the angels and finally he will gain the salvation of his soul. A monk should always act in accordance with these virtues and ceaselessly perform the mental work for the benediction of his soul, to become like the angels. The inevitable premise though, in order to attain this supreme goal, is the awareness of the vanity of all secular honours and the deliverance from the passions of envy and anger, which are born in the soul of man while pursuing earthly prizes, honours

tos uses it as a basis to distinguish between monastic and secular life and to mark the advantage of the first over the latter.

¹⁰ See lines 48-52, 52-54, 54-56, 77-79, 149-150.

¹¹ See GONES, *Τὸ συγγραφικὸν ἔργον* [see n. 1], p. 246.

and positions that have zero value for a monk. Therefore, a monk must have his carnal and mental eyes unfailingly committed to the heavenly and imperishable state, so as to enlighten his spirit with the grace of the Holy Spirit, to be relieved of the weaknesses that affect his physical state and to be redeemed from the mental passions that downgrade him spiritually and deprive him of the potential to become like the angels and to savour the eternal luxury.

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SUMMARY

In the present study, the discourse *On the Four Cardinal Virtues and on the Monastic Institution* by patriarch Kallistos I, found in codices *Athous Chilandaricus* 8, ff. 319^r-324^r, and *Athous Panteleimonos* 1074, ff. 202^v-206^r, is edited for the first time. Patriarch Kallistos addressed his discourse to a monastic audience in order to restore unity and tranquility among the monks, who had been divided for a reason that remains unclear according to the information provided by the text itself. Kallistos reminds his audience of the particular conditions of monastic life and points out that the life objectives of monks and laymen are, by definition, totally different.

Ὅμιλία περὶ τῶν τεσσάρων γενικωτάτων ἀρετῶν
καὶ περὶ μοναχικῆς πολιτείας

f. 319

1. Ὡσπερ ἐπὶ τῶν γενικωτάτων ἀρετῶν, ἀγαπητοὶ ἀδελφοί, ἔστιν ὄρᾶν, ὅτι τετραχῶς λέγονται, ὡς αἱ τούτων ἐπωνυμῖαι δηλοῦσιν, ἐπεὶ καὶ τέσσαρες εἰσὶν αὗται, ἀνδρεία, φρόνησις, σωφροσύνη καὶ δικαιοσύνη, καὶ χωρὶς τῆς γενικῆς ταύτης τετράδος ἀδύνατον ἐκτελέσαι
5 τινὰ τὸν τῆς ἀρετῆς, ὡς εἰκός, δρόμον, οὕτω δ' ἂν εὔροις σκοπῶν καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν τὸν μονήρην βίον ἐπανηρημένων. Εἰ μὴ γάρ τις ἐγγυμνάσεται ἑαυτὸν διὰ τῶν τριῶν ἀρετῶν τοῦ μοναχικοῦ ἐπαγγέλματος ἢ καί, ὡς ἂν εἴποιμι, τῶν τεσσάρων, τῆς τε εἰσαγωγικῆς τῆς τε πρακτικῆς τε καὶ τῆς ἐν τοῖς οὐσι θεωρίας ἢ καὶ αὐτῆς τῆς ἀνωτάτω θεωρίας, ὥστε
10 ἔξω παντὸς κόσμου γενέσθαι καὶ θορύβου βιωτικοῦ, ἀδύνατον Θεῷ συγγενέσθαι. Ὁ γὰρ πεφθακῶς εἰς τὴν τοιαύτην τελειότητα οὐ μόνον τῶν ἀγγέλων (f. 319^v) ἐφάμιλλος γίνεται, ἀλλὰ καὶ τούτοις ἐξομοιοῦται ὡς ἔξω σαρκὸς καὶ τοῦ ταύτης βάρους γενόμενος.

2. Ἄλλ' ἐκεῖ μὲν αἱ γενικαὶ τέσσαρες ἀρεταὶ καλῶς κοσμοῦσι τὸν
15 ἄνθρωπον καὶ τὴν ἔξω περιβολὴν τοῦ σώματος καλλύνουσί τε καὶ πρὸς τὸ ὄραϊον μετασηματίζουσιν οὕτως· ἢ μὲν ἀνδρεία τὸν ἀθλητὴν καὶ στρατιώτην ἀναδείκνυσι στεφανίτην, ἢ δὲ φρόνησις τὸν στρατηγὸν ἀγχίνουσι καὶ σταθιρόν, ἢ δὲ σωφροσύνη τὸν ἐγκρατῆ καὶ τῶν ἡδονῶν νικητὴν, ἢ δὲ δικαιοσύνη Θεοῦ μιμητὴν τὸν ἄνθρωπον
20 ἀπεργάζεται. Οἱ δὲ τρεῖς τρόποι, ἀγαπητοί, ἢ καί, ὡς εἰρήκαμεν τέσσαρες, τῶν μοναχικῶν ἀρετῶν ἀσφαλῆς ἐστὶ τήρησις καὶ χωρὶς τούτων ἀδύνατον οἶμαι σωθῆναι. Ἐπεὶ, ὡς γε ἔφημεν, ὁ τὴν τετάρτην ὁδὸν ὀδεῦσαι βουλόμενος διὰ τῆς τῶν ἐντολῶν ἐκπληρώσεως ἀγγέλοις συμπαραβάλλεται καὶ τῇ αὐτῶν ἐπιστασίᾳ φρουρεῖται, αὐτὴν αἰεὶ
25 ἐπιποθῶν τε καὶ ἐκδεχόμενος.

3. Οὐκοῦν, εἰ δοκεῖ, ἴδωμεν ἀκριβῶς τὰς τούτων διαφορὰς καί, ὡς εἰκός, καταμάθωμεν, ἵνα γνῶμεν ἐν ποίῳ βαθμῷ καὶ τάξει ἴστανται

3-4 ἀνδρεία – δικαιοσύνη: Pl. Phaedo 69b2-3, ed. J. BURNET, *Platonis opera*, I. Oxford, 1900, repr. 1967; Republica 433b8-c1, ed. J. BURNET, *Platonis opera*, IV. Oxford, 1902, repr. 1968; IV Macc. 1.18; Sap. 8.7.3-4; Greg. Nyss. In Cant. cant. (hom. 15), 6.35.17, ed. H. LANGERBECK, *Gregorii Nysseni opera. In Canticum canticorum*, VI. Leiden, 1960, p. 35; Evagr. Practicus 89.1-6, ed. A. GUILLAUMONT – C. GUILLAUMONT, *Évagre le Pontique. Traité pratique ou le moine (SC, 171)*. Paris, 1971, pp. 680-682; Ioh. Chrys. In epist. ad Ephes., PG 62, 174E

ὠφέλειαν πνευματικὴν τοῖς κτωμένοις καλῶς προξενούσαι. Ὁ γὰρ
 ἀσκόπως κοπιῶν καθολικῶς πτωχεύει. Καὶ τοίνυν οἱ μὲν (f. 320) τὸν
 30 εἰσαγωγικὸν δρόμον τρέχειν ἀόκνως βουλόμενοι ῥαδίως τῆς πρακτι-
 κῆς ἐπιβήσονται. Οἱ δὲ τὴν πρακτικὴν μετιόντες ἀκωλύτως τὴν
 θύραν τῆς τῶν ὄντων θεωρίας ὑπανοίζουσί τε καὶ θεωρήσουσιν. Ὡς
 γὰρ οἱ νεοσσοὶ τῶν ὀρνίθων καὶ πετεινῶν, ἅμα πτεροφυεῖν ἄρξονται,
 εὐθὺς ὑπερίπτανται μετρίως τῆς γῆς ὑπερνηχόμενοι εἰς ἄερα ὥσπερ
 35 ἰχθύες ἐπὶ τῶν ὑδάτων, ὁπόταν δὲ τὰς πτέρυγας στερρὰς ἔξωσιν, οὐ
 μόνον τῆς καλιᾶς ἐξέρχονται, ἀλλὰ καὶ εἰς τὸν ἄερα δέξυτάτα πέταν-
 ται, τὸν αὐτὸν δῆπου τρόπον εὖροις ἂν καὶ ἐπὶ τῆς θεωρίας τῶν
 ὄντων ὑπονηχομένους διὰ τῆς ἐργασίας τῶν ἐντολῶν καὶ τῆς κατὰ
 νοῦν δηλαδὴ θεωρίας τοὺς μοναχοὺς, μέχρις ἂν πρὸς τὸ ἀναντες ἀνα-
 40 δράμωσι διὰ τοῦ ὕψους τῆς θεωρίας. Κοῦφοι γὰρ τῷ τότε καὶ ἐλαφροὶ
 δεῖκνυνται, ὥσπερ οἱ νεοσσοὶ διὰ τοῦ πνεύματος ἀνακαινισθέντες,
 καθά φησιν· ἀνακαινισθήσεται ὡς ἀετοῦ ἡ νεότης σου. Ὡς γὰρ ἐκεῖνος
 ἀνακαινίζεται πάντα τὰ πεπαλαιωμένα ἀποβαλλόμενος πτίλα καὶ ὡς
 νεοσσὸς πάλιν ἀποκαθίσταται, οὕτω καὶ ἡμεῖς πάντα ῥύπον καὶ μολυ-
 45 σμὸν ἀποσεισάμενοι κοσμικὸν καὶ τὸν παλαιὸν ἄνθρωπον, τὸν νέον
 (f. 320^v) ἐνδυσόμεθα τὸν ἀνακαινούμενον κατ' εἰκόνα τοῦ κτίσαντος, ποῦ
 μὲν διὰ τῆς πρακτικῆς ἀρετῆς, ποῦ δὲ διὰ τῆς κατὰ νοῦν ἐργασίας.

4. Διπλῶν γὰρ ὄντων ἡμῶν διπλῆν πάντως ἔδει γενέσθαι ὁμοῦ καὶ
 τὴν κάθαρσιν κατὰ τὸν μέγαν Ἰωάννην καὶ τοῦ Σιναίου ὄρους καθη-
 50 γητήν. Φησὶ γάρ· ὅτι οἱ μὲν τὰ πάθη μειοῦντες, οἱ δὲ ψάλλοντες καὶ τὸ
 πλεῖστον ἐπ' αὐτῇ καρτεροῦντες, οἱ δὲ τῇ θεωρίᾳ ἀτενίζοντες ἐν τῷ βυθῷ
 διάγουσι κατὰ τὸν τῆς κλίμακος τρόπον. Ἴνα δὲ καὶ ἡμᾶς πρὸς τὴν ὑψη-
 λὴν ταύτην καὶ ἀκροτάτην τῶν ἀρετῶν περιωπὴν διεγείρῃ, ζητηθήτω,
 φησὶ, τὸ πρόβλημα, καὶ πάλιν ὁ χωρῶν ἐν Κυρίῳ χωρεῖτω. Τί δὲ δοκεῖ
 55 ὑμῖν, ἀγαπητοὶ ἀδελφοί, τὸ ζητηθῆτω τὸ πρόβλημα ἢ τὸ ὁ χωρῶν ἐν
 Κυρίῳ χωρεῖτω; Ἄρα τὴν τοῦ λόγου σαφήνειαν ὑπαινίττεται μόνον ἢ

28-29 Ὁ γὰρ – πτωχεύει: Ioh. Dam. Dial. siv. cap. phil. (rec. fus.), 2,3-4, ed. B. KOTTER, *Die Schriften des Johannes von Damaskos*, I (PTS, 7), Berlin, 1969, p. 55 39-40 πρὸς τὸ – θεωρίας: cf. Greg. Nyss. De vit. Mos., 2,244.2, ed. J. DANIELOU, *Grégoire de Nysse. La vie de Moïse* (SC, 1), Paris, 1968, p. 244 42 ἀνακαινισθήσεται – σου: Ps. 102.5 45 τὸν παλαιὸν ἄνθρωπον: Rom. 6.6 45-46 τὸν νέον – κτίσαντος: Col. 3.10 50-52 ὅτι – τρόπον: Ioh. Climac. Scala parad. 27, PG 88, 1105C-D 53-54 ζητηθῆτω – χωρεῖτω: Ioh. Climac. Scala parad. 27, PG 88, 1105D

30 δρόμον H^p. corr. 32 ὑπανοίζουσί H θεωρήσωσιν H 36 καλλιᾶς H
 44 ῥύπον H 53 περιοπὴν H

καὶ τὴν τούτου πρᾶξιν ζητεῖ; Ὁ γὰρ ψιλὸς λόγος ὠφελησαὶ ἡμᾶς οὐ δύναται, ἐπεὶ μείζων καὶ ἐναργεστέρα αἰεὶ ἢ πρᾶξις τοῦ λόγου καθέστηκεν. Οὐκοῦν, ζητηθῆτω τὸ πρόβλημα ὡς εἰκός. Πῶς τοίνυν; Διὰ
60 τῆς πρακτικῆς ἀρετῆς. Πρᾶξις γὰρ θεωρίας ἐπίβασις, ἐπεὶ τοῖς μὲν ἀλογωτέροις εὐχερῆς ἢ πρᾶξις καθίσταται, τοῖς δὲ λογικωτέροις ἢ θεωρία, οὐ μόνον διὰ τῆς μελέτης τῶν θείων γραφῶν, (f. 321) ἀλλὰ καὶ διὰ τῆς ἐνδελεχοῦς κατὰ νοῦν ἐργασίας.

5. Τίς γάρ, εἰπέ μοι, ἐστὶν ὁ δυνάμενος τὰ πάθη μειοῦν καὶ μὴ προβαίνων εἰς τὴν θεωρίαν ῥαδίως διὰ τὴν κάθαρσιν, ὥσπερ φησὶν ὁ τῆς
65 θεολογίας ἐπώνυμος, ὁ γρήγορος νοῦς, ὅτι τῷ μὲν ἀλήπτῳ θαυμάζεται, θαυμαζόμενον ποθεῖται, ποθούμενον δὲ καθαίρει, καθαῖρον δὲ θεοειδεῖς ἀπεργάζεται; Τίς δὲ πάλιν ὁ τῆ ψαλμοῦδία στοιχῶν καὶ μὴ ὑπὸ τῆς ἀγάπης τοῦ Θεοῦ γλυκαινόμενος κατὰ τὸν θεῖον Δαυίδ; Ὡς γλυκέα τῷ λάρυγγί
70 μου τὰ λόγιά σου, ὑπὲρ μέλι τῷ στόματί μου. Τὸ δὲ ἐν τῷ βυθῷ διάγειν, ἀγαπητοί, τοῦ χωροῦντος ἐστὶν ἐν Κυρίῳ τὸ πρόβλημα, τουτέστι τοῦ νικήσαντος τὴν σάρκα διὰ τοῦ πνεύματος καὶ ὅλως πνευματικοῦ γενομένου. Εἰ γὰρ τῆ τοιαύτη ἐκστάσει τῷ θείῳ πνεύματι ὅλως γεγωνῶς ὁ
θεωρητικὸς κάτοχος καὶ τὴν καλλίστην ὄντως ἀλλοιωθεὶς ἀλλοίωσιν,
75 μετὰ Παύλου βοᾷ λέγων Ὡς βάθος πλοῦτος καὶ σοφίας καὶ γνώσεως Θεοῦ ὡς ἀνεξερεύνητα τὰ κρίματα αὐτοῦ καὶ ἀνεξιχνίαστοι αἱ ὁδοὶ αὐτοῦ.

6. Εἶδες ὅπως προστάσσει ὁ ποιμὴν ἅπασιν ὅτι ζητηθῆτω τὸ πρόβλημα πάντως διὰ τῆς πρακτικῆς ἀρετῆς. Καὶ τοίνυν, ἄκουσον τί φησὶν ἀλλαχοῦ· καθεζόμενος ἐφ' ὕψους τήρει, εἰ ἄρα καὶ ἐπίστασαι. Ἔοικε
80 μὲν ὁ θεῖος (f. 321^v) οὗτος ἀνὴρ διαφωνεῖν ἑαυτῷ, ὅτι ἐκεῖ μὲν βάθους ἐμνήσθη, ἐνταῦθα δὲ ὕψους. Οὐκ ἔχει δὲ οὕτως. Εἰ γὰρ καὶ δοκεῖ πως διαφορὰν ἔχειν ἐκάτερα τὰ νοήματα, ἀλλὰ μία ἐστὶν ἡ διάνοια, τοῦ

57-58 Ὁ γὰρ – δύναται: cf. Anast. Sin. Quaest. et resp. 3,4,29-30, ed. M. RICHARD – J. A. MUNITIZ, *Anastasioi Sinaitae Quaestiones et responsiones* (CCSG, 59), Turnhout, 2006, p. 9 60 Πρᾶξις – ἐπίβασις: Greg. Naz. Contra Iul. imp. (orat. 4), 113,10-11, ed. J. BERNARDI, *Grégoire de Nazianze, Discours 4-5* (SC, 309), Paris, 1983, p. 270; id., De dogm. et const. episc. (orat. 20), 12,7, ed. J. MOSSAY – G. LAFONTAINE, *Grégoire de Nazianze, Discours 20-23* (SC, 270), Paris, 1980, p. 82 62 διὰ τῆς – γραφῶν: Ioh. Chrys. In Gen., PG 53, 342; id., In epist. I ad Tim., PG 62, 565; id., De pat. et de consum. huius saec., PG 63, 937 66-68 τῷ – ἀπεργάζεται: Greg. Naz. In theoph. (orat. 38), 7,16-18, ed. C. MORESCHINI, *Grégoire de Nazianze, Discours 38-41* (SC, 358), Paris, 1990, p. 116; id., In sanct. pascha (orat. 45), PG 36, 628A 69-70 Ὡς – στόματί μου: Ps. 118,103 75-76 Ὡς – αὐτοῦ: Rom. 11,33 77-78 ζητηθῆτω τὸ πρόβλημα: Ioh. Climac. Scala parad. 27, PG 88, 1105D 79 καθεζόμενος – ἐπίστασαι: Ioh. Climac. Scala parad. 27, PG 88, 1100B

ὑψους οἶμαι καὶ βάθους, καὶ πρὸς ἓνα τείνει σκοπόν. Ὡς γὰρ ἐπὶ τῆς σκοπιᾶς ἐπιβάς ὁ σκοπὸς ἐπικάθηται τοῦ ὑψους καὶ βάθους ἀποσκοπούμενος τὴν τῶν ὀδιτῶν ἢ καὶ ληστῶν ἔφοδον, ἵνα μὴ τοὺς τῆς ἀμπέλου βότρυας λυμῆνωνται ἢ καὶ αὐτοὺς τοὺς ἀγροὺς καὶ τὰς χώρας, οὕτω δὴ καὶ ὁ σκοπὸς νοῦς ἐπικάθηται μὲν τοῦ ἡγεμονικοῦ, χειραγωγεῖται δὲ τῇ ἐνεργείᾳ τοῦ θείου φωτὸς πρὸς τὸ ὑψος τῆς τοῦ Θεοῦ θεωρίας. Καὶ ὀλικῶς ἐκεῖθεν γενόμενος καὶ πρὸς τὸ βάθος εἰσδύς διὰ τοῦ ὑψους τῆς καθαρότητος καθορᾷ τοὺς νοητοὺς καὶ ψυχοφθόρους ληστὰς, δηλαδὴ δαίμονας, ἵνα μὴ λαθόντες εἰσπηδήσωσι καὶ ἀναβῶσι διὰ τῶν θυρίδων, φημί τῶν αἰσθήσεων, καὶ εὐάλωτος αὐτοῖς ἢ τοῦ Θεοῦ γένηται πόλις. Ἄγρὸς γὰρ καὶ χώρα ἢ καρδία τοῦ ἀνθρώπου καταλογίζεται, τοῦ προσανέχοντος ἀεὶ τῷ Θεῷ· βότρυας δὲ νοήσεις περκάζοντας τὰς τῆς διανοίας ἐκείνου κινήσεις, καθά φησιν Σολομών, τὸ μῆλον τοῦ προσώπου σου ὡς λεπίδας ροιᾶς ἢ καὶ αὐτὴν τὴν στιβάδα τῶν ἀρετῶν.

7. Ὡς γὰρ αἱ μέλισσαι (f. 322) ἐκ τῶν ἀνθέων συλλέγουσι μὲν κηρίον καὶ μέλι, ὁπότεν δὲ κορεσθῶσιν, οὐ κατ' εὐθείαν ποιοῦσι τὴν πτῆσιν διὰ τὸ τῆς τροφῆς βάρος, ἀλλὰ κυκλικῶς μικρὸν ὑπανίπτανται, μέχρις ἂν εἰς τὸ ὑψος χωρήσωσιν, εἶτα πρὸς τὸ σίμβλον χωροῦσι διὰ τῆς κατ' εὐθείαν ὁδοῦ, οὕτω καὶ ἐπὶ τῆς πρακτικῆς ἀρετῆς ἐγγίνεται τοῖς καλῶς αὐτὴν μετιοῦσι. Συλλεξάμενοι γὰρ καὶ αὐτοὶ τὴν στιβάδα τῶν ἀρετῶν, κυκλικῶς πῶς πρὸς τὸ ὑψος τῆς θεωρίας ἀνάγονται. Οὐκοῦν ἴδωμεν, εἰ δοκεῖ, ἐν ποίῳ βαθμῷ καὶ τάξει καθ' ὥραν ἰστάμεθα πρὸς τὸν τῆς ἀσκήσεως δρόμον, ὡς ἐκτελέσει αὐτόν, καὶ τίτι ἀπεταξάμεθα ἢ πῶς διετηρήσαμεν τὰ παρ' ἡμῶν ἐνώπιον τοῦ Θεοῦ καὶ τῶν ἁγίων αὐτοῦ ἀγγέλων ἢ καὶ ἀνθρώπων ὑπεσχημένα ὡς ἐπὶ τοῦ φοβεροῦ αὐτοῦ βήματος τοῦ ἁγίου θυσιαστηρίου ἰστάμενοι. Οὐδὲ γὰρ μόνον τῶν βιωτικῶν θορύβων τὴν τύρβην ἀπεσεισάμεθα, ἀλλὰ καὶ αὐτῶν τῶν θελημάτων τὴν ἐκκοπὴν διὰ τὸν τῆς ὑποταγῆς ὄρον καὶ

83-86 Ὡς – χώρας: Ioh. Climac. Scala parad. 27, PG 88, 1100B 90-91 ψυχοφθόρους – δαίμονας: Nil. Ancyr. Epist., PG 79, 3.43.412B; Callist. I Hom. III contra Lat. 4.7-8, ed. C. PAIDAS, *Ψευδοπροφήτες, μάγοι καὶ αἰρετικοὶ στο Βυζάντιο κατὰ τὸν 14^ο αἰώνα*, Athina, 2011, p. 240 91-92 τῶν θυρίδων – αἰσθήσεων: Cant. 2.9; Phil. Jud. Quaest. in Gen. (fr.) 2,34a.1-4, ed. F. PETIT, *Quaestiones in Genesim et in Exodum. Fragmenta Graeca. Les œuvres de Philon d'Alexandrie*, 33, Paris, 1978, p. 106; Greg. Nyss. De orat. dom. orat. v, 5.8-13, ed. I. CALLAHAN, *Gregorii Nysseni Opera*, VII. *De oratione dominica. De beatitudinibus*, Leiden – New York – Köln, 1992, p. 67 92 ἢ τοῦ Θεοῦ πόλις: Ps. 86.3 95-96 τὸ μῆλον – ροιᾶς: Cant. 4.3; 6.7; Greg. Nyss. In Cant. cant. (hom. 15), 6.1-2, ed. H. LANGERBECK, *Gregorii Nysseni Opera. In Canticum canticorum*, VI, Leiden, 1960, p. 230 109-110 τῶν – ἐκκοπὴν: Ioh. Climac. Scala parad. 2, PG 88, 657A; 27, PG 88, 1101A

λόγον ὡς συσταυρωθέντες Χριστῷ μηδόλως ἔχοντες φρόνημα σαρκικόν, ὡς τῷ Θεῷ καὶ οὐκ ἀνθρώποις δουλεύοντες.

8. Καί, εἰ ταῦθ' οὕτως ἔχει, ἀγαπητοί, καὶ τοῖς ἀγγέλοις παραβαλλόμεθα διὰ τῆς μοναχικῆς ταύτης πολιτείας, (f. 322^v) τίς ἢ ταραχὴ καὶ
 115 ὁ θόρυβος, τίς ὁ μερισμὸς καὶ ἡ στάσις; Μὴ γὰρ οὐκ ἐσόμεθα, εἶγε βουλοίμεθα, ὅσοι; Μὴ οὐκ ἅγιοι; Μὴ οὐκ ἄγγελοι διὰ τῆς τῶν νοερῶν ἀγγέλων ἐπιστασίας καὶ τῆς ὑψηλῆς διαγωγῆς ταύτης τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ ἀγγελικοῦ σχήματος; Ἐκεῖνοι γὰρ παντελῶς ἄγρυπνοὶ εἰσιν, ὡς κατὰ φύσιν κτισθέντες ἀσώματοι. Ἡμεῖς δὲ ὕλικοι ὄντες, διὰ
 120 τὸ συγγενὲς τοῦτο *προκάλυμμα τῆς σαρκός*, ὄμματι καὶ ἡμεῖς περιφέρομεν ἀγρύπνῳ τὴν νοερὰν τῆς ψυχῆς ἐργασίαν. Κάκεινοι μὲν ψάλλειν οὐ παύονται τὸν τρισάγιον ὕμνον, ἡμεῖς δὲ τούτοις ἀμιλλώμενοι κατὰ γε τὸ ἐγχωροῦν, ὡς οὐ μόνον ψάλλειν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐξομολογεῖσθαι κατὰ τὸ μεσονύκτιον τὰ κρίματα τῆς τοῦ Θεοῦ δικαιοσύνης κατὰ τὸν
 125 θεῖον Δαυὶδ, τὸ σωτήριον τούτου ἐπικαλούμεθά τε καὶ ἐκδεχόμεθα. Ἐκεῖνοι τῇ ἀγάπῃ Θεοῦ στοιχειούμενοι, ὄμματι τῷ δεσποτικῷ θρόνῳ ἐνατενίζουσι κάκειθεν τὸν φωτισμὸν καὶ τὰς ἐμφάσεις τοῦ πνεύματος δέχονται· ἡμεῖς δὲ τῇ κατὰ τὸν νοῦν ἐργασία *ἐρρηρισμένως καὶ ἀκλονήτως* ἐρείδοντες, νοερῶς τὸ ψυχικὸν ὄμμα ἐκείσε οὐ παραιτούμεθα
 130 ὡς τὸ καθ' ὁμοίωσιν παρ' αὐτοῦ εἰληφότες καὶ τὸ συγγενὲς ἔχοντες. Ἄλλ' ἐκείνοις, δηλαδὴ τοῖς ἀγγέλοις, (f. 323) συντρέχει φθόνος οὐδεὶς, ἔρις ἀφίσταται, ζῆλος ἄκαιρος οὐ παρρησιάζεται, καθέδρας ὑπεροχῆ καὶ πρωτείων ζυγομαχία χώραν οὐκ ἔχει, ἀλλὰ πάντες ὁμοῦ τῷ δεσποτικῷ παριστάμενοι θρόνῳ, πάντες ἅμα καὶ τὸν τρισάγιον
 135 ὕμνον ἀσιγήτοις στόμασιν ἄδουσι.

9. Καὶ τοίνυν ἀποθέμενοι πάντα σωματικὸν ὄκνον, μετὰ νηφούσης ψυχῆς καὶ καρδίας συντρέχετε καὶ τοὺς ἀγγέλους μιμεῖσθε διὰ τῆς συντόνου τῶν ἐντολῶν ἐργασίας. Μὴ παραιτεῖσθε, οἱ μὲν τὰ πάθη μειοῦντες διὰ τῆς ἐπιπόνου ἀσκήσεως, καὶ τῶν μὲν ὀπίσω πάμπαν
 140 ἐπιλελησμένοι, τοῖς δὲ ἔμπροσθεν ἐπεκτεινόμενοι — αὕτη γὰρ πρόξενος τοῦ τῆς ψυχῆς ἀγιασμοῦ γίνεται —, οἱ δὲ τῇ ψαλμωδίᾳ στοιχοῦντες καὶ μὴ κατολιγωροῦντες ταύτης διὰ τὴν κάθαρσιν, οἱ δὲ τὴν

120 προκάλυμμα τῆς σαρκός: Greg. Nyss. *Contra Eun.* III 4,24.13-14, ed. W. JAEGER, *Gregorii Nysseni Opera*, II. *Contra Eunomium libri*. Pars altera: Liber III (vulgo III-XII), Leiden, 1960, p. 143 **122** τὸν τρισάγιον ὕμνον: cf. Is. 6.3 **123-124** ἐξομολογεῖσθαι – δικαιοσύνης: cf. Ps. 118.62 **128-129** ἐρρηρισμένως καὶ ἀκλονήτως: cf. Cyr. Alex. *De incarn. unig.* 684.10, ed. G.-M. de DURAND, *Cyrille d'Alexandrie. Deux dialogues christologiques* (SC, 97), Paris, 1964, p. 208 **130** τὸ – εἰληφότες: cf. Gen. 1.26 **134-135** τὸν τρισάγιον ὕμνον: cf. Is. 6.3

πρακτικὴν ἀσπαζόμενοι καὶ μελίσσης δίκην ἐπέχοντες ὡς πάντα τὰ
 145 κρείττονα συλλεγόμενοι καὶ τῇ θεωρίᾳ ἐνασχολούμενοι καὶ ἀγγέλοις
 συμπαραβαλλόμενοι διὰ τὸ νοερὸν καὶ ἄϋλον, καὶ τριαδικῶς, ὡς ἂν
 εἴποιμι, καὶ αὐτοὶ ἐξυμνοῦντες Θεὸν διὰ τὸ τριμερὲς τῆς ψυχῆς. Καὶ
 ταῦτα μὲν, μὴ παραιτεῖσθε σπουδάζειν, παρακαλῶ. Εἰ δὲ τὴν εἰσαγω-
 γικὴν, ὡς εἰκός, ἐκζητήσεις, ἀγαπητέ, ἐφθασας πρὸς λιμένα ἀχεί
 (f. 323^v) μαστον. *Πρὸ γὰρ τοῦ βαδίσαι*, φησὶν, *ἔφθασε*, κατὰ τὸν θεῖον
 150 Ἰωάννην, τῶν μοναχῶν τὴν ἀκρόπολιν.

10. Οὐκοῦν, ἀδελφοί, τί τὴν γῆν ἔτι ταύτην περινοστοῦμεν καὶ
 πρὸς τὰ πρόσυλα ταῦτα ἐνασχολούμεθα; Τί πρὸς τὰ χαμερπῆ βλέπο-
 μεν, τὰ κονιορτοῦ δίκην ἐπέχοντα καὶ τῆδε κάκεισε διασκεδαζόμενά
 τε καὶ λικμιζόμενα; Μᾶλλον μὲν οὖν περινοστεῖν ἡμᾶς δεῖ πρὸς τὰ
 155 ἄφθαρτα καὶ οὐράνια, ἐπεὶ τοῖς ἀγγέλοις συναμιλλώμεθα. *Ἐκεῖ γὰρ*
ἡμῶν ἐστὶ τὸ πολίτευμα. Δι' αὐτῶν γὰρ τὰς εὐχὰς τῷ Θεῷ προσφέρο-
 μεν· δι' αὐτῶν τὰς ἐμφάσεις τοῦ θεοῦ πνεύματος δεχόμεθα· δι' αὐτῶν
 τὸν φωτισμὸν προσλαμβάνομεν· δι' αὐτῶν πάλιν φρουρούμεθα
 συντρεχόντων ἡμῖν, ὡς εἰκός, καὶ ἐκτελούντων τὸ θεῖον λειτουργήμα.
 160 Ὅποταν δὲ καὶ ἡμεῖς διὰ τοῦ πνεύματος τὴν σάρκα νικήσωμεν, καθὰ
 φησὶν ὁ αὐτὸς θεσπέσιος Παῦλος, τότε καὶ αὐτοὶ συγκαταβατικώτε-
 ρον νοερῶς ὀμιλοῦσιν ἡμῖν τὸν λόγον τὸν ἐνδιάθετον, ἐπεὶ ἐξ αὐτῶν,
 ὡς εἰρήκαμεν, λαμβάνομεν τὰ θεῖα μυστήρια.

11. Ἐνθέν τοι, ἀγαπητοὶ ἀδελφοί, δράμωμεν τὴν καλὴν ταύτην
 165 ἀμίλλαν τῆς ἀγγελικῆς πολιτείας καὶ τάξεως, ἀποθέμενοι τὸν θυμὸν
 καὶ τὴν κακίστην ἐπιθυμίαν, ἐξ ἧς πᾶσα ὀμίχλη καὶ σύγχυσις καὶ
 ζάλη τῶν λογισμῶν ἀναφύεται, (f. 324) ἵνα μὴ μόνον δόξης ματαίας
 καὶ κοσμικῆς φροντίδος ἐλεύθεροι εὐρεθῶμεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῆς μακαρίας
 ἐκείνης καὶ ἀθανάτου τρυφῆς ἐπιτύχοιτε χάριτι καὶ φιλανθρωπία τοῦ
 170 Κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, ᾧ ἡ δόξα εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας ἀμήν.

146 διὰ – ψυχῆς: Arist. Top 133a31-32, ed. W. D. Ross, *Aristotelis topica et sophisticae elenchi*, Oxford, 1958, repr. 1970, p. 97 149 Πρὸ – ἔφθασε: Ioh. Climac. Scala parad. 25, PG 88, 996A 155-156 Ἐκεῖ – πολίτευμα: Phil. 3.20.1 157 τὰς ἐμφάσεις – πνεύματος: cf. Bas. Caes. Enar. in proph. Is. 7, 199.13, ed. P. Trevisan, *San Basilio. Commento al profeta Isaia*, I-II, Turin, 1939, II, p. 201 160 διὰ – νικήσωμεν: cf. Gal. 5.17

BASILE LE MINIME ET LA PRÉROGATIVE DES ÉVÊQUES D'HÉRACLÉE

Dans sa *Chronique*, rédigée à la fin du XI^e siècle, Jean Skylitzès rapporta que, lorsque Polyeucte fut élu patriarche le 3 avril 956,

il fut ordonné non par l'évêque d'Héraclée, comme c'était la coutume, mais par Basile de Césarée. En effet, Nicéphore, évêque d'Héraclée, qui avait heurté l'empereur sur quelque affaire, n'avait pas été autorisé à célébrer cette ordination. De ce fait, on accabla des plus vifs reproches non seulement celui qui avait donné cet ordre et celui qui avait imposé les mains, mais celui-là aussi qui avait été ordonné, pour avoir accepté une ordination qui n'était pas canonique.¹

Pour Jean Skylitzès, Basile le Minime² commit un impair considérable lorsqu'il accepta d'ordonner Polyeucte.³ Selon l'historien, le droit d'ordonner le patriarche revenait en effet canoniquement au métropolitain d'Héraclée, et seules des circonstances particulières pouvaient excuser une dérogation à cet usage consacré, comme lorsque Léon VI, en 886, promut patriarche son frère Étienne : à cette occasion, « comme le métropolitain d'Héraclée n'était plus au nombre des vivants, ce fut le protothroné Théophane qui le consacra ».⁴ Pourtant, au moment où Basile le Minime accomplit ce rituel, au

¹ [...] χειροτονεῖ πατριάρχην, οὐ τοῦ Ἡρακλείας, ὡς ἔθος, ἀλλὰ Βασιλείου τοῦ Καισαρείας τὴν χειροθεσίαν πεπληρωκότος. Νικηφόρος γὰρ ὁ τῆς Ἡρακλείας πρόεδρος τῷ βασιλεῖ κατὰ τι προσκεκροκῶς οὐ συνεχωρήθη τὴν χειροθεσίαν ποιήσασθαι. Ὅθεν καὶ ψόγος οὐχ ὁ τυχῶν προσετίθη οὐ τῷ προτρέψαντι μόνον καὶ τῷ χειροθετήσαντι, ἀλλὰ καὶ αὐτῷ τῷ χειροτονηθέντι, ὡς καταδεξαμένῳ τὴν ἀκανόνιστον χειροθεσίαν. Jean Skylitzès, *Constantin VII de nouveau*, 11, éd. I. THURN, *Ioannis Scylitzae Synopsis historiarum* (CFHB, 5), Berlin – New York, 1973, p. 244 ; la traduction française provient de Jean Skylitzès, *Empereurs de Constantinople (Réalités byzantines)*, 8), trad. B. FLUSIN et annot. J.-C. CHEYNET, Paris, 2003, p. 206.

² Basile le Minime fut évêque de Césarée en Cappadoce, au moins entre 945 et 956. Il se surnomma lui-même ἐλάχιστος – c'est-à-dire « le minime », parfois traduit par « le petit » – pour se distinguer de son illustre prédécesseur et homonyme, Basile le Grand. Sur cet auteur de *Commentaires aux Discours de Grégoire de Nazianze*, voir BECK, *Kirche und theologische Literatur*, p. 597 ; l'introduction de Schmidt dans *Basilii Minimi in Gregorii Nazianzeni Orationem XXXVIII Commentarii* (CCSG, 46 ; *Corpus Nazianzenum*, 13), éd. T. SCHMIDT, Turnhout – Louvain, 2001, pp. x-xi ; *PmbZ* II, 20933 (Basileios II. von Kaisareia).

³ Sur Polyeucte, patriarche de Constantinople de 956 à 970, voir *PmbZ* II, 26715 (Polyeuktos).

⁴ [...] ὅτι μὴ τοῖς ζῶσιν ἠριθμεῖτο ὁ Ἡρακλείας, ὑπὸ Θεοφάνους χειροτονηθέντα τοῦ πρωτοθρόνου. Jean Skylitzès, *Léon VI*, 1, éd. THURN [cité n. 1], pp. 171-172. À cette époque, le titre de protothroné désigne l'archevêque de Césarée en Cappadoce, puisqu'il figure en première place dans la hiérarchie ecclésiastique.

milieu du X^e siècle, il semble peu probable que cette prérogative d'Héraclée ait été une réelle prescription canonique.⁵ En effet, la chronique du X^e siècle⁶ ne mentionne aucune irrégularité à propos de ces élections⁷ et il n'existe aucune trace de l'existence d'une telle règle avant le témoignage de Jean Skylitzès à la fin du XI^e siècle. Il semble donc qu'entre cet événement et son chroniqueur, l'usage se soit développé, en même temps que l'accusation qui en découlait. Il faut dire que le patriarcat de Polyeucte et la fin du X^e siècle furent marqués par des conflits ecclésiastiques internes qui pourraient avoir contribué à l'émergence, ou du moins à la valorisation de cette coutume.

LA PRÉROGATIVE D'HÉRACLÉE, UNE TRADITION ANCIENNE ?

La première définition officielle du privilège de l'archevêque d'Héraclée est due au canoniste Jean Zonaras, durant la première moitié du XII^e siècle, et se trouve dans son commentaire au troisième canon du concile de Constantinople, celui qui stipule que l'évêque de Constantinople a « la primauté d'honneur après l'évêque de Rome, car cette ville est la nouvelle Rome ».⁸ Il semble que certains exégètes aient défendu l'idée que cet « après »

⁵ Cette hypothèse fut défendue par Karlin-Hayter, à qui le présent article doit beaucoup. P. KARLIN-HAYTER, *Constantinople : Partition of an Eparchy or Imperial Foundation ?*, in *JÖB*, 30 (1981), pp. 1-23. Une première ébauche de sa réflexion fut présentée en 1974 à la Société belge d'études byzantines. EADEM, *Notes sur le statut du siège de Constantinople. Constantinople et Héraclée*, dans *Byz*, 45 (1975), pp. 151-152. Le dossier fut également repris brièvement par Stiernon dans son article sur la métropole d'Héraclée. D. STIERNON, *Héraclée de Thrace*, dans *DGHE*, 23 (1990), coll. 1316-1318. Cet article vise à faire la synthèse de cette question et à approfondir cette hypothèse.

⁶ Sous cette appellation générique sont regroupés, entre autres, le livre VI du continuateur de Théophane, la *Chronique* de Syméon Logothète et la version du pseudo-Syméon, qui présentent, pour la première moitié du X^e siècle, un récit presque semblable des faits, avec quelques variations. Sur ces chroniques et leur interdépendance, voir l'introduction (avec les références qui s'y trouvent) de Wahlgren dans *Symeonis Magistri et Logothetae Chronicon* (*CFHB*, 44.1), éd. S. WAHLGREN, Berlin, 2006, pp. 3*-117* ; et celle de Featherstone et Signes Codoñer dans *Chronographiae quae Theophanis continuatur nomine fertur libri I-IV* (*CFHB*, 53), éd. M. FEATHERSTONE - J. SIGNES CODOÑER, Berlin, 2015, pp. 3*-28*.

⁷ Sur les élections d'Étienne I^{er} et de Polyeucte, voir Syméon Logothète, *Chronique*, 132, 3, éd. WAHLGREN [cité n. 6], p. 271 ; le continuateur de Théophane, *Léon VI*, 2 et *Constantin VII*, 11, éd. I. BEKKER, *Theophanis Continuati Chronographia* (*CShB*), Bonn, 1838, pp. 354 et 444-445 ; pseudo-Syméon, *Léon VI*, 1 et *Constantin VII*, 5, éd. I. BEKKER, *ibidem*, pp. 700 et 755 ; le continuateur de Georges le Moine, *Constantin VII*, 5, *PG* 110, coll. 1193.

⁸ Τὸν μέντοι Κωνσταντινουπόλεως ἐπίσκοπον ἔχειν τὰ πρεσβεῖα τῆς τιμῆς μετὰ τὸν Ῥώμης ἐπίσκοπον διὰ τὸ εἶναι αὐτὴν νέαν Ῥώμην. *Les conciles œcuméniques*, II-1 : *Les décrets de Nicée à Latran V*, éd. G. ALBERIGO - J. A. DOSSETTI - P.-P. JOANNOU - C. LEONARDI - P. PRODI - H. JEDIN et trad. A. DUVAL - B. LAURET - H. LEGRAND - J. MOINGT - B. SESBOUÉ, Paris, 1994, pp. 88-89.

traduisait non pas l'infériorité d'honneur de Constantinople, mais la postériorité de sa fondation. Jean Zonaras, qui refusait cette interprétation, répondit, entre autres, en soulignant l'ancienneté de la ville sous son nom de Byzance.

Byzance était en effet une ancienne cité autonome. Sous Sévère, empereur des Romains, elle fut assiégée par les Romains et supporta la guerre durant trois ans ; par la suite, elle tomba, à cause du manque de denrées nécessaires pour ses habitants, ses remparts furent détruits, ses institutions politiques régulières furent abolies et elle fut assujettie aux Périnthiens. Et, comme Périnthe est Héraclée, de là vient que l'ordination du patriarche est assignée à l'évêque d'Héraclée, puisque l'évêque de Byzance était ordonné par lui.⁹

Pour justifier la prérogative d'Héraclée, Jean Zonaras ne cite aucun décret impérial, aucun canon ecclésiastique, ni même de précédents historiques ; il doit s'appuyer sur des événements remontant à plus d'un siècle avant la fondation de Constantinople et sur le récit de Dion Cassius, un auteur païen.¹⁰ La raison de ce choix est simple : il n'existe aucune attestation écrite d'une telle coutume avant sa mention par Jean Skylitzès et Jean Zonaras au tournant du XII^e siècle.

L'histoire a toutefois gardé mémoire de cas d'ordination à Constantinople pour lesquels on fit appel à des évêques d'Héraclée. Jean Zonaras aurait pu, par exemple, mentionner le témoignage de Sozomène qui signalait, lors de l'élection de Paul au siège de Constantinople en 337, l'opposition « d'Eusèbe évêque de Nicomédie et de Théodore évêque d'Héraclée en Thrace, auxquels revenait, comme voisins, l'ordination ».¹¹ Ou alors il aurait pu rappeler la nomination de Macédonius en 341 par Théodore d'Héraclée, Théognis de Nicée et leurs alliés¹² ; ainsi que celle de Démophile en 370

⁹ Ἀρχαία μὲν γὰρ πόλις ἦν τὸ Βυζάντιον, καθ'ἑαυτὸ διοικούμενον. Ἐπὶ Σευήρου δὲ τοῦ Ῥωμαίων αὐτοκράτορος πολιορκηθὲν παρὰ τῶν Ῥωμαίων, καὶ ἐπὶ τρεῖς ἐνιαυτοὺς τὸν πόλεμον ὑποστὰν, ὕστερον ἐάλω τῶν ἀναγκαίων ἐπιλιπόντων τοῖς ἐν αὐτῷ, καὶ καθηρέθη μὲν τὰ τεῖχη αὐτοῦ, ἀφηρέθη καὶ τὰ πολιτικά δίκαια, καὶ ὑπετέθη Περινθίοις. Πέρινθος δ' ἐστὶν ἡ Ἡράκλεια· ὅθεν τῷ Ἡρακλείας καὶ ἡ χειροτονία τοῦ πατριάρχου ἀπονενέμηται, ὡς παρ' αὐτοῦ χειροθετουμένου τοῦ ἐπισκόπου τοῦ Βυζαντίου. Jean Zonaras, Commentaire au canon 3 de Constantinople, *PG* 137, col. 324 ; traduction personnelle.

¹⁰ Dion Cassius, 74, 12-14. Sur l'importance symbolique cependant dans cet épisode dans la « préhistoire » de Constantinople, voir G. DAGRON, *Naissance d'une capitale (Bibliothèque byzantine, Études, 7)*, Paris, 1974, pp. 15-19.

¹¹ [...] παρὰ γνώμην Εὐσεβίου τοῦ Νικομηδείας ἐπισκόπου καὶ Θεοδώρου τοῦ <τῆς> ἐν Θράκῃ Ἡρακλείας, οἷς ὡς γείτοσιν ἡ χειροτονία διέφερεν [...]. Sozomène, *Histoire ecclésiastique*, III, 3, 1, éd. J. BIDEZ et trad. A.-J. FESTUGIÈRE – B. GRILLET (*SC*, 418), Paris, 1996.

¹² Socrate de Constantinople, *Histoire ecclésiastique*, II, 12, 2-3, éd. G. C. HANSEN et trad. P. PÉRICHON – P. MARAVAL (*SC*, 493), Paris, 2005 ; Sozomène, *Histoire ecclésiastique*, III, 7, 4, éd. BIDEZ [cité n. 11].

par l'évêque d'Héraclée, à qui revint le privilège de cet acte, selon Philostorge.¹³ Cependant, ces exemples, comme le souligne Stiernon, représentaient un « honneur ponctuel réservé au métropolitain d'Héraclée dans le cadre de la propagande semi-arienne, d'ordonner l'évêque de la capitale, mais nullement l'exercice d'une sorte de droit d'aïnesse bien établi ». ¹⁴ Le choix de l'évêque ordonnant à cette époque semblait en définitive davantage lié à des impératifs politiques.¹⁵ De plus, l'argument avancé pour justifier les revendications des évêques d'Héraclée et de Nicomédie était leur proximité avec le siège de Constantinople plutôt qu'un ancien assujettissement de la ville de Byzance à celle d'Héraclée.¹⁶

Ceci dit, force est de constater qu'en règle générale, rares sont les ordinants des évêques de Constantinople qui ont retenu l'attention de l'histoire : seuls les noms de ceux qui étaient jugés dignes de mention ou, au contraire, contestables ont été conservés. Par exemple, en 370, en réponse à l'élection de l'arien Démophile, le parti nicéen fit ordonner sur le siège de Constantinople un certain Évagre par l'évêque d'Antioche, Eustathe¹⁷ ; en 381, Nectaire fut ordonné par le concile des 150 Pères¹⁸ ; en 536, Ménas le fut par le pape Agapète.¹⁹ Par conséquent, il est difficile de tirer de ces renseignements épars des conclusions concernant la procédure régulière. D'autre part, cette situation révèle le peu d'intérêt porté au statut du ou des évêques ordinants durant cette période.

Plus près des faits reprochés à Basile le Minime, les aléas de la transmission des textes ont permis de conserver l'exemple d'une ordination qui devait

¹³ Philostorge, *Histoire ecclésiastique*, IX, 10, éd. J. BIDEZ et trad. É. DES PLACES – B. BLECKMANN – D. MEYER – J.-M. PRIEUR (SC, 564), Paris, 2013.

¹⁴ STIERNON, *Héraclée* [cité n. 5], col. 1317.

¹⁵ Selon Dagron, « Théodore d'Héraclée n'intervient pas tant dans cette affaire en métropolitain soucieux de ses prérogatives qu'en sa qualité d'exégète célèbre » et le privilège réservé à l'évêque d'Héraclée « n'est évidemment pas le signe d'une dépendance, mais au contraire du prestige d'une vraie capitale dont le métropolitain d'Héraclée s'honore de consacrer l'évêque ». DAGRON, *Naissance d'une capitale* [cité n. 10], p. 438, n. 1 et p. 446.

¹⁶ Cette explication correspond aux préceptes du quatrième canon du concile de Nicée, qui stipule que « le plus convenable est qu'un évêque soit établi par tous les évêques de l'éparchie ; si la chose s'avérait difficile, soit en raison d'une nécessité urgente, soit à cause de la longueur de la route, il faut de toute façon que trois évêques se réunissent au même endroit – les absents aussi donnant leur suffrage et exprimant leur consentement par écrit –, et fassent alors l'ordination. » Ἐπίσκοπον προσήκει μάλιστα μὲν ὑπὸ πάντων τῶν τῆς ἐπαρχίας ἐπισκόπων καθίστασθαι· εἰ δὲ δυσχερὲς εἴη τοῦτο ἢ διὰ κατεπίγουσαν ἀνάγκην ἢ διὰ μῆκος ὁδοῦ, ἐξάπαντος τρεῖς ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτὸ συναγομένους, συμπήφων γινομένων καὶ τῶν ἀπόντων καὶ συντιθεμένων διὰ γραμμάτων, τότε τὴν χειροτονίαν ποιεῖσθαι. *Les conciles œcuméniques* [cité n. 8], pp. 38-39.

¹⁷ Sozomène, *Histoire ecclésiastique*, VI, 13, 2, éd. J. BIDEZ – G. C. HANSEN et trad. A.-J. FESTUGIÈRE – B. GRILLET (SC, 495), Paris, 2005.

¹⁸ Socrate, *Histoire ecclésiastique*, V, 8, 12, éd. G. C. HANSEN et trad. P. PÉRICHON – P. MARAVAL (SC, 505), Paris, 2006.

¹⁹ Théophane le Confesseur, éd. C. DE BOOR, I, Leipzig, 1883, p. 217.

correspondre aux normes de l'époque : celle de Nicéphore I^{er} en 806. Théophane le Confesseur indique qu'il avait été ordonné « par un vote de tout le peuple, des clercs, ainsi que des empereurs ». ²⁰ Une notice d'un catalogue de patriarches précise exceptionnellement le nom des ordinants : il s'agissait de Nicolas archevêque de Césarée en Cappadoce, de Léon métropolitain d'Héraclée en Thrace et de Thomas archevêque de Thessalonique. ²¹ Suivant une disposition qui devait être régulière, s'y trouvaient cités, selon leur ordre de préséance, ²² d'abord le protothronos (Césarée), ensuite le titulaire du siège voisin (Héraclée) et, finalement, un troisième archevêque (Thessalonique), nombre nécessaire à une ordination canonique. ²³ Évidemment, si le témoignage de cette intronisation a été conservé, c'est qu'elle fut contestée par certains, dont les moines du Stoudios, mais leurs reproches ne portaient pas sur la qualité des ordinants, plutôt sur la rapidité de l'élévation du candidat, qui était passé de l'état laïc à l'épiscopat en quelques jours seulement. ²⁴

Quelques années plus tard, l'ordination de Photios, en 858, fit l'objet de semblables contestations. Cette fois, cependant, non seulement reprocha-t-on au candidat la rapidité de son élévation de laïc à patriarche, mais également le choix de son ordonnant, ou d'un de ses ordinants, Grégoire Asbestos de Syracuse. ²⁵ Ce grief, toutefois, n'avait rien à voir avec le siège

²⁰ [...] ψήφῳ παντὸς τοῦ λαοῦ καὶ τῶν ἱερέων, πρὸς δὲ καὶ τῶν βασιλέων. Théophane le Confesseur, éd. DE BOOR [cité n. 19], p. 481 ; traduction personnelle.

²¹ *De patriarcharum Constantinopolitanorum catalogis et de chronologia octo primorum patriarcharum*, (*Commentationes philologicae Ienenses*, 3,5), éd. F. FISHER, Leipzig, 1884, p. 291.

²² Sur l'ordre de préséance des évêques de l'Église byzantine, voir *Noticiae episcopatum Ecclesiae Constantinopolitanae* (*Géographie ecclésiastique de l'Empire byzantin*, 1), éd. J. DARROUZÈS, Paris, 1981.

²³ Suivant le premier canon apostolique et le quatrième du concile de Nicée (sur ce dernier, voir la n. 16). Ces prescriptions concernent tout le processus d'élection davantage que la simple consécration, mais, considérant la mainmise accrue de l'empereur sur le choix du patriarche (BECK, *Kirche und theologische Literatur*, pp. 60-62), la cérémonie de l'imposition des mains devenait la dernière chasse gardée des évêques. Selon les rédacteurs de la *PmbZ*, la consécration du patriarche était normalement accomplie par les trois principaux métropolitains de l'Empire : « Üblicherweise wurde die Weihe des Patriarchen von Konstantinopel durch die drei höchstrangigen Metropoliten vollzogen, nämlich durch die Metropoliten von Kaisareia, Ephesos und Herakleia, wobei der Protothronos von Kaisareia immer der bedeutendste war. » *PmbZ* II, 20933 (Basileios II. von Kaisareia), *PmbZ* II, 25605 (Nikephoros) et 26715 (Polyeuktos, Anm. 4) ; *PmbZ* II, 27208 (Stephanos I.). En ce cas, la vacance du siège d'Éphèse ou l'impossibilité pour son titulaire d'être présent pourrait expliquer l'intervention de l'archevêque de Thessalonique.

²⁴ Théophane le Confesseur, éd. DE BOOR [cité n. 19], p. 481. Voir P. A. J. ALEXANDER, *The Patriarch Nicephorus of Constantinople*, Oxford, 1958, pp. 65-71.

²⁵ M. JUGIE, *Le Schisme byzantin*, Paris, 1941, p. 107 ; F. DVORNIK, *Le Schisme de Photios* (*Unam Sactam*, 19), Paris, 1950, pp. 92-95 ; H.-G. BECK, *Geschichte der orthodoxen Kirche im Byzantinischen Reich* (*Die Kirche in ihrer Geschichte*, 1, D1), Göttingen, 1980, pp. 96-99 ; G. DAGRON, *L'Église et l'État (milieu IX^e-fin X^e siècle)*, dans J.-M. MAYEUR et al. (éd.), *Histoire du Christianisme*, tome IV : *Évêques, moines et empereurs (610-1054)*, Paris, 1993, pp. 169-171 ; *PmbZ* I, 2480 (Gregorios Asbestos) et 6253 (Photios).

détenu par ce dernier, mais plutôt avec le fait que celui-ci avait été excommunié par le patriarche précédent, Ignace. Personne ne semblait avoir eu l'idée de reprocher à Photios que son ordinant venait de Sicile. À la même époque, d'ailleurs, lorsque Photios rédigea le compte-rendu de l'œuvre historique de Philostorge, il fit cette remarque intéressante à propos de l'ordination de Démophile en 370 par l'évêque d'Héraclée : « Il semble en effet que c'est lui qui eut le privilège d'un tel acte liturgique ».²⁶ Cette réflexion anodine révèle que, pour Photios, et certainement pour ses contemporains, ce choix n'était pas une évidence et, encore moins, une obligation canonique.

À l'aube du X^e siècle, il ne semblait donc exister aucune règle formelle établissant que l'évêque d'Héraclée devait obligatoirement procéder à l'ordination du patriarche, ce qui ne veut pas dire que celui-ci n'ait pas eu régulièrement un rôle à jouer lors de ces cérémonies. En effet, Héraclée avait eu autrefois Byzance comme suffragant et restait son proche voisin. Les raisons pour lesquelles cet usage ne fut toutefois jamais codifié sont clairement démontrées par une lettre ouverte que le pape Gélase I^{er} adressa le 1^{er} février 495 aux évêques de Dardanie. En rupture ouverte avec le siège de Constantinople, Gélase y justifiait sa condamnation du patriarche Acace, en faisant valoir l'illégalité du rétablissement de Pierre d'Alexandrie par l'évêque de Constantinople, car cette action allait l'encontre des décisions du Saint-Siège, qui détenait, en matière ecclésiastique, l'autorité absolue.

Nous ne gardons pas silence sur ce que l'Église tout entière sait : à savoir que, les décisions fixées par les sentences de n'importe quel évêque, le siège du bienheureux apôtre Pierre a le droit de les absoudre, étant donné qu'il a droit de juger pour toute l'Église, mais qu'il n'est pas permis à quiconque de juger son jugement. En effet, les canons ont voulu que, de toutes les parties du monde, on en appelle à lui, mais qu'il ne soit pas permis à personne d'en appeler de lui. C'est pourquoi, comme c'est un fait établi qu'Acace, condamné par une sentence du siège apostolique, n'avait aucune autorité pour absoudre²⁷ sans une enquête du saint siège, par quel synode assurément disent-ils que celui-là a osé faire ce dont il n'avait même pas le droit sans l'avis du siège apostolique ? En tant qu'évêque de quel siège ? Titulaire de quelle cité métropolitaine ? Ne s'agit-il pas d'une paroisse de l'Église d'Héraclée²⁸ ?

²⁶ Ἐδόκει γὰρ τὸ προνόμιον οὗτος ἔχειν τῆς τοιαύτης ἱερουργικῆς ἐνεργείας. Philostorge, *Histoire ecclésiastique*, IX, 10, éd. BIDEZ [cité n. 13]. L'œuvre de Philostorge étant actuellement perdue, elle nous est principalement connue par le biais du résumé qu'en fit Photios. Celui-ci a parfois émaillé son compte-rendu de réflexions plus personnelles et il n'est pas trop audacieux de présumer que cette réplique en soit une, comme le pense aussi Karlin-Hayter. Voir KARLIN-HAYTER, *Notes sur le statut* [cité n. 5], p. 151.

²⁷ Pierre Monge, patriarche monophysite d'Alexandrie.

²⁸ « Non reticemus autem quod cuncta per mundum novit Ecclesia ; quoniam quorumlibet sententiis ligata pontificum, sedes beati Petri apostoli jus habeat resolvendi, utpote quod de

Souligner le rôle d'Héraclée lors de l'intronisation du patriarche aurait donc eu pour conséquence d'avouer publiquement l'ancienne position subalterne du siège constantinopolitain, ce que tout patriarche cherchait à éviter. Il faut dire qu'à cette époque, les limites de l'autorité réelle de l'Église de Constantinople étaient très mal définies : avait-elle une véritable prééminence dans les affaires générale de l'Église, qui lui donnait un droit de regard sur tous les évêchés orientaux et qui la plaçait à égalité avec Rome, à laquelle elle ne cédait que de peu ? Ou, au contraire, n'avait-elle qu'une préséance d'honneur, qui faisait d'elle un évêché autocéphale sans réel domaine de juridiction²⁹ ? La question était délicate et fortement débattue entre Rome et Constantinople. Institutionnaliser le rôle d'Héraclée lors des ordinations aurait alors joué en défaveur du patriarche dans un débat politique crucial.

LA CABALE CONTRE POLYEUCTE

Au X^e siècle cependant, cette menace avait grandement perdu de sa virulence : le schisme avec Rome, d'un côté, et les monophysites, de l'autre, était définitivement consommé, laissant les évêques des diocèses d'Asie, de Thrace et du Pont seuls face au patriarche. Les prétentions d'hégémonie de ce dernier se frottèrent alors aux vellétés d'autonomie de ceux-là. Il en résulta un conflit sourd qui opposa les uns et les autres durant plusieurs décennies, du milieu du X^e siècle jusqu'au début du XI^e siècle. Cette polémique interne à l'Église n'a pas défrayé la chronique, mais les traces qu'elle a laissées dans les sources ont suffisamment été documentées par Darrouzès et Karlin-Hayter pour confirmer son existence et son impact sur la politique ecclésiastique de l'époque.³⁰

omni Ecclesia fas habeat judicandi, neque cuiquam de ejus liceat judicare judicio, siquidem ad illam de qualibet mundi parte canones appellari voluerint, ab illa autem nemo sit appellare permissus. Quapropter cum satis constet Acacium nullum habuisse pontificium, sententia sedis apostolicae damnatum, sine ulla ejus notione solvendi ; dicant certe qua synodo hoc ille praesumpserit, quod nec sic quidem absque apostolica sede fas haberet efficere ? cujus sedis episcopus ? cujus metropolitanae civitatis antistes ? Nonne paroeciae Heracliensis Ecclesiae ? » Gélase I^{er}, *Lettre* 13, *PL* 59, 66 ; traduction personnelle.

²⁹ Sur l'ambiguïté du statut canonique de Constantinople, voir, entre autres, KARLIN-HAYTER, *Constantinople* [cité n. 5], pp. 1-23.

³⁰ Voir les introductions de Darrouzès dans *Épistoliers byzantins du x^e siècle* (*Archives de l'Orient chrétien*, 6), éd. J. DARROUZÈS, Paris, 1960, pp. 56-57 ; ainsi que dans *Documents inédits d'ecclésiologie byzantine* (*Archives de l'Orient chrétien*, 10), éd. et trad. J. DARROUZÈS, Paris, 1966, pp. 5-106 ; et P. KARLIN-HAYTER, *Notes sur quatre documents d'ecclésiologie byzantine*, dans *REB*, 37 (1979), pp. 249-258.

À l'origine de la discorde se trouvait l'élection d'un très jeune patriarche, Théophylacte.³¹ Comme il n'avait que seize ans lors de son intronisation le 2 février 933, son patriarcat fut exceptionnellement long (plus de vingt-trois ans), mais il fut surtout marqué par le manque d'implication du primat dans les affaires de l'Église ; soit que « le patriarche Théophylacte, en enfant qu'il était, [fût] tenu en lisière dans l'exercice du pouvoir patriarcal par les régents de l'époque et mis de côté »,³² soit qu'il négligeât volontairement ses fonctions pour faire « tout ce que les vrais évêques jugent inconvenant, s'adonnant à la passion des chevaux, passant son temps à la chasse, accomplissant aussi d'autre incongruités qu'il ne serait pas seulement inconvenant, mais sacrilège d'exposer en détail ». ³³ Quoi qu'il en soit, sous son mandat, les principaux archevêques de l'Empire prirent goût au pouvoir et, lorsque, le 3 avril 956, arriva sur le siège patriarcal un homme d'une autre trempe, Polyeucte, les frictions furent inévitables.

Dans un premier temps, métropolitains et archevêques confrontèrent ouvertement leur nouveau patriarche. Dès 958, il se forma une coalition d'évêques, dont l'objectif était d'évincer l'indésirable.³⁴ Ceux-ci auraient d'ailleurs bénéficié de l'appui de l'empereur Constantin VII, qui sembla regretter rapidement le choix de ce patriarche intransigeant.³⁵ Seuls les noms de deux meneurs de cette cabale sont cependant connus : Théodore de Cyzique, conseiller de l'empereur,³⁶ et Théodore de Nicée, dont les lettres apportent un léger éclairage sur l'affaire.³⁷ L'archevêque de Nicée accusait Polyeucte d'agir contre les lois et d'avoir subi l'anathème. Il tenta également de rallier

³¹ Sur ce fils de Romain I Lécapène, qui fut patriarche de 933 à 956, voir *PmbZ* II, 28192 (Theophylaktos).

³² [...] ὡς παιδάριον τὸν πατριάρχην Θεοφύλακτον τῆς πατριαρχικῆς ἐξουσίας οἱ τότε ῥέκται ἀπεσχοίνισαν καὶ ἐν γωνία ἔθεσαν [...]. Nicéas d'Amasée, *Sur le droit de vote du patriarche*, éd. DARROUZÈS, *Documents inédits* [cité n. 30], p. 174.

³³ [...] ὅσα τοῖς ἀληθινοῖς ἀρχιερεῦσιν ἀπεοικότα ἐτύγχανεν, ἵππομανῶν καὶ κυνηγεσίοις ἐνασχολούμενος, καὶ λοιπὰς ἀπρεπεῖς διαπραττόμενος πράξεις, ἃς κατὰ μέρος διεξιέναι πρὸς τῷ ἀπρεπεῖ καὶ ἀθέμιτον. Jean Skylitzès, *Constantin VII de nouveau*, 10, éd. THURN [cité n. 1], p. 243.

³⁴ Voir DARROUZÈS dans *Épistoliers byzantins* [cité n. 30], pp. 56-57.

³⁵ Cette rivalité entre l'empereur et le patriarche n'est pas mentionnée par la chronique du X^e siècle, généralement élogieuse à l'égard de Constantin, mais apparaît chez Jean Skylitzès, *Constantin VII de nouveau*, 11 et 17, éd. THURN [cité n. 1], pp. 244 et 247.

³⁶ Jean Skylitzès, *Constantin VII de nouveau*, 11 et 17, éd. THURN [cité n. 1], pp. 244 et 247. Sur son rôle, voir aussi *PmbZ* II, 27697 (Theodoros).

³⁷ Théodore de Nicée, *Lettres* 28-34, éd. DARROUZÈS, *Épistoliers byzantins* [cité n. 30], pp. 295-300. Cependant, les détails de cette cabale restent très nébuleux. Les rédacteurs de la *PmbZ* présumant que l'origine du conflit entre Théodore et Polyeucte est liée à la réinscription du patriarche Euthyme dans les diptyques en 956. *PmbZ* II, 27705 (Theodoros). L'événement, rapporté par Jean Skylitzès, sembla effectivement avoir momentanément divisé les évêques, mais l'intervention de l'empereur étouffa rapidement l'affaire. Jean Skylitzès, *Constantin VII de nouveau*, 13, éd. THURN [cité n. 1], p. 245.

à sa cause un certain nombre de métropolitains, parmi lesquels figurait Basile le Minime, l'ordinant de Polyeucte.³⁸ La teneur et l'issue de cette première conjuration est incertaine, mais la mort de l'empereur Constantin, le 9 novembre 959, dut nécessairement y mettre un frein.

Par la suite, la contestation emprunta une voie détournée, plus institutionnelle. Pour saper l'autorité du patriarche, ses opposants entreprirent de contester son droit de regard sur les élections des métropolitains. Suivant le rituel normal, tel que décrit par Euthyme de Sardes au IX^e siècle, les nominations pour les premiers sièges de l'Église avaient lieu en synode, à la capitale.³⁹ Quand un siège devenait vacant, les métropolitains et archevêques étaient convoqués à Constantinople, pour délibérer du potentiel successeur. En tant que primat de l'Église, le patriarche pouvait exprimer une préférence, mais il n'assistait pas aux délibérations. Au terme de la séance, le synode présentait les noms de trois candidats, en ordre de préférence, au patriarche, parmi lesquels celui-ci devait choisir le futur métropolitain. L'enjeu du débat qui opposa alors le patriarche au synode concerna l'influence réelle du patriarche : la préférence qu'il exprimait en début de processus avait-elle une valeur contraignante ou, au contraire, la volonté du synode était-elle toute puissante, de sorte qu'elle imposait au patriarche d'ordonner le premier nom de la liste ? Un traité anonyme, paru sous le patriarcat de Polyeucte, tenta de démontrer canoniquement la seconde thèse,⁴⁰ mais Polyeucte ne se laissa sûrement pas reléguer au second rang si facilement. Les détails de la querelle ne sont pas documentés, mais le conflit s'envenima au point que Nicéphore Phocas, lors de son accession au trône en 963, y vit l'opportunité de placer les élections des évêques sous sa propre juridiction.

Les archevêques et le chef des pasteurs Polyeucte étaient alors en différent au sujet des votes ; ceux-là tiraient à eux la liberté d'élire ceux qu'ils choisiraient, celui-ci accusait les votes de ne pas être faits avec impartialité ni selon un jugement droit et cherchait à rallier les archevêques autour de ceux qu'il voulait voir élus. L'empereur saisit ce prétexte et transféra sous sa propre autorité tout ce qui concernait le choix des évêques : il ordonna que personne ne fût, sans son avis, envoyé vers n'importe quelle église.⁴¹

³⁸ Théodore de Nicée, *Lettre 32*, éd. DARROUZÈS, *Épistoliers byzantins* [cité n. 30], pp. 299-300.

³⁹ Sur cette procédure, voir DARROUZÈS dans *Documents inédits* [cité n. 30], pp. 11-16.

⁴⁰ Voir DARROUZÈS dans *Documents inédits* [cité n. 30], pp. 22-29.

⁴¹ Εἶτα τῶν τότε ἀρχιερέων καὶ τοῦ ἀρχιεπίσκοπος Πολυεὐκτοῦ διαφερομένων περὶ τῶν ψήφων, καὶ τῶν μὲν εἰς ἑαυτοὺς ἐλκόντων τὴν ἄδειαν τοῦ ψηφίζεσθαι οὓς ἂν ἐγκρίνοινεν, τοῦ δὲ τὰς ψήφους αἰτιωμένου ὡς οὐκ ἀπαθῶς γινομένης οὐδὲ κατὰ γνώμης εὐθύτητα καὶ σπεύδοντος κοινοῦσθαι αὐτῶ τούτοις ἀρχιερεῖς περὶ τῶν μελλόντων ψηφίζεσθαι, ὁ βασιλεὺς ἀφορμῆς ἐκ τούτου δραξάμενος εἰς οἰκείαν ἐξουσίαν τὸ πᾶν τῆς τῶν ἐπισκόπων μετήνεγκε προχειρίσεως, μηδένα κελεύσας γνώμης ἄτερ αὐτοῦ εἰς ἐκκλησίαν οἰανδήτινα στέλλεσθαι [...]. Jean Zonaras, *Annales*, XVI, 25, éd. T. BÜTTNER-WOBST, *Ioannis Zonarae Annales (CSHB)*, Bonn, 1897, p. 505 ; traduction personnelle. Voir

Cette situation sans précédent trouva finalement son dénouement lorsque Jean Tzimiskès prit le pouvoir le 11 décembre 969 et que, pour se concilier le patriarche, il ordonna l'abolition du tome de Nicéphore.⁴² Évidemment, les mécontentements ne cessèrent pas immédiatement, puisqu'il s'en trouva des échos jusqu'à la fin du siècle. C'est à cette époque, par exemple, que Nicétas d'Amasée rédigea son traité pour réfuter les thèses des opposants au patriarche, preuve de l'actualité du sujet.⁴³ Cependant, la disparition de Polyeucte le 5 février 970 fit certainement taire une partie des contestataires.

LA PRÉROGATIVE D'HÉRACLÉE, UN ARGUMENT CONTRE LE PATRIARCHE ?

C'est dans ce climat de dissensions que la prérogative de l'évêque d'Héraclée trouva son expression et se hissa graduellement au rang d'obligation canonique, ou presque, puisqu'elle ne figure en réalité que dans les commentaires des canonistes.⁴⁴ Les circonstances qui menèrent à l'émergence de cette coutume demeurent dans l'ensemble plutôt obscures, faute de sources, et toute reconstruction en ce sens garde un caractère hautement hypothétique. Il est néanmoins raisonnable de présumer que ce concept prit d'abord naissance dans le camp opposé au patriarche, étant donné la charge potentiellement préjudiciable pour le patriarcat de ce privilège.

Malgré ce que voulait croire Jean Skylitzès, lorsque Basile le Minime ordonna Polyeucte en 956, la prérogative d'Héraclée n'existait pas, ce que ne veut pas dire que cette élection n'ait été sans irrégularité.⁴⁵ Jean Skylitzès lui-même laisse entendre la véritable origine du problème lorsqu'il indique

aussi Léon le Diacre, *Histoire* VI, 4, éd. K. B. HASE, *Leonis Diaconi Historia (CSHB)*, Bonn, 1828, pp. 98-99 ; Jean Skylitzès, *Nicéphore Phocas*, 18, éd. THURN [cité n. 1], p. 274.

⁴² Léon le Diacre, *Histoire* VI, 4 éd. HASE [cité n. 41], pp. 98-99 ; Jean Skylitzès, *Jean Tzimiskès*, 2, éd. THURN [cité n. 1], p. 285.

⁴³ Voir DARROUZÈS dans *Documents inédits* [cité n. 30], pp. 30-33.

⁴⁴ Ce privilège se trouve exprimé et expliqué dans les commentaires de Jean Zonaras (voir n. 9), de Théodore Balsamon (voir n. 63 et 69) et la compilation de Matthieu Blastarès (voir n. 64). Sur ces derniers et sur leur apport à la tradition canonique, voir J. M. HUSSEY, *The Orthodox Church in the Byzantine Empire (Oxford History of the Christian Church)*, Oxford, 1986, pp. 304-310 ; S. TROIANOS, *Byzantine Canon Law from the Twelfth to the Fifteenth Centuries*, dans W. HARTMANN - K. PENNINGTON, *The History of Byzantine and Eastern Canon Law to 1500 (History of Medieval Canon Law)*, Washington, 2012, pp. 176-187.

⁴⁵ C'est également la conclusion à laquelle arrivent les rédacteurs de la *PmbZ* à propos du témoignage de Jean Skylitzès : « Diese Auffassung überrascht, denn normalerweise wurde der Patriarch nicht durch den Metropolitan von Herakleia (allein) geweiht, sondern durch die drei Metropolitanen von Kaisereia, Ephesos und Herakleia. Allerdings war dieses Zeremoniell wohl nicht bindend. In jedem Fall führte das Fehlen eines der Metropolitanen nicht dazu, daß die Weihe als unkanonisch angesehen werden mußte. Sie scheint allerdings, alles in allem genommen, nicht unumstritten gewesen zu sein. » *PmbZ* II, 26715 (Polyeuktos). Voir également la n. 23.

que « Nicéphore, évêque d'Héraclée, qui avait heurté l'empereur sur quelque affaire, n'avait pas été autorisé à célébrer cette ordination ». ⁴⁶ L'exclusion volontaire d'un évêque du processus d'élection constituait à cette époque un motif parfaitement légitime de récrimination : en 847, Ignace avait fait scandale en excluant Grégoire Asbestos de Syracuse de son ordination. ⁴⁷ À la fin du X^e siècle, Léon de Synades, confiné au port de Pylai en attente d'une autorisation impériale pour rejoindre la capitale en vue de l'élection du nouveau patriarche, se plaignait amèrement de l'illégalité d'un tel traitement. ⁴⁸ À cette occasion, il rappela une situation semblable, dont il avait été témoin dans sa jeunesse et qui pourrait bien faire référence aux événements ayant suivi l'élection du patriarche Polyeucte.

Les sages ont défini que, lorsqu'une irrégularité est permise, de nombreuses irrégularités suivent. Nous, nous avons vu cela se produire et s'accomplir jusqu'au bout. Un des archevêques fut rejeté, alors qu'il ne le devait pas, lors des votes ecclésiastiques ; l'affaire se propagea et le nombre monta à deux et même jusqu'au nombre de la trinité elle-même. Mais, aujourd'hui, ils s'avancent plus nombreux. Moi, j'étais alors un jeune garçon, car je me souviens, pour avoir vu le protestataire, combien de personnes il contestait seul, qui il était, devant quelle foule il plaidait et pour quelles raisons, sans être négligé. ⁴⁹

Cet évêque rejeté selon Léon de Synades est peut-être à identifier avec Nicéphore d'Héraclée, dont les récriminations auraient été à l'origine d'un premier mouvement de rébellion contre le patriarche. ⁵⁰ Les raisons qui conduisirent Constantin VII à l'exclure, ainsi que l'issue de cette première

⁴⁶ Νικηφόρος γὰρ ὁ τῆς Ἡρακλείας πρόεδρος τῷ βασιλεῖ κατὰ τὴν προσκεκρουκῶς οὐ συνεχωρήθη τὴν χειροθεσίαν ποιήσασθαι. Jean Skylitzès, *Constantin VII de nouveau*, 11, éd. THURN [cité n. 1], p. 244.

⁴⁷ Nicétas de Paphlagonie, *Vie d'Ignace*, 22-23, éd. A. SMITHIES, *Nicetas David, the Life of Patriarch Ignatius, Text and Translation (CFHB, 51)*, Washington, 2013, pp. 36-38. Sur cette affaire, voir la n. 25.

⁴⁸ Sur cette affaire, voir *PmbZ* II, 24416 (Leon).

⁴⁹ Οἱ μὲν οὖν σοφοὶ ὥρισαντο, « ἐνὸς ἀτόπου δοθέντος, πολλὰ τὰ ἄτοπα ἐνεσθαι, » ἡμεῖς δὲ καὶ συμβάν τοῦτο εἶδομεν καὶ εἰς τέλος ἐκβάν. Περιεφρονήθη τις τῶν ἀρχιερέων, ὡς οὐκ ὄφειλεν, ἐν ταῖς ἐκκλησιαστικαῖς ψήφοις, ἐκινήθη τοῦτο καὶ μέχρι δυάδος καὶ ἕως αὐτῆς ἀνέβη τῆς τριάδος· νῦν δὲ καὶ περαιτέρω πρόεισιν. Ἐγὼ δὲ καὶ παιδάριον ἦν ἔτι· μέμνημαι γάρ, καὶ τὸν ἀντιλέγοντα εἶδον, καὶ πόσοις ἀντέλεγεν ὁ εἶς, καὶ ὁ τίς, καὶ ἐπὶ πόσων, καὶ διὰ τίνα, καὶ μὴ παρορόμενον. Léon de Synades, *Lettre 53*, éd. M. P. VINSON, *The Correspondence of Leo Metropolitan of Synada and Syncellus, Greek Text, Translation and Commentary (CFHB, 23)*, Washington, 1985, p. 82 ; traduction personnelle.

⁵⁰ Né en 937, Léon de Synades aurait alors eu environ dix-neuf ans, ce qui peut correspondre au qualificatif de παιδάριον, du moins plus que dans l'hypothèse de Darrouzès, qui associait ces événements à la querelle des votes sous le règne de Nicéphore Phocas entre 963 et 969. Darrouzès dans *Documents inédits* [cité n. 30], pp. 31-32. Voir le commentaire de VINSON, *Correspondence of Leo Metropolitan of Synada* [cité n. 49], p. 136.

protestation, restent cependant un mystère, car le nom de Nicéphore d'Héraclée n'apparaît dans aucun autre document.⁵¹

Si, au moment de l'ordination de Polyeucte, la prérogative n'existait pas, il peut cependant être tenu pour certain que cet événement ait inspiré la mise en valeur de cette coutume. Il semble fort probable en effet que l'irrégularité de l'élection de Polyeucte ait été relevée par ses adversaires et qu'à un moment au cours de ce long conflit, l'idée que Nicéphore d'Héraclée n'aurait pas dû être négligé se soit transformée en une obligation pour l'évêque d'Héraclée d'être présent lors d'une élection patriarcale. Cette dernière revendication répondait en effet parfaitement aux objectifs des archevêques mécontents qui cherchaient à saper l'autorité du patriarche, car elle mettait en valeur les origines nébuleuses de l'autorité de l'évêque de Constantinople.⁵² Cet argument ne fut pas retenu lors de la rédaction du traité anonyme contre le patriarche au milieu du X^e siècle,⁵³ mais une preuve de sa circulation pourrait être déduite de la présence dans la chronique du X^e siècle de détails concernant l'ordination d'Étienne I^{er}. En effet, pour contrer les revendications de l'évêque d'Héraclée, les partisans du patriarche durent sûrement faire appel à un précédent historique pour démontrer la validité d'une ordination accomplie par l'évêque de Césarée. Heureusement pour eux, ils avaient l'exemple d'une élection relativement récente, celle d'Étienne I^{er} quelques décennies plus tôt. La chronique du X^e siècle se serait alors simplement fait porte-parole du discours officiel en rapportant que, lorsque Léon VI promut patriarche son frère Étienne le syncelle, celui-ci fut ordonné par le protothroné Théophane ; certaines versions ajoutent même : « et par les autres archevêques ». ⁵⁴ Cette insistance sur la régularité de la procédure et l'approbation du synode pourrait en ces conditions être interprétée comme une réponse aux adversaires de Polyeucte.⁵⁵

Quoi qu'il en soit de la genèse de la prérogative d'Héraclée, lorsqu'elle apparaît dans les sources écrites au tournant du XII^e siècle, elle est déjà

⁵¹ Les rédacteurs de la *PmbZ* supposent que Nicéphore ait pu refuser de participer : « Es ist denkbar, daß der Metropolit von Herakleia sich geweigert hatte, an der Weihe des Polyeuktos teilzunehmen, weshalb die Weihe von den Gegnern des Polyeuktos anschließend als unkanonisch diffamiert werden konnte. » *PmbZ* II, 25605 (Nikephoros).

⁵² KARLIN-HAYTER, *Notes sur quatre documents* [cité n. 30], p. 254 ; EADEM, *Constantinople* [cité n. 5], p. 12.

⁵³ Voir la n. 40.

⁵⁴ Voir la n. 7.

⁵⁵ D'ordinaire, en effet, les chroniqueurs ne gardaient pas mémoire des ordinants du patriarche, comme il a été souligné plus haut. De plus, c'est seulement à partir de Jean Skylitzès, au moment où la prérogative d'Héraclée était bien établie, que cet acte se vit justifié par la vacance du siège d'Héraclée. Voir la n. 4.

bien établie.⁵⁶ À la différence des siècles précédents, les témoignages sur cette coutume et sur sa pratique abondent dès lors, ce qui tend à prouver *in fine* sa mise en place au courant des X^e et XI^e siècles. Par exemple, alors que le *Livre des cérémonies* attribué à Constantin VII ne fit aucune mention du rôle de l'évêque d'Héraclée dans la description du rituel de nomination du patriarche et, plus particulièrement, lors du rite de l'imposition des mains,⁵⁷ la présence de ce dernier était indispensable pour la cérémonie décrite par le pseudo-Codinos et Syméon de Thessalonique aux XIV^e et XV^e siècles.⁵⁸ La pratique de la prérogative d'Héraclée apparut aussi chez les historiens après Jean Skylitzès et Jean Zonaras⁵⁹ : Michel Glycas, vers le milieu du XII^e siècle, la mentionna dans son récit de la fondation de Constantinople, ainsi que lors de la nomination de Polyeucte.⁶⁰ Au XIV^e siècle, les historiens Georges Pachymère et Nicéphore Grégoras firent état du rôle crucial ou problématique de l'évêque d'Héraclée dans les élections des patriarches Joseph I^{er} en 1266 et Grégoire II de Chypre en 1283.⁶¹ Les principaux témoins de cette prérogative furent cependant de nature ecclésiastique. Au XII^e siècle, Nil Doxapatrès cita cette coutume dans son traité de géographie ecclésiastique pour justifier la situation de la métropole de

⁵⁶ Il pourrait être envisagé, par exemple, que les patriarches successifs de la fin du X^e siècle aient eux-mêmes contribué en partie à sa mise en place, en s'assurant d'avoir toujours le concours de l'évêque d'Héraclée lors de leur ordination, afin d'éviter les contestations.

⁵⁷ Constantin VII Porphyrogénète, *De Ceremoniis*, II, 14, éd. J. J. REISKE, *Constantini Porphyrogeniti imperatoris De cerimoniis aulae byzantinae (CSHB)*, I, Bonn, 1829, pp. 564-566.

⁵⁸ Pseudo-Codinos, *Traité des offices*, X, éd. R. MACRIDES – J. A. MUNITIZ – D. ANGELOV, *Pseudo-Kodinos and the Constantinopolitan Court : Offices and Ceremonies (Birmingham Byzantine and Ottoman Studies, 15)*, Farnham (UK) – Burlington (USA), 2013, p. 256 ; traduction française dans *Pseudo-Kodinos, Traité des offices*, XX, 117-120, trad. J. VERPEAUX (*Monde Byzantin*, 1), Paris, 1966, p. 281 ; Syméon de Thessalonique, *De sacris ordinationibus*, 236, *PG* 155, 452.

⁵⁹ Dans ses *Annales*, Jean Zonaras reprend les passages de Jean Skylitzès sur les ordinations de Nicéphore I^{er} et Polyeucte : Jean Zonaras, *Annales*, XVI, 12 et 22, éd. BÜTTNER-WOBST [cité n. 41], pp. 440 et 486-487.

⁶⁰ Michel Glycas, *Annales*, éd. I. BEKKER, *Michaelis Glycae Annales (CSHB)*, Bonn, 1836, pp. 462 et 563.

⁶¹ Georges Pachymère rapporta que Joseph I^{er} refusa d'être ordonné par Pinakas d'Héraclée, qui avait été nommé par son prédécesseur au patriarcat, ce qui obligea l'empereur à ruser. Nicéphore Grégoras, pour sa part, raconta comment l'élection de Grégoire II passa par le choix stratégique du nouvel évêque d'Héraclée. Georges Pachymères, *Relations historiques*, IV, 24, éd. A. FAILLER et trad. V. LAURENT (*CFHB*, 24.2), II, Paris, 1984 ; Nicéphore Grégoras, *Histoire byzantine*, VI, 1, 6, éd. L. SCHOPEN, *Nicephori Gregorae Historia byzantina (CSHB)*, I, Bonn, 1829, pp. 164-165. Voir aussi la traduction allemande commentée de van Dieten dans *Nikephoros Gregoras, Rhomäische Geschichte. Historia Rhomaike (Bibliothek der griechischen Literatur, 4)*, trad. J. L. VAN DIETEN, Stuttgart, 1973, p. 147.

Césarée en Palestine vis-à-vis le patriarche de Jérusalem.⁶² Vers la même époque, Théodore Balsamon revint sur ce privilège dans ses commentaires canoniques⁶³ et Matthieu Blastarès, au XIV^e siècle, l'inséra bien évidemment dans son encyclopédie de droit canonique.⁶⁴

Fait notable : la plupart de ces auteurs acceptèrent et transmirent l'explication de cet état de fait donnée par Jean Zonaras, à savoir qu'Héraclée devait ce privilège à l'ancien assujettissement de Byzance. Pourtant, cette déclaration n'était pas sans danger pour la situation canonique de Constantinople, comme l'avait démontré, entre autres, la lettre du pape Gélase I^{er}.⁶⁵ La reconnaissance de cette coutume induisait un lien de dépendance entre la capitale et sa voisine qui pouvait être comparé à celui qui prévalait entre Jérusalem-Ælia et Césarée de Palestine, à l'époque du concile de Nicée. Selon le septième canon de ce concile en effet, l'évêque de Jérusalem devait être honoré et obtenir la préséance d'honneur, mais sans nuire à la dignité propre qui revenait à la métropole, c'est-à-dire Césarée de Palestine.⁶⁶ Mais, plus encore, en rappelant que Byzance était suffragante d'Héraclée, le siège de Constantinople risquait de tomber sous la législation du douzième canon du concile de Chalcédoine, qui stipulait :

Qu'un évêque ne doit pas devenir métropolitain par lettre impériale et qu'une éparchie ne saurait être divisée en deux. Nous avons appris que certains, contrairement aux lois ecclésiastiques, s'adressent aux pouvoirs publics et font diviser en deux par des édits une éparchie, si bien que dès lors il y a deux métropolitains dans la même éparchie. Le saint concile a décidé qu'à l'avenir nul évêque n'ose rien faire de tel ; celui qui l'entreprendrait sera déchu de son propre rang. Quant aux villes qui ont été honorées par lettres impériales du titre de métropole, qu'elles se contentent du seul titre honorifique, de même que l'évêque qui en administre l'Église, étant évidemment saufs les propres droits de la véritable métropole.⁶⁷

⁶² Nil Doxapatrès, *Notice des patriarchats*, éd. F. N. FINCK, *Des Nilos Doxapatres Tázis τῶν πατριαρχικῶν θρόνων*, Marbourg, 1902, pp. 19-20.

⁶³ Théodore Balsamon, Commentaire au canon 3 de Constantinople et au canon 12 de Chalcédoine, *PG* 137, 321-324 et 433 (voir n. 69).

⁶⁴ Matthieu Blastarès, *Syntagma canonum*, epsilon 11, *PG* 144, 1277-1280.

⁶⁵ Voir la n. 28.

⁶⁶ *Les conciles œcuméniques* [cité n. 8], pp. 42-43. Cette association est pleinement réalisée par Nil Doxapatrès qui, dans sa description du statut de Césarée en Palestine, justifie le droit de cette dernière à ordonner le patriarche de Jérusalem, en vertu du septième canon du concile de Nicée et par l'exemple d'Héraclée en Thrace. Voir la n. 62.

⁶⁷ Περὶ τοῦ μὴ δεῖν ἐκ βασιλικοῦ γράμματος ἐπίσκοπον γίνεσθαι μητροπολίτην, καὶ ὅτι εἰς δύο ἐπαρχίας μία οὐ τέμνεται. Ἦλθεν εἰς ἡμᾶς ὡς τινες παρὰ τοὺς ἐκκλησιαστικοὺς θεσμοὺς προσδραμόντες δυναστείας διὰ πραγματικῶν τὴν μίαν ἐπαρχίαν εἰς δύο κατέτεμον, ὡς ἐκ τούτου δύο μητροπολίτας εἶναι ἐν τῇ αὐτῇ ἐπαρχίᾳ. Ὡρισε τοίνυν ἡ ἅγια σύνοδος τοῦ λοιποῦ μηδὲν τοιοῦτο τολμᾶσθαι παρὰ ἐπισκόπου, ἐπεὶ τὸν τοῦτο ἐπιχειροῦντα ἐκπίπτειν τοῦ οἰκείου βαθμοῦ. Ὅσοι δὲ ἤδη διὰ γραμμάτων βασιλικῶν τῷ τῆς μητροπόλεως ἐτιμήθησαν ὀνόματι, μόνης ἀπολαύετωσαν

Les conséquences logiques d'une telle association concouraient à donner à Constantinople une simple préséance honorifique, sans réel pouvoir décisif. En insérant la présentation de cette prérogative dans son commentaire au troisième canon du concile de Constantinople, le premier à affirmer la préséance de l'Église de Constantinople, Jean Zonaras neutralisait un peu les implications canoniques de cette coutume, sans toutefois les annihiler totalement.

Quelques décennies plus tard, lorsque Théodore Balsamon reprit, dans ses commentaires sur les canons, l'explication de Jean Zonaras, il se montra encore plus critique et prudent. Dans son commentaire au troisième canon du concile de Constantinople, après avoir noté que la prérogative d'Héraclée n'avait pas d'autre origine que l'ancien assujettissement de Byzance à Périnthe, il interpella le jugement du lecteur : « Remarque d'où l'évêque d'Héraclée tient le droit d'ordonner le patriarche ! »⁶⁸ Et immédiatement après, il ajouta deux exemples d'ordinations accomplies sans la présence de l'évêque d'Héraclée, pour cause de vacance de ce siège : celle d'Étienne I^{er}, citée par Jean Skylitzès, et, plus près de lui, celle de Léonce le Théotokite en 1189. Ailleurs, dans la conclusion de son commentaire au douzième canon du concile de Chalcédoine, celui qui pouvait nuire à la primauté de l'Église de Constantinople, Théodore Balsamon se fit encore plus catégorique dans son refus de reconnaître le caractère contraignant de cette coutume.

Lis donc en long cette notice et réponds à celui qui dit que, lors de l'élévation d'un évêché en métropole ou en archevêché, s'il n'est pas imposé par l'autorité impériale que leurs élections aient lieu à l'instigation patriarcale, le véritable métropolitain fera leur élection, sous prétexte qu'aujourd'hui encore est resté en usage d'ordonner le patriarche œcuménique par l'évêque d'Héraclée, du fait que Constantinople, c'est-à-dire Byzance, était autrefois un évêché d'Héraclée ; à celui-là, dis-lui qu'à partir de cette notice, tout cet argumentaire est réfuté et que l'évêque de Constantinople n'est pas nécessairement ordonné par l'évêque d'Héraclée. On trouve en effet Étienne, frère du seigneur empereur Léon le Sage, qui fut ordonné patriarche de Constantinople par Théophane, le métropolitain de Césarée, et, plus récemment, Léonce par Démétrios de Césarée.⁶⁹

τῆς τιμῆς καὶ ὁ τὴν ἐκκλησίαν αὐτῆς διοικῶν ἐπίσκοπος, δηλονότι σφροζομένον τῆ κατὰ ἀλήθειαν μητροπόλει τῶν οἰκειῶν δικαίων. *Les conciles œcuméniques* [cité n. 8], pp. 212-213.

⁶⁸ Καὶ σημείωσαι πόθεν δικαιούται ὁ Ἡρακλείας χειροτονεῖν τὸν πατριάρχην Κωνσταντινουπόλεως. Théodore Balsamon, Commentaire au canon 3 de Constantinople, *PG* 137, 324 ; traduction personnelle.

⁶⁹ Ἀνάγνωθι οὖν εἰς πλάτος τὸ τοιοῦτον σημείωμα, καὶ εἰπέ πρὸς τοὺς λέγοντας ὡς, εἰ μὴ ἐν τῷ ἀνάγεσθαι τὴν ἐπισκοπὴν εἰς μητρόπολιν ἢ ἀρχιεπισκοπὴν προστεθῆ παρὰ τῆς βασιλικῆς ἐξουσίας τὸ τὰς ψήφους τούτων γίνεσθαι κατὰ προτροπὴν πατριαρχικὴν, ὁ κατ'ἀλήθειαν μητροπολίτης ποιήσει τὴν ψῆφον αὐτῶν τοῦτο γὰρ φυλάττεται καὶ μέχρι τοῦ νῦν εἰς τὸν οἰκουμενικὸν πατριάρχην χειροτονούμενον

Au XIV^e siècle, Nicéphore Grégoras, quant à lui, semblait très sceptique sur les origines présumées de la prérogative de l'évêque d'Héraclée.

À celui-ci en effet, selon les anciens privilèges, il revient d'ordonner l'évêque de Constantinople, soit que le grand Constantin, lorsqu'il fit de Byzance la nouvelle et grande Rome, n'ait pas voulu abolir les privilèges des anciens empereurs, mais qu'il les ait plutôt confirmés par respect des temps lointains et de l'empereur Sévère qui avait dicté cette loi – car, autrefois, au prix de nombreux efforts et peines, celui-ci avait soumis cette cité, alors qu'elle n'était encore que Byzance, puis, par vengeance, il l'avait, entre autres, destituée, détruit ses remparts et, finalement, il l'avait accordée entièrement aux habitants d'Héraclée en Thrace à titre de village – ; soit donc pour cette raison, il préserva ininterrompue une telle loi, soit pour je ne sais quelle raison, néanmoins il en fut fait ainsi à cette époque, comme il a été dit.⁷⁰

Il ressort de ces témoignages qu'à partir du XII^e siècle, la prérogative d'Héraclée, qui, par le passé, avait pu servir à contester l'autorité du patriarche, fut officiellement acceptée, même s'il subsistait chez certains auteurs un malaise concernant ses origines et ses implications canoniques pour le siège de Constantinople. Dans les faits, son application ne sembla pas avoir été inconditionnellement respectée, comme en témoignent, entre autres, les cas des ordinations de Léonce le Théotokite en 1189 par Démétrios de Césarée, de Joseph I^{er} en 1266 par Grégoire de Mytilène, de Gérasime I^{er} en 1320 par le métropolite de Sardes et d'Isaïe en 1323 par le métropolite de Cyzique.⁷¹

παρὰ τοῦ Ἡρακλείας, διὰ τὸ εἶναι τὴν Κωνσταντινούπολιν ἤτοι Βυζάντιον ποτε τοῦ Ἡρακλείας ἐπισκοπὴν· ὅτι ἀπὸ τοῦ τοιοῦτου σημειώματος πᾶσα τοιαύτη δικαιολογία περαιορεῖται, καὶ ὁ Κωνσταντινουπόλεως οὐκ ἐξ ἀνάγκης παρὰ τοῦ Ἡρακλείας χειροτονεῖται. Εὐρηται γὰρ καὶ Στέφανος ὁ ἀδελφὸς τοῦ βασιλέως κυροῦ Λέοντος τοῦ Σοφοῦ πατριάρχης χειροτονηθεὶς Κωνσταντινουπόλεως, παρὰ Θεοφάνους μητροπολίτου Καισαρείας, καὶ πρὸ ὀλίγων χρόνων ὁ Λεόντιος παρὰ Δημητρίου τοῦ Καισαρείας. Théodore Balsamon, Commentaire au canon 12 de Chalcédoine, *PG* 137, 433 ; traduction personnelle.

⁷⁰ Τοῦτω γὰρ κατὰ τὰ πάλαι ἐφεῖται προνόμια χειροτονεῖν τὸν Κωνσταντινουπόλεως, εἴτε καὶ τοῦ μεγάλου Κωνσταντίνου, τοῦ τὸ Βυζάντιον ἐς νέαν καὶ μεγίστην καταστήσαντος Ῥώμην, μὴ καταλύειν ἐθελήσαντος τὰ τῶν πάλαι βασιλέων προνόμια, ἀλλ' ἐπικυρώσαντος μᾶλλον αἰδοῖ τοῦ μακροῦ χρόνου καὶ τοῦ τὸν νόμον θέντος Σεβήρου τοῦ αὐτοκράτορος, ὁπότε σὺν μάλα τοὶ πλείστοις ἰδρῶσι καὶ πόνοις ἐκεῖνος αὐτὴν παρεστήσατο, Βυζάντιον οὔσαν ἔτι, καὶ τὰ τε ἄλλα πρὸς ἄμυναν κατασιχνας αὐτὴν καὶ τὰ τείχη καθηρηκῶς τὸ τελευταῖον τούτοις δὴ τοῖς ἐπὶ Θράκης Ἡρακλεώταις ὄσα καὶ κῶμη χρῆσθαι αὐτῇ ἐχαρίσατο· εἴτε οὖν διὰ ταύτην τὴν αἰτίαν τηρεῖται διηνεκῶς τὸ τοιοῦτον προνόμιον, εἴτ' οὐκ οἶδ' ὅπως, πέπρακται δ' οὖν ὁμῶς ἐπὶ τοῦδε τοῦ χρόνου τουτί γε, ὡς εἴρηται [...]. Nicéphore Grégoras, *Histoire byzantine*, VI, 1, 6, éd. SCHOPEN [cité n. 61], pp. 164-165 ; traduction personnelle. Voir la note 61.

⁷¹ Pour les deux derniers exemples, voir V. LAURENT, *La chronologie des patriarches de Constantinople de la première moitié du xiv^e siècle (1294-1350)*, dans *REB*, 7 (1949), pp. 151 et 153.

BASILE LE MINIME, COUPABLE D'IRRÉGULARITÉ ?

En conclusion, l'accusation portée par Jean Skylitzès envers Basile le Minime apparaît démesurée en regard de la signification réelle de l'événement en 956. Lorsque l'empereur Constantin VII fit appel au protothroné pour cette cérémonie, il était tout à fait dans son droit. L'intervention de Basile n'était certainement pas déplacée, puisqu'il était premier évêque du patriarcat, ni révolutionnaire, puisqu'il existait au moins avant lui les cas d'Étienne I^{er} ordonné par Théophane de Césarée et de Nicéphore I^{er} ordonné par Nicolas de Césarée, et encore moins anti-canonique, puisque la prérogative d'Héraclée n'existait pas.

L'exclusion de Nicéphore d'Héraclée, dans laquelle Basile n'avait *a priori* joué aucun rôle, représentait surtout un affront personnel fait à un évêque plutôt qu'une véritable entorse aux canons de l'Église. Par conséquent, il est presque certain que personne, du vivant de Basile, ne lui en a tenu rigueur, d'autant plus que son appui était hautement recherché par les meneurs de la cabale contre Polyeucte. Le concours de Basile apportait en effet un poids considérable à la coalition, non seulement parce qu'il occupait le siège le plus élevé en importance du patriarcat, mais également parce qu'il semblait être proche de l'empereur : il lui avait dédié ses imposants *Commentaires aux Discours de Grégoire de Nazianze*⁷² ; il avait contribué à son accession au trône en tonsurant les fils de Romain I^{er} Lécapène en 945⁷³ ; à sa demande, il avait ordonné le patriarche Polyeucte et participé à la révision du jugement porté contre Alexandre de Nicée.⁷⁴ Dans ces conditions, il pouvait sembler peu judicieux aux adversaires de Polyeucte de s'en faire un ennemi en l'accablant de reproches. Le bon sens prescrivait plutôt de s'en faire un allié en le ménageant.

La prérogative de l'évêque d'Héraclée dut en réalité se développer après la disparition de Constantin VII en 959 et après celle de Basile à date inconnue. Elle apparut très probablement à l'origine dans la foulée du mouvement séditieux qui chercha à saper l'autorité du patriarche Polyeucte, avec pour double objectif de récupérer d'une part le grief de Nicéphore d'Héraclée, pour contester la légitimité du patriarche actuel, et, d'autre part, de placer le patriarcat en position de faiblesse au regard des canons de l'Église, pour justifier les revendications d'autonomie des évêques. S'agissait-il cependant

⁷² Voir la lettre dédicatoire de Basile éditée dans *Basilii Minimi* [cité n. 2].

⁷³ Jean Skylitzès, *Constantin VII de nouveau*, 2, éd. THURN [cité n. 1], p. 236.

⁷⁴ Sur cette affaire, voir Darrouzès dans *Épistoliers byzantins* [cité n. 30], pp. 27-32 ; *PmbZ* II, 20231 (Alexandros) ; mais surtout l'excellente analyse de T. PRATSCH, *Alexandros, Metropolit von Nikaia und Professor für Rhetorik (10. Jh.) – biographische Präzisierungen*, dans *Millenium-Jahrbuch*, 1 (2004), pp. 253-271.

d'un argument officiel des adversaires du patriarche ? Par qui était-elle revendiquée ? Impossible à dire, car, lorsqu'elle apparaît dans les sources, elle est devenue une procédure régulière.

Formulé à l'origine dans un esprit de polémique envers le patriarcat, ce privilège persista donc dans les mœurs, jusqu'à devenir un élément essentiel du rituel d'intronisation du patriarche. L'acceptation officielle de cette prérogative est toutefois révélatrice du renforcement de l'autorité patriarcale au sortir de la crise du X^e siècle, car seul un pouvoir assez sûr de son hégémonie pouvait se permettre de passer outre les implications canoniques compromettantes de cette coutume.

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SUMMARY

In his *Chronicle*, written at the end of the 11th century, John Skylitzes reported that when Polyuctus was elected as patriarch in the middle of the 10th century he was ordained not by the bishop of Heraclea, as was customary, but by Basil of Caesarea. The *Chronicle* added that the bishop was bitterly criticized for this appointment. In Skylitzes' mind, the right to ordain the patriarch was a privilege of the metropolitan of Heraclea and only exceptional circumstances could explain the derogation from this consecrated practice. Before his testimony, however, there is no proof that such a custom existed; the practice seemed more informal. This paper proposes to explore the origins of this prerogative and to examine the events that contributed to its establishment under the patriarchate of Polyuctus, in order to evaluate the appropriateness of the charges that, according to John Skylitzes, had been brought against Basil of Caesarea.

DE PHILETOLO FORNICATORE OR THE TALE OF
THE SOUL STUCK BETWIXT HEAVEN AND HELL.
A CURIOUS STORY AND A THEOLOGICAL PARADOX*

THE STORY OF THE CHARITABLE FORNICATOR

“Parmi la foisonnante littérature des récits « utiles à l’âme », d’une valeur littéraire et historique souvent médiocre, certains jettent une lumière curieuse sur la mentalité populaire en matière de dogme et de discipline ecclésiastique”.¹ These words by Paul Canart are applicable to a tale usually referred to as *De eleemosynario fornicatore*, which tells the story of a man and his destiny in the afterlife. Though a very generous almsgiver, he was also an unrepentant fornicator, and because of this perfect balance between his good deeds and sins his soul is condemned to be eternally suspended between Hell and Paradise. Such a case in point is not contemplated in the writings of the Church Fathers or of later theologians, and consequently the

* I discussed some issues related to the composition and sources of this short story in a paper delivered at the International Conference *The Place of Hell. Topographies, Structures, Genealogies* (London, King’s College and The Warburg Institute, 31 May-1 June 2013). My warmest thanks go to the organizers, Dionysios Stathakopoulos and Rembrandt Duits, as well as to the participants and attendees for their stimulating questions and observations. I wish to thank André Binggeli, who was so kind as to discuss a previous version of this paper with me, and to allow me to consult his still unpublished dissertation on the collections of tales attributed to Anastasios of Sinai (see below, n. 6). I would also like to thank Gianfranco Agosti and two anonymous referees for their feedback and for saving me from several errors. I am grateful to Christian Förstel for assisting me with the autoptical inspection of the Paris manuscripts and to Zizis Melissakis for providing me with photographs of MS 278 from the National Library of Athens. Of the other manuscripts quoted in this article, I have examined those preserved at the Ambrosiana, Vaticana and Marciana libraries *in situ*; I have collated the others by means of microfilm and digital reproductions.

¹ P. CANART, *Trois groupes de récits édifiants byzantins*, in *Byz*, 36 (1966), pp. 5-25, viz. p. 5. For a general overview on the ἱστορίαί or διηγήσεις ψυχοφελείς (i.e. exemplary narratives that aim to teach a moral lesson and to encourage virtuous behaviour), see J. WORTLEY, *The Genre of the Spiritually Beneficial Tale*, in *Scripta & e-Scripta*, 8-9 (2010), pp. 71-91; the general introduction and the notes appended to each narration in IDEM (ed.), *The Spiritually Beneficial Tales of Paul, Bishop of Monembasia and of Other Authors*, Kalamazoo, Mich., 1996; S. HEID, *Die C-Reihe erbaulicher Erzählungen des Anastasios vom Sinai im Codex Vaticanus Graecus 2592*, in *OCP*, 74 (2008), pp. 71-114, viz. pp. 71-78; A. BINGGELI, *Collections of Edifying Stories*, in S. EFTHYMIADIS (ed.), *The Ashgate Research Companion to Byzantine Hagiography*, II. *Genres and Contexts*, Farnham – Burlington, VT, 2014, pp. 143-159. An important research tool is John Wortley’s *Repertoire of Byzantine “Beneficial Tales”*, available at <http://home.cc.umanitoba.ca/~wortley> (last consulted in April 2016). I will refer to the tales with the entry number in the *BHG* and in Wortley’s repertory (henceforth, *W*).

idea of the existence of a third dimension – distinct from Heaven and Hell – designed to hold this particular category of souls is almost unparalleled in Byzantine descriptions of the otherworld,² even in the usually richer imagery of ‘lowbrow’ religious literature (comprising hagiography, monastic collections of anecdotes and short stories and chronicles).³

This singularity may indeed be one of the reasons why the tale has drawn such interest from modern scholarship, though another might be the fact that it represents a possible source for studies on the economic and social life of Late Antique Cyprus, for this island is the setting of the story in its most popular version (*BHG* 1322w = W 504).⁴

² The closest parallel, as already suggested by CANART, *Trois groupes de récits* [see n. 1], p. 14, n. 2, is quite possibly to be found in a passage of the *Vita Basilii Iunioris* (ed. D. F. SULLIVAN – A.-M. TALBOT – S. MCGRATH, *The Life of St. Basil the Younger. Critical Edition and Annotated Translation of the Moscow version* [*DOS*, 45], Washington, D.C., 2014 – in the following: *The Life of St. Basil the Younger*) (see below); another *comparandum* might be provided by the chronicler Michael the Syrian (see below).

³ For a panorama of the various forms of visions of the otherworld in Byzantine literature, see the major contribution made by J. BAUN, *Tales from another Byzantium. Celestial Journey and Local Community in the Medieval Apocrypha*, Cambridge, 2007 (the tale *De Philentolo fornicatore* is mentioned at pp. 123 and 342) and the surveys of A. TIMOTIN, *Byzantine Visionary Accounts of the Other World: A Reconsideration*, in J. BURKE et al. (eds), *Byzantine Narrative. Papers in Honour of Roger Scott* (*Byzantina Australiensia*, 16), Melbourne, 2006, pp. 404-420; IDEM, *Visions, prophéties et pouvoir à Byzance. Étude sur l’hagiographie méso-byzantine (IX-XI siècles)* (*Dossiers byzantins*, 10), Paris, 2010; L. BRUBAKER, *Byzantine Visions of the End*, in P. CLARKE – T. CLAYDON (eds), *The Church, the Afterlife and the Fate of the Soul. Papers read at the 2007 Summer Meeting and at the 2008 Winter Meeting of the Ecclesiastical History Society*, Woodbridge, UK, and Rochester, NY, 2009, pp. 97-119 (the latter also focussing on the ‘eschatological apocalypses’); see also N. CONSTAS, “*To Sleep, Perchance to Dream*”: *The Middle State of Souls in Patristic and Byzantine Literature*, in *DOP*, 55 (2001), pp. 91-124 (the tale of Philentolos is mentioned at p. 117, n. 99). On Byzantine visionary literature, see also the studies collected by C. ANGELIDI (ed.), *Dreams and Visions in Late Antiquity and Byzantium*, Farnham – Burlington, VT, 2013 and B. KRÖNUNG, *Gottes Werk und Teufels Wirken. Traum, Vision, Imagination in der frühbyzantinischen monastischen Literatur* (*Millennium Studies*, 45), Berlin – Boston, 2014. In the present study I will mostly use the word ‘Hell’ to indicate the place where souls await the Last Judgement and are at the same time punished for their sins; indeed, as underlined by BAUN, *Tales* [see *supra*], p. 306, several Byzantine theologians, although with consistent differences among themselves, tend to differentiate between ‘Hades’, i.e. “a temporary, interim abode of all souls (before the Judgement)” and ‘Hell’, i.e. “a place of eternal punishment for the damned (usually after the final Judgement)”. On this issue see below, n. 27.

⁴ The protagonists of the tale, i.e. the visionary hermit Kaioumos and the sinner whose soul appears to the former, Philentolos, deserved entries in such major reference works as the *ODB* (II, s.v. *Kaioumos*: “theologian; first half of the 7th C.”; the author of this entry, A. KAZHDAN, also mentions the tale in his *Byzantine Hagiography and Sex in the Fifth to Twelfth Century*, in *DOP*, 44 [1990], pp. 131-143, viz. p. 137), the *DHGE* (t. XXVIII, Suppl. [2003], col. 750, s.v. *Kaioumos*: “moine byzantin de la première moitié du VIIe siècle” [R. AUBERT]), the *PmbZ* (nr. 3578, *Καιουμός*, with the warning that “Es handelt sich höchwahrscheinlich um eine fiktive Person”, and nr. 6147 *Φιλέντολος* – again with the caveat that “An dem fiktiven Charakter der Erzählung ist nicht zu zweifeln”).

As often happens with spiritually beneficial tales, our story has come to us in different redactions, both as an autonomous narrative and as part of other pieces of literature.⁵ Its most anciently recorded version, the above-mentioned *BHG* 1322w, is known as *De Philentolo fornicatore*, after the name given to the protagonist, Philentolos. It has been handed down through several manuscripts (mostly collections of *gerontika* and *paterika*), the most ancient of which date back to the late 10th – early 11th centuries. While in the majority of witnesses this redaction was transmitted anonymously, in others it is preserved together with collections of *narrationes animae utiles* introduced as works by a certain “Anastasios the monk” whose identification with Anastasios of Sinai (ca. 630-700 AD), though disputable, is reputed certain or highly probable by some scholars. Thus, the tale has been catalogued in the *Clavis Patrum Graecorum* as an item pertaining to one of the collections of edifying stories by the author of the *Hodegon* (*CPG* 7758, *collectio* C 15, corresponding to coll. II, 25 of Binggeli’s classification). Nonetheless, the formation and transmission history of these corpora of tales still remain uncertain, and consequently the authorship of *BHG* 1322w is impossible to determine with any degree of certainty.⁶ One should not exclude the possibility of an

⁵ On the ἱστορίαι ψυχωφελεῖς being part of a “vast and interrelated tales tradition”, in which very often the same story assumes different shapes and is found in different contexts, see the observations of J. WORTLEY, *Death, Judgment, Heaven, and Hell in Byzantine “Beneficial Tales”*, in *DOP*, 55 (2001), pp. 53-69, viz. p. 53; see also J. DUFFY, *The Jewish Boy Legend and the ‘Western Twist’*, in D. SULLIVAN – E. FISHER – S. PAPAIOANNOU (eds), *Byzantine Religious Culture. Studies in Honour of Alice-Mary Talbot (The Medieval Mediterranean, 92)*, Leiden – Boston, 2012, pp. 313-322, viz. p. 317, who points out, apropos of different versions of the same edifying tales, that “while the basic structure and outline remain the same, there are variations in a number of points”. One must bear in mind that, more often than not, scribes felt free – when copying such stories – to paraphrase, rewrite and make changes. Therefore, their modern editors and interpreters must confront such concepts and categories as the “mutability of texts” (see e.g. S. F. JOHNSON, *The Life and Miracle of St. Thekla. A Literary Study [Hellenic Studies, 13]*, Washington, D.C., 2006, pp. 70 ff.) and “living texts” (see the insightful observations by P. VAN NUFFELEN, *John of Antioch, Inflated and Deflated. Or: How (Not) to Collect Fragments of Early Byzantine Historians*, in *Byz*, 82 [2012], pp. 437-450, viz. pp. 444-449).

⁶ Some scholars, such as André Binggeli, who has been the first to attempt a full-scale analysis of the textual transmission and an overall study of the contents of the “Anastasian” collections in his dissertation (A. BINGGELI, *Anastase le Sinaïte : Récits sur le Sinaï et Récits utiles à l’âme*, Thèse de doctorat en Études grecques, Université Paris 4, 2001 [unpublished] – in the following: BINGGELI, *Récits*; see also IDEM, *Anastasios of Sinai*, in D. RICHARD THOMAS – B. ROGGEMA – J. P. MONFERRER SALA [eds], *Christian-Muslim Relations: A Bibliographical History (600-900)*, Leiden – New York, 2009, pp. 193-202, viz. pp. 198-200) and Bernard Flusin (B. FLUSIN, *Démons et sarrasins. L’auteur et le propos des Diègèmata stèritika d’Anastase le Sinaïte*, in *TM*, 11 [1991], pp. 381-409) argue in favour of such attribution. Others, however, have raised doubts concerning Anastasios of Sinai’s authorship, e.g. F. Nau, who firstly published a selection of these narrations (F. NAU, *Le texte grec des récits utiles à*

oral circulation of a story on the charitable fornicator, which might have been fixed down in various textual forms at different times – one being the one ascribed to Anastasios.⁷

There are at least two more self-standing Greek redactions of the tale, namely *BHG* 1322xc and *BHG* 1322x, which have been handed down in manuscripts dating from the 12th-13th centuries onwards; still another (*BHG* 1322xd) forms a section of the ‘Amphilochian’ chapters of the *The-saurus* attributed to a certain Teognostus (13th c.). Finally, a fourth adaptation was included by George the Monk and Michael Glykas in their chronicles, each setting the story in the early 8th century in connection with Patriarch Germanos I of Constantinople and providing no mention of the sinner’s name; hence the title *Historia de eleemosynario fornicatore sub*

l’âme d’Anastase (le Sinaïte), in *OC*, 3 [1903], pp. 56-89, viz. pp. 57-58); more recently, Joseph A. Munitiz has observed that “the ‘edifying stories’ attributed to Anastasios of Sinai are so uncertain in their attribution that any use of them must be very suspect. However, his *Questions and Answers* do include some examples of the genre, and this may explain why more were clustered round his name” (J. A. MUNITIZ, *Anastasios of Sinai: Speaking and Writing to the People of God*, in M. B. CUNNINGHAM – P. ALLEN [eds], *Preacher and His Audience: Studies in Early Christian and Byzantine Homiletics*, Leiden – Boston – Köln, 1998, pp. 227-245, viz. p. 243; the *narrationes* are not the only works traditionally ascribed to Anastasios of which the authorship is being questioned by scholars: see D. ZAGANAS, *The Authenticity of Anastasios Sinaita’s Hexaemeron (CPG 7770)*, in *REB*, 73 [2015], pp. 189-201). On the one hand, it may well be possible, with HEID, *Die C-Reihe* [see n. 1], pp. 74-75, that Anastasios the monk (whether or not he be the Sinaïte), in preparing his own collection of *narrationes*, included both original creations and tales that he had derived from other collections, and that Philentolos’ tale indeed belonged to the latter group. On the other, it and other stories might have entered the corpus of the “Anastasian” narrations at a later stage of transmission. This is the opinion of K.-H. Uthemann, who suggested that Philentolos’ tale, together with others, may have been attached to the original core of the collection in the early 9th century. See K.-H. ÜTHEMANN, *Anastasios Sinaites. Byzantinisches Christentum in den ersten Jahrzehnten unter arabischer Herrschaft (Arbeiten zur Kirchengeschichte, 125)*, I-II, Berlin – Boston, 2015 (in the following: ÜTHEMANN, *Anastasios Sinaites*, 2015a), I, pp. 463-582, and esp. 573-574; IDEM, *Anastasios Sinaites*, in C.-G. CONTICELLO, *La théologie byzantine et sa tradition*, I/1 (VI^e-VII^e s.), Turnhout, 2015 (in the following: ÜTHEMANN, *Anastasios Sinaites*, 2015b), pp. 517-770, viz. pp. 546-547 and pp. 708-747. Finally, one should not overlook the possibility that this story, or a very similar one, circulated orally before being written down by Anastasios the monk (see n. 7 below). Nor can we take as proof of Anastasios authorship the fact that some elements in the tale of Philentolos may indeed reflect opinions also found in Anastasios’s works (see below, n. 15, 21 and 38). It is to be hoped that further elements will be put forth for discussion by the forthcoming publication of A. Binggeli’s edition of the three collections of *narrationes*.

⁷ If so, the search for a common textual matrix for all the extant written versions could be in vain, as is the case with the historiographical narratives dating more or less to the same epoch as that of the possible ‘author’ of our tale studied by M. CONTERNO, *La «descrizione dei tempi» all’alba dell’espansione islamica. Un’indagine sulla storiografia greca, siriana e araba fra VII e VIII secolo (Millennium Studien, 47)*, Berlin – Boston, 2014, pp. 143-144; see also the observations thereupon of L. MECELLA in her review of Conterno’s book in *Medioevo greco*, 15 (2015), pp. 338-343, viz. pp. 341-342.

Germano patriarcha is commonly attributed to this version (*BHG* 1322y = W 062).⁸

In this paper I will reflect on the origins of the story, arguing that its seminal idea might be traced back to the theological debate of the 6th century. Furthermore, I will provide a new edition of the most ancient redaction, *BHG* 1322w, which has already been published twice, though on the basis of a restricted set of manuscripts,⁹ as well as an edition of the two redactions 1322xc and 1322x, which hitherto remain unpublished.

PHILETOLOS' INTERMEDIATE SPACE: A PUZZLING IMAGE

What follows is a full translation of the most widely-circulated, and seemingly most ancient redaction, *BHG* 1322w (= [Ps.-]Anastasius Sinaita, *Narrationes*, C 15 = II 25 Bingeli):¹⁰

On Philentolos from Mt Olympos

At the time of the saintly Archbishop Arkadios,¹¹ in the town of Constantia there lived a certain Philentolos,¹² known as the one originating from

⁸ A connection between Germanos' lost *Antapodotikos* and this tale is not proven and indeed remains unlikely; one may wonder, as suggested by W. LACKNER, *Ein hagiographisches Zeugnis für den Antapodotikos des Patriarchen Germanos I. von Konstantinopel*, in *Byz*, 38 (1968), pp. 42-104, here 77, whether those who associated the story of the otherworld destiny of the charitable fornicator to Germanos did so due to its subject matter, for eschatology plays an important role in the *Antapodotikos* (in this work Germanos confutes the idea of Gregory of Nyssa being a supporter of Origen's doctrine of the apokatastasis; cf. D. STIERNON, *Germano, patriarcha di Costantinopoli*, in *Bibliotheca Sanctorum*, 6, Roma, 1966, coll. 243-253: col. 251). For a general overview of Germanos I, see *PmbZ* I, 2, nr. 2298 (pp. 31-38; and see here, p. 38, with explicit reference to our story: "mit Germanos verbinden sich auch fiktive Erzählungen erbaulichen Inhalts, die für die Rekonstruktion seines Lebens nicht brauchbar erscheinen, z.B. Georg. mon. 746, 7-748, 17, Georg. mon. Muralt 928B-929D, wo aber sein Name nicht genannt wird").

⁹ F. HALKIN, *La vision de Kaioumos et le sort éternel de Philentolos Olympiou*, in *AB*, 63 (1945), pp. 56-64 (based on five manuscripts, see below); HEID, *Die C-Reihe* [see n. 1], pp. 105-108, based on MS U of "Collection C" of (Pseudo?-)Anastasios' *narrationes* (with a German translation). Another edition, based primarily on the same MS U and the *Parisinus Coislinianus* 283 (our D) is found in BINGELI, *Récits* [see n. 6], pp. 256-257 (with a French translation at pp. 571-572).

¹⁰ For a discussion of the variants in other versions of the tale, see below, *Appendix I*.

¹¹ Presumably Arkadios I, bishop of Constantia (ca. 625-641/642 A.D.). The existence of other bishops with the same name in 7th-century Cyprus is highly controversial: see *PmbZ*, nr. 589 (*Ark. II von Zypern*).

¹² The adjective φιλέντολος is usually glossed "lover of God's commandments" (LAMPE, *Lexicon*, s.v. – where an occurrence from Palladius, *Historia Lausiaca*, 52, PG 34, 1217B is recorded; cf. *PmbZ*, nr. 6147: "die Gebote liebend"); however, in Hesychius, *Lexicon*, φ 465, ed. I. C. CUNNINGHAM – P. A. HANSEN, Berlin – New York, 2009, s.v., the term is interpreted "almsgiver" (φιλέντολος: ἐλεήμων). This adjective is indeed scarcely attested in Greek and Byzantine literature, occurring no more than ten times in the *TLG online* database (last

Mt Olympos.¹³ He distributed a great deal of money to the poor and to orphans, and performed all sorts of charitable acts;¹⁴ he spent almost all his

checked: May 2016): two in the fragments of the sixth-century poet Dioscorus and eight in the works of Theodoros Studites, who also employs the noun φιλεντολία once. Its Latin equivalent, *philentulus*, is widely attested as of the first centuries C.E. in Jewish funerary epigraphy (such as in the inscriptions found in Rome published in the *Corpus Inscriptionum Iudaicarum*, I, 132, 203 and 509), as an epithet stating the deceased person's *observantia legis*, see e.g. M. H. WILLIAMS, *The Jewish Community of Corycus – Two More Inscriptions*, in *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik*, 92 (1992), pp. 248-252, viz. p. 249. For medieval Latin, see e.g. *Novum Glossarium mediae Latinitatis ab anno DCCC usque ad annum MCC. Phacoides-Pingo*, cur. F. DOLBEAU, Bruxelles, 2003, s.v. *philentulus sive filentulus* (though the only example quoted there comes from the translation of our tale by John of Amalfi, on which see below, n. 70). In the version from which I am translating (BHG 1322w), the word is likely to be interpreted as a personal name (HALKIN, *La vision* [see n. 9], p. 56-57), as is surely the case with the other Greek redactions; I therefore translate “there was a man named Philentolos” and not “there was a man, lover of commandments” or “there was a charitable man”. The fact that the protagonist of the vision is given a ‘talking name’ (and one which certainly has a strong antiphrastical value when applied to an inveterate sinner, if we accept the etymology “lover of commandments”) might itself constitute a clue as to the fictitious nature of this character (compare the name of the protagonist of the *Apocalypse of Anastasia*, which alludes to the latter's resurrection – ἀνάστασις – from death, thus connotating her as a “fictitious, typological heroine”: BAUN, *Tales* [see n. 3], p. 102).

¹³ Following the interpretation suggested by J. A. MUNITIZ (ed.), *Theognosti Thesaurus*, Turnhout – Leuven, 1979 (CCSG, 5), p. lxxv, n. 104 and accepted by BINGGELI, *Les récits* [see n. 6], p. 571 and n. 149, and by UTHEMANN, *Anastasios Sinaites*, 2015a [see n. 6], I, p. 573, I render ὁ τοῦ Ὀλύμπου as “originating from Mount Olympos” (in inner Cyprus). The formula, however, could also be taken as a patronymic, i.e. “son of Olympos” (see *PmbZ*, nr. 6147: “Unklar ist, ob dieser Beiname auf eine geographische Bedeutung oder – wahrscheinlicher – auf den Vater des P. zurückzuführen ist”).

¹⁴ It would be superfluous to mention how common it was for Byzantine authors to stress the Christian duty to do almsgiving (ἐλεημοσύνη); starting with the Cappadocian Fathers it became a common theme of preaching (see e.g. the sermon *De eleemosyna* and the homilies *De Lazaro et divite* by John Chrysostom), of admonitory literature (see e.g. the chapters 44 and 58 of Agapetus the Deacon's *Scheda regia*) and of edifying stories (such as the numerous anecdotes concerning alms collected by John Moschos. For a recent survey thereon, see B. LLEWELLYN IHSEN, *John Moschos' Spiritual Meadow: Authority and Autonomy at the End of the Antique World*, Farnham – Burlington, VT, 2014, pp. 62-69). On the notion of “redemptive almsgiving” (i.e., as R. GARRISON, *Redemptive Almsgiving in Early Christianity*, Sheffield, 1993, p. 10, puts it, “that almsgiving not only wins favour with God, but even merits the forgiveness of sin. Redemptive almsgiving as a doctrine functions for the theological benefit of the rich but for the material benefit of the poor”) applied to the Late-Antique epoch, see e.g. W. MAYER, *John Chrysostom on Poverty*, in P. ALLEN – B. NEIL – W. MAYER (eds), *Preaching Poverty in Late Antiquity*, Leipzig, 2009, pp. 69-118, esp. 88-90 (see here, p. 90, an interesting *exemplum* taken from John's homily *In Hebraeos*, §11, according to which the beggar would stand “beside the almsgiver on the day of judgement” and would snatch her/him “away from fire”). See also, in the same volume, the *Introduction* by P. ALLEN – S. STITZLER (pp. 15-33), and the recent study by P. BROWN, *The Ransom of the Soul. Afterlife and Wealth in Early Western Christianity*, Cambridge, Mass. – London, 2015. If charity can compensate for failures in the observance of commandments (this is clearly asserted, e.g., in *The Life of St. Basil the Younger* [see n. 2], VI, §25, p. 746), it is not in itself sufficient to avoid chastisement, unless accompanied by true repentance on the part of the sinner or by the intercession of saints (see *ibidem*, VI, §25, l. 2; and the literature discussed below, notes 28 and 30).

revenue, whether it came from land or sea, from his estates or from trade, on pious deeds. However, due to the work of the devil, he was affected by the passion of fornication.¹⁵ He grew old abandoning neither his charitable actions nor his sin, and eventually he passed away.

The bishops and the archbishop carried out long inquiries and discussions concerning his fate. Some said: “He was saved, for it is said that a man’s charity shall cover the multitude of his sins” [Ecc. 17, 22; Jac. 5, 20; cf. 1

¹⁵ The term *πορνεία* definitely connotes Philentolos as a lecherous man, though it leaves much room for uncertainty as to the precise nature of his vice or perversion. The word means ‘fornication’ or ‘illicit intercourse’ (LAMPE, *Lexicon*, s.v.) of any kind, or more generally ‘sexual misconduct’ or ‘sexual impurity’; it may also connote “prostitution or having commerce with a prostitute” (A. E. LAIOU, *Sex, Consent and Coercion in Byzantium*, in EADEM [ed.], *Consent and Coercion to Sex and Marriage in Ancient and Medieval Society*, Washington, D.C., 1993, pp. 109-221, 128; a full treatment here, pp. 128-132). As WORTLEY, *The Spiritually Beneficial Tales* [see n. 1], p. 178, observes, this “notoriously difficult word to translate” may indicate, depending on the context, “any forbidden sexual activity in thought, word or deed”. *Πορνεία* is the topic of several *narrationes animae utiles* (here, pp. 178-179) and is given much space in monastic literature, for instance in the *Apophthegmata Patrum* (in which section V of the ‘systematic collection’ is dedicated in its entirety to this passion; edition in J.-C. GUY†, *Les Apophthegmes des Pères. Collection Systématique. Chapitres I-IX*, révision et publication posthume par B. FLUSIN, Paris, 1993 [SC, 387]) and the compilation by Paul Evergetinos (Ἐυεργετινὸς ἦτοι Συναγωγὴ τῶν θεοφθόγγων ῥημάτων καὶ διδασκαλιῶν τῶν θεοφόρων καὶ ἁγίων πατέρων, ed. MAKARIOS OF KORINTH and NIKODEMOS HAGIORITES, Venetis, 1783, repr. Ἀθήναι, 1978, II, hyp. 25-29, pp. 287-385). For a general overview of sexual faults being considered among the most despicable in the taxonomy of sins in Byzantine visions of the afterlife, see BAUN, *Tales* [see n. 3], pp. 340-341; for another example, see the account of the otherworld journey in the *Visio Macarii* – BHG 999n –, where fornication, which includes adultery and homosexuality, is “the most dreadful of all the tollgates” that the souls of dead men have to go through in their ascent to Heaven (S. DIRSKE, *Τελωνεῖα: The Tollgates of the Air as an Egyptian Motif in Patristic Sources and Early Byzantine Hagiography*, in P. ROLOS [ed.], *Medieval Greek Storytelling. Fictionality and Narrative in Byzantium* [Mainzer Veröffentlichungen zur Byzantinistik, 12], Wiesbaden, 2014, pp. 41-53, here p. 46). According to Anastasios of Sinai, *quaest.* 34 (ed. M. RICHARD† – J. A. MUNITIZ, *Anastasioi Sinaitae Quaestiones et responsiones* [CCSG, 59], Turnhout – Leuven 2006, p. 86), as a “bad habit”, *πορνεία* “is something more wicked and stronger than the devil himself” (transl. J. MUNITIZ, *Anastasios of Sinai, Questions and Answers* [Corpus Christianorum in Translation, 7], p. 136); on the difficulty of abandoning the passion of fornication see *quaest.* 33 (ed. RICHARD† – MUNITIZ, pp. 85-86; transl. MUNITIZ, pp. 135-136; here Anastasios offers a sort of medical explanation as well, and the concern for this passion is frequent throughout the collection: see *ibidem*, *ad indicem*). In the moral commentary appended to the tale in BHG 1322w it is said that the emission of seed caused by indulging in fornication is like a continous sacrifice to the devil (my edition, paragraph 24); the taboo of emitting sperm other than for reproductive purposes is indeed addressed by Anastasios in *quaest.* 25 (ed. RICHARD† – MUNITIZ, p. 51; transl. MUNITIZ, p. 106) and *quaest.* 38-39 (ed. RICHARD† – MUNITIZ, pp. 90-92; transl. MUNITIZ, pp. 142-144, with commentary). As to the concern for sexual misconduct in Byzantine hagiographic literature, see, among others, KAZHDAN, *Byzantine Hagiography and Sex* [see n. 4], esp. pp. 131-143, and for the early-Byzantine period A. ROUSSELLE, *Porneia. De la maîtrise du corps à la privation sensorielle, III^e et IV^e siècles de l’ère chrétienne*, Paris, 1983. Philentolos’ tale is often coupled in manuscripts with another story concerning the afterlife destiny of an unrepented fornicator, *De taxeota seu milite redivivo* (BHG 1318 = W 010): when this man dies, his soul is examined by angels and devils and then sent back to his body so that he can live some more time and expiate his sins.

Pe 4, 8]. Others replied: “It is written in the book of the prophet Ezechiel that ‘I will judge you as I find you’ [i.e. “according to your actions”: cf. Ez 18, 24-26; 18, 30; 11, 3]. How would it then be possible for a man who has not abandoned his sins until his death to be saved?” In the middle of such long discussions, the archbishop announced a period of fasting and prayers,¹⁶ and he also asked the cenobites, the stylites and the recluses to implore God to reveal where the soul of the dead was now dwelling.

And so it happened, and God sent a revelation¹⁷ to his servant, abba Kaioumos,¹⁸ who lived as a recluse in Ammochoston;¹⁹ he was a virtuous man who had spent several years in the gulf of St Anthony, on the opposite side of Klyasma²⁰ on the Red Sea. He summoned the holy Arkadios and the bishops who were with him and told them what follows: “Last night, as if in a sort of ecstasy, I saw a place, at the right side of which there was Paradise, wrapped in indescribable beauty; but on the left side there was a fiery furnace whose flames reached up into the clouds. In the middle stood the dead man, staring at Paradise and groaning. While he kept doing so, I saw a figure dressed in splendid garments standing by him and saying to him: ‘You groan in vain. Didn’t I warn you to abandon fornication? Look, thanks to your alms, you have been freed from the gehenna. But as you did not abandon fornication, you have been deprived of the joy of Paradise’”.

Let this be told to those who say, “Even if I fornicate, I will give alms and I will be saved”. Real charity is to have mercy on oneself before everyone else. “All sins that man can commit are outside his body” [1 Cor 6, 18]; instead, he who fornicates sins against his own body. Why against his own body? Because the seed which is emitted from your body whenever you fornicate is like a

¹⁶ As pointed out by MUNITIZ in *Theognosti Thesaurus* [see n. 13], p. 174 n. f, here *λυταί* could also signify “more formal prayer(s)”, i.e. “litanies” or “processions”.

¹⁷ Within the Byzantine tradition of spiritually beneficial tales, cases of people requesting that God disclose the afterlife fate of a recently deceased person are not infrequent, see e.g. the tale *De Mauricio imperatore visio monachi* (BHG 1322yb: W 052; and *Anastasioi Quaestiones*, app. 18 [= coll. B, qu. 42], ed. RICHARD† – MUNITIZ [see n. 15], pp. 199-200). On the literary motif of revelations sent in the form of visions to people experiencing a state of ecstasy or apparent death, see in particular the surveys of B. KRÖNUNG, *Ecstasy as a form of visionary experience in early Byzantine monastic literature*, in ANGELIDI, *Dreams and Visions* [see n. 3], pp. 35-51; KRÖNUNG, *Gottes Werk* [see n. 3], pp. 44-144. On the various literary expedients of introducing visions of the otherworld in medieval literature (ecstasy, near-death experiences etc.), see, among others, BAUN, *Tales* [see n. 3], pp., 167-174; C. ZALESKI, *Otherworld Journeys. Accounts of Near-Death Experience in Medieval and Modern Times*, Oxford – New York, 1987, pp. 26-94; C. CAROZZI, *Le voyage de l’âme dans l’au-delà d’après la littérature latine (V^e–XIII^e siècle)*, Rome, 1994, pp. 102-112, 222-226, 519-522, *passim*; and J. N. BREMMER, *The Rise and Fall of the Afterlife (The 1995 Read-Tuckwell Lectures at the University of Bristol)*, New York – London, 2002, pp. 87-102.

¹⁸ A name of semitic origin (HALKIN, *La vision* [see n. 9], p. 57; *PmbZ*, nr. 3578).

¹⁹ Modern-day Famagusta, on the eastern coast of Cyprus, ca. 8 km south of Salamis / Constantia.

²⁰ Klyasma was an important port throughout Late Antiquity; the nearby bay was called after St Anthony (see e.g. G. M. COHEN, *The Hellenistic Settlements in Syria, the Red Sea Basin, and North Africa*, Berkeley – Los Angeles, 2006, p. 327; P. M. SÜPESTEJN, *The Arab conquest and the beginning of Muslim rule*, in R. S. BAGNALL [ed.], *Egypt in the Byzantine World, 300-700*, Cambridge, 2007, pp. 437-459, viz. p. 447).

sacrificial offering of your body to the devil.²¹ Therefore, do not tell me, brother, “I wish I could escape the fiery furnace, such as that man!”. What would that mean, man? You think that being spared from flames is a great achievement? In turn I tell you that it is much worse to be spared the vision of the Kingdom of Heaven than to go through ten thousand furnaces and punishments. And what would be more pitiable for you than to be deprived of God for all eternity? God is light, and he who is deprived of light dwells in the deepest obscurity. Therefore, do not say, “It will suffice me to avoid the gehenna”. This may also be the case of the souls of those (sons of) heretics of all sorts who died in childhood, those who, having committed no sin, are freed from the gehenna. But they will never enter the Kingdom of Heaven. Therefore, do not wish to be counted among them, and instead abstain from your sin. Listen to what Christ says speaking through Paul: “Do not be deceived: neither those who commit sexual sins, nor those who commit adultery, nor those who have homosexual intercourse, nor those who slander, nor the drunkards will inherit the Kingdom of God”. And Christ himself confirms this, saying that “Heaven and earth will pass away, but my words will not pass away”. Therefore, strive for peace and for the holiness of your body, without which no one will see the Lord.

As is often the case with Byzantine depictions of the otherworld, the description of Philentolos’ dwelling place lacks any precise topographical details;²² the only spatial coordinates provided are *left*, corresponding to the furnace (of Hell), *right*, corresponding to Paradise, and *center*, i.e. the middle ground where Philentolos is to be found. The right-left opposition follows a very traditional scheme, that of the prefiguration of the Last Judgement announced by Jesus himself, when the damned and the saved will be placed respectively on the left and on the right of the Son of Man.²³ It is more difficult

²¹ This passage is indeed very similar to *Anastasii Quaestiones*, 38, ed. RICHARD† – MUNI-TIZ [see n. 15], p. 91, 7-10: καὶ ὅσπερ πᾶσα ἁμαρτία ἦν ἂν ποιήσῃ ἄνθρωπος ἐκτὸς τοῦ σώματος ἐστίν [1 Cor. 6, 18], ὅταν δὲ πορνέυσῃ, ὡσανεὶ ἐκ τῆς οἰκείας σαρκὸς προσάγει θυσίαν τῷ πονηρῷ τὴν ἑαυτοῦ σποράν κτλ.

²² One must bear in mind that “despite their use of geographical features”, the authors of ancient and medieval descriptions of underworld regions “did not have a clear map [of such places] either at hand or in mind” (M. HIMMELFARB, *Tours of Hell. An Apocalyptic Form in Jewish and Christian Literature*, Philadelphia, 1983, p. 106). This is also true for Byzantine accounts of otherworld journeys, which describe places whose topography is something fluid, vague, flat, confused and “seemingly random”; in such literature all spatial coordinates, when given, are to be taken symbolically as visual aids that may help to conceptualize a moral-theological message: see BAUN, *Tales* [see n. 3], pp. 148-151, and L. SILVANO, *Per una fenomenologia dell’inferno bizantino: la geografia morale delle visioni dell’aldilà (IV-XI sec.)*, in I. BAGLIONI (ed.), *Sulle Rive dell’Acheronte. Costruzione e Percezione della Sfera del Post Mortem nel Mediterraneo Antico*, Roma, 2014, pp. 259-280 (an improved version of this paper is to be published soon).

²³ Cf. Mt. 25, 33 and 41. Such an arrangement – the saved on the right, the damned on the left – is highly conventional, as it is found not only in the majority of Christian depictions of the otherworld, both in literature and in the visual arts, but also in pagan authors (e.g., Plato, *Republic*, 614c), and in the Muslim traditions concerning Muhammad’s *mi’rāj*, as reflected in

to frame or find parallels for the mid-region where Philentolos is standing, as it is in no way connotated; indeed, we are not told whether it is a flat surface, a bridge (an image quite common in otherworld visions), a mountain crest or instead a gulf or valley (such as the “great chasm” of Luke 16, 19-31, which separates the damned rich man from poor Lazarus, who sits in the “bosom of Abraham”).²⁴ One could even imagine him floating in the air.

Philentolos does not enter in contact with other souls, but only with a supernatural being, the anonymous angel²⁵ who intervenes to explain the reasons for his present condition; there is no real dialogue between the two. There is no mention of devils or of the journey of Philentolos’ soul since its departure from earth, and therefore no reference to the widespread belief in the ‘heavenly custom houses’ or ‘aerial toll-houses’ (*telonia*).²⁶ As far as we

the *Book of Muhammad’s ladder*. Here, in chapter 8 of the Latin version (I quote from A. LONGONI, *Il libro della scala di Maometto*, Milano, 2013, here p. 50; for a panorama of all extant versions, see A. ECHEVARRIA, *Liber schalae Machometi*, in D. THOMAS – A. MALLETT [eds], *Christian-Muslim Relations. A Bibliographical History*. Volume 4 (1200-1350), Leiden – Boston, 2012, pp. 425-428), it is said that when a sinner dies, God sends one of the black angels who are at his own *left* for his soul. When the angel brings the soul before God, the latter tends his *left* hand to the sinner and then orders another angel, chosen among the most repulsive, to escort the soul to the entrance of Paradise, where, however, the doors remain shut. Again, in chapter 74 (ed. LONGONI, pp. 278-280), there emerges the image of the scale (resembling that of Qu’ran 7: 8-9, 42:17 and 57:25) equipped with two gigantic plates, the one on the right made of light and the one on the left of darkness. At the Last Judgement men will be requested to empty the bags they are carrying, i.e. that of their sins on the left plate, and that of their good deeds on the right one. Their souls will thus be dragged in the direction corresponding to the heavier plate. The correspondence right/good vs left/evil is ubiquitous in Byzantine hagiography and literature in general: see, e.g., the anecdote edited by F. NAU in *PO*, 8, pp. 178-179, concerning abba Silvanus paying a visit to a monk who sits for most of the day with two baskets in front of him and throws one pebble in the one on the right whenever a good thought comes to his mind and one in the basket on the left whenever a bad thought arrives; when the former basket is emptier, he fasts for one whole day.

²⁴ Indeed, this image is quite ominous, and it is not clear whether the “bosom of Abraham” stands for Paradise, where souls await the Last Judgement before entering the Kingdom of Heaven, or for the Kingdom of Heaven itself. On the interpretation of this evangelical passage in Byzantine authors, see M. ANGOLD, *Church and Society under the Comneni (1081-1261)*, Cambridge – New York, 1995, pp. 448-449, and BAUN, *Tales* [see n. 3], pp. 201-203, as well as the literature discussed below, n. 28. On its reception in the West in the Middle Ages see J. BASCHET, *Le sein du père : Abraham et la paternité dans l’Occident médiéval*, Paris, 2000.

²⁵ A common feature of literary visions of the otherworld (and of visual representations too), angels may have the role of *psychopompoi* and guides, but can also be in charge of driving the damned into Hell, inflicting torments upon them or overseeing the torments. See the bibliography mentioned above, notes 3 and 17.

²⁶ On the *telonia* see M. JUGIE, *La doctrine des fins dernières dans l’Église gréco-russe (I-II)*, in *EO*, 17 (1914), pp. 5-22 and 209-228, here 18-20; G. EVERY, *Toll Gates on the Air Way*, in *Eastern Churches Review*, 8 (1976), pp. 139-151; BAUN, *Tales* [see n. 3], pp. 125-126; DIRSKE, *Τέλωνεῖα* [see n. 15]; J. C. LARCHET, *La vie après la mort selon la tradition orthodoxe*, Paris, 2004, pp. 85-130. The most detailed literary description of the passage through the aerial toll-gates is to be found in *The Life of St. Basil the Younger* [see n. 2], pp. 190-249.

can tell from the angel's reproach, Philentolos has been sentenced to be eternally trapped between Hades/Hell and Paradise. Such a statement is in contradiction with what we know from the Byzantine traditional beliefs concerning the otherworld, which do not contemplate alternative locations other than the two mentioned previously; there are no elements leading us to imagine his dwelling place as a sub-zone of one of them (a sort of vestibule of Hell like Dante's *Antinferno*, for instance). Furthermore, Paradise and Hades are generally interpreted as *post-mortem* temporary holding zones whose inhabitants await the decision regarding their ultimate destination (i.e. either the Kingdom of Heaven or Hell) which will be taken during the Last Judgement, when the Resurrection of the bodies of the dead takes place.²⁷ In the tale of Philentolos the distinction between *before* and *after* Judgement Day seems not to be taken into consideration, and the protagonist's soul is instead apparently confined within a permanent and final place of detention. As explicitly suggested by the moral at the end of the story (which varies significantly in the other known redactions of the tale), his fate can be compared to that of babies who have died without having voluntarily committed any sin; their souls will not enter the Kingdom of Heaven or the *gehenna*, but instead will dwell for all eternity within an intermediate space not unlike the *limbus puerorum* of Latin theologians.²⁸ Yet there is a fundamental

²⁷ Such a conception is expressly formulated, e.g., in other spiritually beneficial tales, like the one recently published by S.A. IVANOV – L. GERD, *An unknown post-Byzantine journey to the other world*, in *BMGS*, 39/2 (2015), pp. 227-248: 237-238 (transl. p. 245). The Byzantine tradition, however, is not consistent on this issue. Some theologians endorse the doctrine of 'immediate retribution', implying that the souls of the deceased, soon after being separated from their bodies, experience either full punishment in Hell or complete beatification in Heaven, without any further changes in status: for a general overview, see JUGIE, *La doctrine* [see n. 26]; CONSTAS, "To Sleep, Perchance to Dream" [see n. 3], esp. pp. 109-110. Such a view is also attested within hagiographical literature: see for instance L. RYDÉN (ed.), *The Life of St. Andrew the Fool*, Uppsala, 1995, ll. 2346-2348, and the commentary thereon, at pp. 330-331 n. 5. The souls seen by Theodora during her visit to Hades in *The Life of St. Basil the Younger* [see n. 2] also seem to be fully experiencing the punishment they deserved due to their sins, and their condition is said to be everlasting (see pp. 258, 12-14). In other sources, such as the apocalypses of Anastasia and of the Theotokos, the infernal torments might not be meant as everlasting (BAUN, *Tales* [see n. 3], pp. 305-312; if this is true, then, as Baun argues, *ibidem*, p. 312, such visions may indeed not refer to tours of Hell or Hades, but of a "third, less defined and more flexible, location in the Byzantine consciousness").

²⁸ Both the Greek fathers (e.g. Gregory of Nazianzus, *or.* 40, 23) and the Byzantine theologians and canonists seem to agree on the fact that unbaptized children would enter neither Hell nor the Kingdom of Heaven (J. BAUN, *The Fate of the Babies Dying before Baptism in Byzantium*, in D. WOOD [ed.], *The Church and Childhood. Papers read at the 1993 Summer Meeting and the 1994 Winter Meeting of the Ecclesiastical History Society*, Oxford – Cambridge, Ma., 1994, pp. 115-125); some sources, such as the anonymous *Letter on Heaven and Hell* (L. RADERMACHER [ed.], *Anonymi Byzantini de coelo et infernis epistula* [Studien zur Geschichte der Theologie und der Kirche, 3.2], Leipzig, 1898, p. 14) place them in the "bosom of Abraham". However, a theorization of the existence of a *limbus* for the souls of

difference between unbaptized children, who died bearing no other sin than the original one, and Philentolos, who lived a life of sin and failed to repent while he was still alive, though he obviously could have done so. Another unique feature of Philentolos' place of detention is that it seems to be inhabited by Philentolos alone, and not by a plurality of souls, as if his were the only case of a perfect balance between sins and good deeds.

Philentolos is not subjected to any sort of physical suffering. Yet, instead of focusing on the positive aspects, i.e. his being spared the torments (e.g. fire, worms or hanging) commonly inflicted on those who have died in sin, the narration lays far greater stress on the negative aspects of this condition, i.e. his being denied the possibility to contemplate God, which for him will be cause for perennial contrition. That exclusion from God's presence is in itself to be considered worse than any torment in hell might have been an idea shared by several theologians, albeit seldom expressed explicitly.²⁹

unbaptized babies and more generally of those who die without being capable of using their reason has been fully developed only by Western theologians. Most of them, such as Thomas Aquinas, distinguish between a *limbus patrum* (indeed similar, and perhaps identical, to the "bosom of Abraham") and a *limbus infantium* or *puerorum* – whilst the inhabitants of the former (usually identified with the souls of the patriarchs of the Old Testament and of the just people who died before Christ's resurrection) will be saved after the Last Judgement, the unbaptized children are apparently believed to be confined within such a limbus for eternity (an overview is found in A. CARPIN, *Il limbo nella teologia medievale*, Bologna, 2006). The location of *limbus* is very often imagined in the immediate proximity of Hell (C. BEITING, *The third Place: Augustine, Pelagius and the theological roots of the Idea of Limbo*, in *Augustiniana*, 48 [1998], pp. 5-30; J. DE MAHUET, *Limbes*, in *Catholicisme hier, aujourd'hui, demain*, t. 7, Paris, 1975, coll. 792-800; F. MONTANARI, *Limbo*, in *Enciclopedia dantesca*, Roma, 1971, III, pp. 651-654; M. LAARMAN, *Limbus patrum/l. puerorum*, in *LM*, V [1991], coll. 1990-1991). Indeed, the possibility for the soul of an unrepented sinner to be confined within such a limbus is to be excluded. F. HALKIN, *La vision* [see n. 9], p. 59, n. 3, mentions as a possible *comparandum* the legends concerning the posthumous salvation of Trajan and Falconilla from Hell, which are attested in several sources, such as the *Acta Pauli et Theclae* (ed. R. A. LIPSIUS in R. A. LIPSIUS – M. BONNET [eds], *Acta Apostolorum Apocrypha*, I, Lipsiae, 1891, §§28-29, pp. 255-257) and in Pseudo-Joannes Damascenus's *De his qui in fide dormierunt* (§9, PG 95, 253D-256A; 16, *ibidem*, 261D-264A; on this, see J. A. TRUMBOWER, *Rescue for the Dead: The Posthumous Salvation of Non-Christians in Early Christianity* [Oxford Studies in Historical Theology], Oxford, 2001, pp. 56-65 and 141-154). Due to the prayers of Gregory 'the Dialogue' or St Thecla (depending on the various versions), these souls were freed from Hell, though they could not access Heaven. As recognized by Halkin himself (*ibidem*), the similarities between these cases and Philentolos' are less significant than the differences. Firstly, Trajan and Falconilla were non-Christians, and secondly, they were spared from Hell through someone else's intercession, and not due to their own good actions.

²⁹ Such a view was shared, for instance, by St Augustine, who in his *Enchiridion ad Laurentium de fide et spe et caritate* says: "*perire a regno Dei, exulare a ciuitate Dei, alienari a uita Dei, carere tam magna multitudine dulcedinis Dei quam abscondit timentibus se, perfecit autem sperantibus in se, tam grandis est poena ut ei nulla possint tormenta quae nouimus comparari, si illa sit aeterna, ista autem sint quamlibet multis saeculis longa*" (E. EVANS [ed.], *Augustini Opera*, XIII/2 [CCSL, 46], Turnhout, 1969, p. 110, §29, 112; see the commentary thereon in BROWN, *The Ransom of the Soul* [see n. 14], pp. 112-114).

In addition to being banished from the joys of Heaven, Philentolos appears to be condemned to isolation and loneliness. All in all, the third dimension in which he is imprisoned *is* a place of pain.

Though the issue of whether the prayers of the living could benefit the departed is a common ingredient in several monastic anecdotes and *historiae psychopheleis*, it is not addressed in this tale; in fact, nothing is said about Philentolos' being able to attain salvation through suffrages on behalf of his soul. Indeed, it was generally believed that such prayers would not have any effect if the deceased had not fully repented before dying (repentance after that time would have been, of course, useless), and we must assume that Philentolos had not.³⁰

There is one aspect that seems to me to be beyond all doubt: the person who conceived this tale was clearly less concerned with providing the readers with a plausible and solid theological background for this vision³¹ than with the moral lesson that could result from such an exemplary story. He aimed to convey a basic catechism, consisting in two principles of equal

³⁰ On this point, see the observations of WORTLEY, *Death* [see n. 5], p. 65: "Presumably this man could have saved his soul by adding confession to a priest to his almsgiving, but then he would have had to refrain from his disorderly life in order to validate his confession". As to the presence of the theme of the inutility of *post mortem* repentance within Greek visions of the underworld, such as the influential apocalypses of Paul and Peter, see A. TORRANCE, *Repentance in Late Antiquity. Eastern Asceticism and the Framing of the Christian Life, c. 400-650 CE (Oxford Theology and Religion Monographs)*, Oxford, 2013, pp. 193-196, and in particular p. 195: "the key, it seems, to a hopeful repentance of the lost is not any intention or action on their part. Even when they appear to be repenting in the flames, their prayer in itself is consistently futile. Rather what is required is a sponsored repentance on their behalf by the righteous". On the utility of prayers for the dead see, e.g., Dionysius Areopagita, *De ecclesiastica hierarchia*, 7, 3, 4-7 (ed. G. HEIL – A. M. RITTER [PTS, 36], pp. 125-129). On successful confession eliminating records of sins from the devils's registers and thus facilitating the soul of the repented's transit through the celestial tollgates see e.g. *The Life of St. Basil the Younger* [see n. 2], pp. 221-223, 227-233, 243-245. It is perhaps superfluous to point out that here, as in other Byzantine descriptions of the otherworld, the concept of gaining salvation through sufferance and expiation is completely absent, and thus any attempt at comparison with the Latin doctrine of Purgatory would prove inappropriate.

³¹ Indeed, it was probably due to the lack of consistency and systematicity of Byzantine eschatology (a reflection of "Byzantine failure, or reluctance, to systematize religious belief, or rather to articulate the largely implicit system of belief that had been worked out by the seventh century", according to P. MAGDALINO, *The History of the Future and its Uses: Prophecy, Policy and Propaganda*, in R. BEATON – CH. ROUECHÉ [eds], *The Making of Byzantine History. Studies Dedicated to Donald M. Nicol*, Aldershot, 1993, pp. 3-34, viz. p. 30) that tales like this one could proliferate. To put it in the words of CONSTAS, "To Sleep, Perchance to Dream" [see n. 3], p. 120: "emboldened by this inviting lacuna, the Byzantine horror vacui responded with endless conjectures and speculations". Such newly invented theological explanations were not stigmatized, provided that they did not explicitly contradict any of the official dogmas, as in the case of Philentolos' tale. For an overview of the speculation on the afterlife among Early-Christian and Late Antique theologians see B. E. DALEY, *The Hope of the Church. A Handbook of Patristic Eschatology*, Cambridge – New York, 1991.

importance: first, that doing alms is highly commendable and can guarantee salvation; second, that persistence in sin (especially in one of the worst types, fornication) and absence of repentance preclude access to Heaven – and this is true even for great almsgivers.³²

THE SETTING OF THE STORY: REALITY OR FICTION?

The author of the most anciently attested version of the tale, *BHG* 1322w, may have wanted to provide a plausible Cypriote setting for the narration:³³ hence his mention of the bishop Arkadios, an historical figure who lived during the 7th century, and his particular care in referring to place names. A wealthy ship owner, as Philentolos is, may well reflect the society of Late Antique Cyprus.³⁴ The overall scenery might in fact have seemed plausible to its author and intended readership. The modern reader, however, should not forget that those mentioned in the *narrationes animae utiles* are more often than not fictional characters and locations, and that references to real people and to the geography and topography of the places are introduced therein only to give an air of veracity to the narration. The name itself of the protagonist, Philentolos, as we have seen, might suggest the fictional nature of this character.³⁵ Such a *caveat* should be kept in mind when read-

³² Philentolos' case is not comparable to that of charitable fornicators like the woman who played the harlot and gave "earnings away in alms" (*Apophthegmata Patrum*, *Tim.* 1 = *Coll. Syst.* XIII, 18; transl. J. WORLLEY, *Give me a Word. The Alphabetical Sayings of the Desert Fathers*, Yonkers, NY, 2014, p. 310). This woman, in fact, gained salvation not (only) because of her alms, but because she repented and entered a monastery. It is quite an exception that "a single good action by a fornicator or prostitute could be sufficient to secure his or her salvation" (KAZHDAN, *Byzantine Hagiography and Sex* [see n. 4], p. 137, which cites the following anecdote from the *Life of Theodoulos of Edessa* – *BHG* 1785: Cornelius the flutist once met a young woman in the street prostituting herself to pay bail for her husband, who had been imprisoned because of his debts; Cornelius gave the woman a huge sum of money, and his soul was saved). See the quote from Judith Herrin below at n. 37.

³³ UTHEMANN (*Anastasios Sinaites*, 2015a [see n. 6], esp. pp. 561 ff.; 2015b, p. 745) supports the idea of a Cypriot origin for this tale, which together with others of the same provenance might have been added to the Anastasian corpus in the ninth century. The versions of the tale providing other settings, such as Constantinople, are in all probability later re-elaborations of *BHG* 1322w (see below).

³⁴ For Arkadios see above, n. 11. The same setting (the town of Constantia at the time of Bishop Arkadios) is used both in the story *De presbytero mago* (*BHG* 1444v), corresponding to item B 7 (II, 15 Binggeli) of [Ps.-?] Anastasios of Sinai's *narrationes* (ed. NAU, *Le texte grec* [see n. 6], pp. 69-70) and in "collection B" of the *erotapokriseis* attributed to the same author (*quaest.* 41; see *Anastasioi Sinaitae Quaestiones*, app. 17, p. 193).

³⁵ Above, n. 12. HALKIN, *La vision* [see n. 9], pp. 56-59, highlighted the accuracy of toponyms and names of public figures as a special feature of this tale if compared to the rest of the *narrationes animae utiles*, which instead are usually vague in providing geographical and historical information ("sans attache nette avec aucun pays ni aucune époque déterminée,

ing the numerous scholarly contributions which cite the tale as a source for studies on the economy and society of Late Antique Cyprus,³⁶ not to mention the practice of almsgiving and the activity of philanthropic institutions in Byzantium.³⁷

[ces récits] laissent dans un anonymat sans relief les personnages fictifs dont ils rapportent les exploits”, *ibidem*, p. 56). I would be inclined to apply the considerations of WORTLEY, *Death* [see n. 5], p. 59, to the tale of Philentolos, when he underlines that “we are no more to take the circumstances of a tale ‘for real’ than we should take the scenery and trappings in the theater”.

³⁶ These include C. P. KYRRIS, Ἐσχατολογικαὶ ἀναζητήσεις ἐν Ἀμμοχώστῳ τῆς Κύπρου ἐπὶ ἀρχιεπισκόπου Ἀρκαδίου Α΄ (α΄ ἡμισὺ τοῦ VIIου μ.Χ. αἰῶνος), in *Βυζαντινά*, 2 (1970), pp. 63-105; IDEM, *The Admission of the Souls of Immoral but Humane People into the ‘limbus puerorum’ According to the Cypriot Abbot Kaioumos (VIIth century A.D.) Compared to the Quran’s Al’ Araf (suras 7.44-46, 57.13, -14)*, in *Revue des études sud-est européennes*, 9 (1971), pp. 461-477; A. CAMERON, *Cyprus at the time of the Arab conquests*, in *Cyprus Historical Review*, 1 (1992) [repr. in EADEM, *Changing Cultures in Early Byzantium*, Aldershot – Brookfield, VT, 1996, nr. VI], pp. 27-49, viz. p. 37 (“these were years of confidence and prosperity for Cyprus, as is evident [...] from the case of one Philentolos, a charitable debauchee whose likely fate after death the church of Cyprus assembled to debate in the time of Bishop Arcadius”); D. KRUEGER, *Symeon the Holy Fool: Leontius’ Life and the Late Antique City*, Berkeley – Los Angeles – London, 1996, pp. 10-11; V. VON FALKENHAUSEN, *Bishops and monks in Byzantine Cyprus*, in N. PATTERSON ŠEVČENKO – CHR. MOSS (eds), *Medieval Cyprus. Studies in Art, Architecture, and History in Memory of Doula Mouriki*, Princeton, NJ, 1999, pp. 21-33, viz. p. 31 and n. 87 (the tale is here referred to as evidence that “in early Christian Cyprus there were many monasteries, hermits, recluses, and even stylites”); T. PAPACOSTAS, *The Economy of Late Antique Cyprus*, in S. KINGSLEY – M. DECKER (eds), *Economy and Exchange in the East mediterranean during Late Antiquity. Proceedings of a conference at Somerville College, Oxford, 29 May, 1999*, Oxford, 2001, pp. 107-128, viz. pp. 108-109.

³⁷ See, e.g., J. HERRIN, *Ideals of Charity, Realities of Welfare. The Philanthropic Activity of the Byzantine Church* [1990], in EADEM, *Margins and Metropolis. Authority across the Byzantine Empire*, Princeton, N. J., 2013, pp. 298-311, viz. p. 308 (this “fascinating episode recorded in seventh-century Cyprus” is quoted in support to the claim that, according to Byzantine theological thought, charitable actions alone could not guarantee sinners immediate access to Heaven: “the notion that good works and alms giving [*eupragiai*] were part of the Christian duty to love remained engrained. [...] But good works alone, or giving in expectation of reward, was never sufficient”); D. KRUEGER, *Healing and the scope of religion in Byzantium*, in J. T. CHIRBAAN, *Holistic Healing in Byzantium*, Brookline, Ma., 2010, pp. 119-130, viz. p. 126; P. HORDEN, *Memoria, Salvation and Other Motives of Byzantine Philanthropists*, in M. BORGOLTE (ed.), *Stiftungen in Christentum, Judentum und Islam vor der Moderne. Auf der Suche nach ihren Gemeinsamkeiten und Unterschiedenen in religiösen Grundlagen, praktischen Zwecken und historischen Transformationen (Stiftungsgeschichten, 4)*, Berlin, 2005, pp. 137-146, viz. p. 145 (the tale is mentioned in the discussion on whether by founding hospitals and charitable institutions people could expiate their sins); EADEM, *Alms and the Man: Hospital Founders in Byzantium*, in J. HENDERSON – P. HORDEN – A. PASTORE (eds), *The Impact of the Hospitals 300-2000*, Bern, 2007, pp. 59-76, viz. pp. 72-73 (again as an example of the Byzantine “theology of prudential hospital foundation”); Z. CHITWOOD, *Religiöse Verdienst und weltliche Ambitionen – Griechisch-orthodoxe Christen*, in M. BORGOLTE (ed.), *Enzyklopädie des Stiftungswesens in mittelalterlichen Gesellschaften, Band 2: Das soziale System Stiftung*, Berlin – Boston, 2016, pp. 61-72, viz. p. 65.

A LITERARY MOTIF BETWEEN EAST AND WEST

As for the possible origins of the tale's narrative cluster, i.e. the motif of the charitable sinner rewarded in the afterlife by being suspended between Hell and Heaven, this topic has either been addressed unsuccessfully by previous scholarship or completely ignored.

Our tale deals with widely debated issues in Late Antiquity, such as repentance, the fate of souls after death, the possibility that worthy acts can wipe out sinful deeds, and the ways to attain salvation, even in the case of those who have also performed wrongful acts. Such topics were subject to intense speculation in the sixth and seventh centuries by Byzantine and Western theologians.³⁸ Gregory the Great stands out among the latter, paying great attention to such questions in Book IV of his *Dialogues* (composed in 593-594 A.D.).³⁹ It is precisely here that we can find the most pertinent parallel to the tale in question.

³⁸ As observed by M. J. DAL SANTO, *Debating the Saints' Cult in the Age of Gregory the Great (Oxford Studies in Byzantium)*, Oxford, 2012, p. 124, Philentolos' tale "displays the extent to which a doctrine of immediate *post-mortem* judgement stirred eschatological debate across the Mediterranean at this time" (see also *ibidem*, p. 352). Already in the 580s Eustratius of Constantinople wrote a treatise on the fate of souls after death (P. VAN DEUN [ed.], *Eustratii Presbyteri Constantinopolitani De statu animarum post mortem*, Leuven, 2006 [CCSG, 60]). These issues were also given much attention in the *erotapokriseis* literature, see e.g. Pseudo-Athanasios, *Quaestiones ad Antiochum ducem*, quaest. 84, in *PG* 28, 649 A-B (entitled: "Ἐάν τις περί τῶν ἑαυτοῦ ἁμαρτιῶν μετανοήσῃ, πρόδηλον ὅτι ἐξαλείφει τὰς ἁμαρτίας αὐτοῦ· ἄρα λοιπὸν καὶ ἂν τις ποιήσας εὐποίαν μεταμεληθῆ, ἐξαλείφει τὸν μισθὸν ὃν ἐποίησε διὰ τῆς μεταμελείας;") and 133, in *PG* 28, 681 A-B (entitled: "Προειρήκαμεν ἐν τοῖς ἔμπροσθεν, ὅτι περ εἰς ὃ καταληφθήσεται ἄνθρωπος ἐν τῷ θανάτῳ αὐτοῦ, εἰς αὐτὸ καὶ ἀπέρχεται, εἴτε ἀγαθῶ εἴτε κακῶ. Ἐάν οὖν τις καὶ πονηρὰ καὶ ἀγαθὰ ποιήσας τελευτήσῃ, τί χρῆνι περὶ αὐτοῦ λογίζεσθαι;"); *Anastasioi Quaestiones*, ed. RICHARD† – MUNITIZ [see n. 15], quaest. 10, p. 18 ("Ἄρα ἐστὶ δι' ἐνὸς ἔργου ἀγαθοῦ λαβεῖν ἄφεςιν ἁμαρτιῶν;"), 11, *ibidem*, p. 19 ("Κἄν ἄνθρωπος ποιήσῃ ἁμαρτίαν, καὶ ποιήσῃ τινὰς μισθοὺς διὰ τὸ τοῦτο συγχωρηθῆναι αὐτῷ, εἴτα πάλιν μετὰ τοὺς μισθοὺς ἁμαρτήσῃ, ἄρα λοιπὸν ἀπόλεσε τοὺς μισθοὺς οὓς ἐποίησεν;"), 13, *ibidem*, p. 20-21 ("Τίνος χάριν, μεῖζον τῆς πορνείας ἐχούσης κατάκριμα τῆς τῶν αἰρετικῶν βλασφημίας, ἐπιστρεφόντων εἰς μετάνοιαν ἀμφοτέρων, τὸν μὲν αἰρετικὸν εὐθέως δέχεται εἰς κοινωνίαν ἢ ἐκκλησίαν, τὸν δὲ πόρνον ἀφορίζει τῆς κοινωνίας ἐπὶ χρόνον;"), and 33, *ibidem*, pp. 85-86 ("Ἐάν τις εἰς ἁμαρτίαν ἐμπέσῃ καὶ μετανοήσῃ, καὶ πάλιν εἰς αὐτὴν πέσῃ καὶ μετανοήσῃ, καὶ πολλὰ κίς παυσάμενος καὶ παραπεσὼν φθασθῆ ὑπὸ θανάτου, τί χρῆνι λογίζεσθαι περὶ αὐτοῦ;"); see the commentary thereon in *Anastasioi of Sinai, Questions and Answers*, transl. MUNITIZ [see n. 15], pp. 62-74 and 135-136. On the development of the concept of μετάνοια in early-Byzantine theological thought, see the survey by TORRANCE, *Repentance in Late Antiquity* [see n. 30].

³⁹ In the words of M. ANGOLD (*Gregory the Great in the Byzantine tradition*, in B. NEIL – M. J. DAL SANTO [eds], *A Companion to Gregory the Great*, Leiden – Boston, 2013, pp. 343-357: 349), Book IV of the *Dialogi* is "a real dialogue on death and the afterlife, dealing with problems such as the nature of the soul, how the souls depart from the body at death, the nature of Hell and its fires (and purgatorial fire), the power of intercession and especially the Eucharistical sacrifice". Such issues are often introduced or exemplified by

Matthew J. Dal Santo has already examined the *Dialogues* in search of a *comparandum* for the story of Philentolos, which he individuated in an anecdote concerning the Roman deacon Pascasius (*Dialogi* IV, 42).⁴⁰ This is an historical figure († ca. 511-514), a theologian and an almsgiver who had sided with the antipope during the so-called Laurentian schism (498-506/7). When he died, Gregory explains, his spirit dwelled for a while on earth, condemned to serve at the furnace of the *Thermae Angulanae* (at *Angulus*, modern-day Città Sant'Angelo, near Pescara). Only after this sort of humiliating purgation, and thanks to the intercession of Germanus, bishop of Capua, who had come to the baths and met Pascasius at work, could the latter's soul finally ascend to Heaven.⁴¹ As can be seen, the parallel with

visions of the afterlife, so that this section of the *Dialogues* can truly be defined “la source de ce merveilleux chrétien relatif à l’au-delà, qui alimentera la piété médiévale” (C. DAGENS, *Saint Grégoire le Grand. Culture et expérience chrétiennes*, Paris, 1977, p. 401; on Gregory's speculation concerning the state of souls after death, see here, pp. 401-429; I. MOREIRA, *Heaven's Purge. Purgatory in Late Antiquity*, Oxford, 2010, pp. 85-94 and *passim*; DAL SANTO, *Debating the Saints' Cult* [see n. 38], pp. 85-148 and *passim*); on Gregory's influence on the Byzantine spiritual tradition, and in particular on the successful compilation by Paul Evergetinos, see BAUN, *Tales* [see n. 3], esp. 121-124). I will not address the issue of the controversial authorship of the *Dialogues* (a state of the art is found in MOREIRA, *Heaven's Purge* [see *supra*], p. 240 n. 25) or the *vexata questio* of Gregory's knowledge of Greek (it is now generally agreed that while Gregory might have learned some words, he probably could neither speak nor read Greek texts autonomously – he could however rely on interpreters: see G. CAVALLO, *Quale Bisanzio nel mondo di Gregorio Magno?*, in C. LEONARDI [dir.], *Gregorio Magno e le origini dell'Europa*, Firenze, 2014, pp. 205-217, esp. 209-213. On Gregory's attitude towards Greeks and Greekness, see also A. J. EKONOMOU, *Byzantine Rome and the Greek Popes. Eastern Influences on Rome and the Papacy from Gregory the Great to Zacharias*, A.D. 590-752, Lanham, MD, 2007, pp. 15-24).

⁴⁰ DAL SANTO, *Debating the Saints' Cult* [see n. 38], pp. 121-125; here, at p. 124, he writes: “In the east, and reminiscent of the discussion concerning Pascasius in Gregory's Rome, a controversy erupted in Cyprus surrounding the post mortem state of Philentelus [*sic*], a rich ship-owner from Constantia in about 650.”

⁴¹ *Dialogi*, IV, 42, 1-4 (*Grégoire le Grand, Dialogues*, III, *Livre IV* [SC 265], ed. A. DE VOGÜÉ, Paris, 1980, pp. 150-154): “Pascasius huius apostolicae sedis diaconus, cuius apud nos rectissimi et luculentissimi de sancto Spiritu libri extant, mirae sanctitatis uir fuerit, elemosinarum maxime operibus uacans, cultor pauperum et contemptor sui. Sed hic in ea contentione, quae inardescente zelo fidelium inter Symmachum atque Laurentium facta est, ad pontificatus ordinem Laurentium elegit, et omnium post unanimitate superatus, in sua tamen sententia usque iuxta diem sui exitus persistit, illum amando atque praeferendo, quem episcoporum iudicio praeesse sibi ecclesia refutauit. [...] Post multum uero temporis Germano Capuano episcopo, cuius superius memoriam feci, medici pro corporis salute dictauerunt ut in Angulaniis terminis lauari debuisset. Qui ingressus easdem terras, praedictum Pascasium diaconem stantem et obsequentem in caloribus inuenit. Quo uiso uehementer extimuit, et quid illic tantus uir faceret inquisiuit. Cui ille respondit: ‘Pro nulla alia causa in hoc poenali loco deputatus sum, nisi quia in parte Laurentii contra Symmachum sensi. Sed quaeso te, pro me Dominum deprecare, atque in hoc cognosces quod exauditus sis, si huc rediens me non inuenieris’. Qua de re uir Domini Germanus se in precibus strinxit, et post paucos dies rediit, sed iam praedictum Pascasium in loco eodem minime inuenit. Quia enim non malitia, sed ignorantiae errore peccauerat, purgari post mortem potuit a peccato. Quod tamen credendum est

Philentolos' case is only partially pertinent: Pascasius too is depicted as both an almsgiver and a person guilty of a mortal sin (i.e. heresy for supporting an antipope and not the legitimate pope) for which he never repented until his death. Nonetheless, Paschasius "had sinned out of ignorance, not malice",⁴² whilst Philentolos had consciously repeated his sin; furthermore, Pascasius' soul is said to have remained imprisoned on earth, not somewhere in the otherworld, and to have been freed from temporary confinement after a certain period of time; however, this was not only due to the extent of his prodigality, but also to the intercession of a living person (which is not the case with Philentolos). All in all, *Dialogi* IV, 42 provides an example of *post-mortem* purgation, and it is in fact introduced by Gregory to explain his theory of the existence of a "cleansing fire before judgement" designed to purge away "some minor faults that may remain";⁴³ instead, such an idea is completely absent in Philentolos' tale.

A closer parallel, which to my knowledge has gone overlooked by scholars dealing with our story, is instead to be found in another passage of the *Dialogues*, indeed quite a famous one: Book IV, 37, 7-13. Here we are told of a soldier who, during an outbreak of the plague in Rome, got sick and lay on his deathbed for some time; at one point, he awakens and describes the vision he was shown while his soul was temporarily separated from his body.⁴⁴

*Aiebat enim, sicut tunc res eadem
etiam multis innotuit, quia pons
erat, sub quo niger atque caligosus
foetoris intolerabilis nebulam
exhalans fluius decurrebat.
Transacto autem ponte, amoena
erant prata atque uirentia,*

The scene he described – one that became familiar to many others at this time — was as follows. He saw a river whose dark waters were covered by a mist of vapors that gave off an unbearable stench. Over the river was a bridge. It led

quia ex illa elemosinarum suarum largitate hoc obtinuit, ut tunc potuisset promereri ueniam, cum iam nil posset operari". On this passage, see the commentary in MOREIRA, *Heaven's Purge* [see n. 39], pp. 87-89, and the observations of G. P. MAGGIONI, *Il fuoco dell'altro mondo nelle Visiones altomedievali fino a Beda. Le radici di una tradizione letteraria*, in *Il Fuoco nell'Alto Medioevo (Settimane di Studio della Fondazione del Centro Italiano di Studi sull'Alto Medioevo, 60)*, Spoleto, 2013, pp. 99-149, viz. pp. 137-138.

⁴² MOREIRA, *Heaven's Purge* [see n. 39], p. 87.

⁴³ *Ibidem*, p. 85. When Gregory speaks about *ignis purgatorius*, however, he does not envisage the existence of a third, intermediate dimension between Paradise and Hell (DAL SANTO, *Debating the Saints' Cult* [see n. 38], pp. 121-124; MOREIRA, *Heaven's Purge* [see n. 39], pp. 85-94 and *passim*); in his view, indeed, "il luogo di espiazione è la terra; Gregorio non definisce l'esistenza di un'altra collocazione. In questo modo, nel Giorno del Giudizio ci saranno dunque soltanto due categorie: gli eletti e i reprobri" (R. GRÉGOIRE, *Purgatorio*, in G. CREMASCOLI – A. DEGL'INNOCENTI [eds], *Enciclopedia gregoriana. La vita, l'opera e la fortuna di Gregorio Magno*, Firenze, 2008, p. 286).

⁴⁴ A narrative expedient frequently used to introduce visions of the otherworld: see the literature mentioned above, n. 3 and n. 17.

odoriferis herbarum floribus
 exornata, in quibus albatorum
 hominum conuenticula esse
 uidebantur. Tantusque in loco
 eodem odor suauitatis inerat, ut
 ipsa suauitatis fragrantia illic
 deambulantes habitantesque
 satiaret. Ibi mansiones diuersorum
 singulae magnitudine lucis plenae.
 Ibi quaedam mirae potentiae
 aedificabatur domus, quae aureis
 uidebatur laterculis construi, sed
 cuius esset non potuit agnosci.
 Erant uero super ripam praedicti
 fluminis nonnulla habitacula, sed
 alia exurgens foetoris nebula
 tangebantur, alia autem exurgens
 foetor a flumine minime tangebatur.
 Haec uero erat in praedicto ponte
 probatio, ut quisquis per eum
 iniustorum uellet transire, in
 tenebroso foetentique fluuiio
 laberetur; iusti uero, quibus culpa
 non obsisteret, securo per eum
 gressu ac libero ad loca amoena
 peruenirent.

to pleasant meadows beyond,
 covered by green grass and dotted
 with richly scented flowers. These
 meadows seemed to be the
 gathering places for people dressed
 in white robes. The fragrant odors
 pervading the region were a delight
 for all who lived there. Everyone
 had his own dwelling, which
 gleamed with brilliant light. One
 house of magnificent proportions
 was still under construction and
 the bricks used were made of gold.
 But no one could tell for whom the
 house was meant. There were
 houses also along the banks of
 the river, some of which were infected
 by the vapors and stench rising
 from the river, while others
 remained untouched. On this
 bridge saint and sinner underwent a
 final test. The unjust would slip off
 and fall into the dark, foul waters.
 The just, unhampered by sin, could
 walk over it, freely and without
 difficulty, to the beautiful
 meadows on the other side.⁴⁵

⁴⁵ *Dialogi* IV, 37, 17-10, ed. A. DE VOGÜÉ [see n. 41], p. 130; transl. O. J. ZIMMERMAN (ed.), *Saint Gregory the Great, Dialogues (The Fathers of the Church, 39)*, Washington, D.C., 1959 (I quote from the paperback repr. of 2002, p. 249). On the imagery of the 'test-bridge' in Gregory the Great and in visionary literature in general (where it usually has the function of marking the transition between the underworld and the upper one), see I. MOREIRA, *Heaven's Purge* [see n. 39], pp. 150-151; C. ZALESKI, *Otherworld Journeys* [see n. 17], pp. 65-69; F. GRAF, *The Bridge and the Ladder: Narrow Passages in Late Antique Visions*, in R. BOUSTAN – A. Y. REED (eds), *Heavenly Realms and Earthly Realities in Late Antique Religions*, Cambridge, 2004, pp. 19-33, in particular 25-26; M. DEMAULES, *Du symbolisme du pont dans quelques rêves et visions*, in D. JAMES-RAOUL – C. THOMASSET (eds), *Les ponts au Moyen Âge (Cultures et civilisations médiévales)*, Paris, 2006, pp. 181-196. This passage from Gregory soon became a *locus classicus*, and the imagery of the bridge influenced both religious texts and secular literature (it is echoed, for instance, in Chrétien de Troyes' *Chevalier de la charrette*: see A. PUTTER, *The influence of visions of the otherworld on some medieval romances*, in C. MUESSIG – A. PUTTER, *Envisaging Heaven in the Middle Ages [Routledge studies in medieval religion and culture, 6]*, London – New York, 2007, pp. 236-251: 242-244). It was probably through the translation of the *Dialogues* done (or commissioned) by Pope Zacharias around 750 A.D. that the image of the bridge as a passage to the otherworld entered Byzantine literature (although the circulation of this translation seems to have been scarce, for while it was known to Photius, as results from *Bibliotheca*, cod. 252, there are only two extant ninth century mss.: R. LIZZI TESTA, *Traduzioni greche*, in *Enciclopedia gregoriana*, pp. 354-356). The *pons probationis* image is found, for instance, in the *Apocalypse of Anastasia*, in the *Life of St. Basil the Younger*, in the *Vision of Kosmas* and in the *Life of St. Philaretos the Merciful*;

The visionary then recalls one after another the various individuals that he saw. They include a cleric named Peter, who could not cross over and instead lay in chains in the mire under the bridge due to his evil behaviour, a priest who easily crossed the bridge due to the probity of his life (*Dialogi* IV, 37, 11-12) and eventually a *uir illustris* (i.e. a man of senatorial rank) named Stephen, who had recently passed away:

*In eodem quoque ponte hunc quem
praedixi Stephanum se recognouisse
testatus est. Qui dum transire uoluisset,
eius pes lapsus est, et ex medio corpore
iam extra pontem deiectus,
a quibusdam teterrimis uiris ex flumine
surgentibus per coxas deorsum, atque
a quibusdam albatis et speciosissimis
uiris coepit per brachia sursum trahi.
Cumque hoc luctamen esset, ut hunc
boni spiritus sursum, mali deorsum
traherent, ipse qui haec uidebat ad
corpus reuersus est, et quid de eo
plenius gestum sit minime cognouit.
Qua in re de eiusdem Stephani vita
datur intellegi quia in eo mala carnis
cum elemosinarum operatione
certabant. Qui enim per coxas
deorsum, per brachia trahebatur
sursum, patet nimirum quia et
elemosinas amauerat, et carnis
uitiis perfecte non restiterat, quae eum
deorsum trahebant. Sed in illo occulti
arbitris examine quid in eo uicerit, et
nos et qui eum uidit et reuocatus est latet*

On the same bridge he saw and recognized the Stephen whom we mentioned above [*Dialogi* IV, 37, 5]. In trying to cross the river, Stephen had slipped and fallen, leaving the lower half of his body dangling over the edge of the bridge. Some fiendish men from the river below seized him by the sides and tried to pull him down. At the same time, princely men dressed in white appeared on the bridge to draw him back to safety. While this struggle went on, with the good spirits drawing him up and the evil ones pulling him down, our spectator was called back to earth to be reunited with his body. No one, therefore, knows what the final outcome of this struggle was.⁴⁶ An explanation of this strange vision, however, is found in the life of Stephen, for in him the evils of the flesh carried on a struggle with the noble work of almsdeeds. Those who dragged him downward represent his lustful tendencies which he failed to keep in check. Those who pulled him upward by the hands symbolize his great zeal and love for almsdeeds. Which of the two came out victorious in this final test which Stephen had to undergo at God's ordinance is known neither to us nor to the one who was granted the vision.

see L. RYDÉN, *The Life of St. Philaretos the Merciful Written by his Grandson Niketas. A Critical Edition with Introduction, Translation, Notes and Indices* (*Acta Universitatis Upsaliensis. Studia Byzantina Upsaliensia*, 8), Uppsala, 2002, pp. 42-45. Sometimes other devices are introduced instead of the bridge as a means of distinguishing between the souls of the dead, for instance the *κεραία λαμπαδηφόρος* (a sort of torch-bearing bar) mentioned in the *Life of St. Fantinus the Younger* (ed. E. FOLLIERI, *La vita di S. Fantino il giovane. Introduzione, testo greco, commentario e indici* [SH, 77], Bruxelles, 1993, pp. 55-57 and 436).

⁴⁶ *Dialogi* IV, 37, 12-13, ed. A. DE VOGÜÉ [see n. 41], p. 132; transl. ZIMMERMAN, *Dialogues* [see n. 45], p. 240. The entry by S. NOCENTINI, *Stefano di Costantinopoli*, in *Enciclopedia gregoriana*, p. 331 gives nothing but a summary of this vision.

Like Philentolos, Stephen too had been an eminent figure within his community and a charitable person, but also an unrepented sinner. The nature of his sins remains unspecified; however, though expressions such as *mala carnis* and *carnis uitia* do not unequivocally allude to sexual misbehaviour, they surely include it. As occurs with Philentolos, Stephen's soul too is caught between Hell and Heaven. Moreover, as in the case of Philentolos, such a middle ground is not technically a *purgatorium*, for the soul is not exposed to any sort of torment or to any process of purification, but instead maintains a status which is equally distinct from that of the *reprobi* and that of the *electi*. As to the duration of such a condition, both narratives are reticent, though in the case of Gregory, the author seems to imply that the struggle of angels and devils over Stephen's soul will end in one way or another, and the reference model seems to be the topos of the deathbed struggle between angels and devils for the soul of a dying person, or that of the analogous combat that takes place at the "tollgates of the air";⁴⁷ on the contrary, in the case of Philentolos there is no actual dispute between the forces of good and evil, and his soul's intermediate condition may be interpreted as a permanent one, possibly meant to endure until the Last Judgment, when a definitive sentence on its destiny would be proclaimed.

The exemplary story concerning the charitable fornicator fits well within the context of the theological debates of Gregory's epoch concerning the state of souls in the afterlife and the resurrection of the body (an issue which had been a matter of debate between Gregory himself and Eutychius of Constantinople); indeed, it is envisaged to answer a question that many believers may have been posing at the time, i.e. what would be the ultimate destination of those whose sins and merits were equal or those who persisted in certain vices yet at the same time remained upstanding individuals in all other regards. It cannot be excluded that Gregory may have accessed a written version of our tale, perhaps with the help of some interpreters;⁴⁸ it is also possible that Gregory may have come to know the story of the charitable fornicator through some Greek interlocutors, either during his stay in Constantinople (from 579 to 585), where he resided at the imperial court as papal legate (*apokrisiarios*), or in Rome, where he no doubt had the opportunity to exchange views with Eastern clerics and monks and to become acquainted with Greek monastic

⁴⁷ See above, n. 15 and 26.

⁴⁸ If this could be proved, then it would back up the hypothesis on Gregory's familiarity with at least some Byzantine literature – for instance R. MAISANO, *Spunti di esegesi biblica tra Romano il Melodo e Gregorio Magno*, in *Byzantina Mediterranea. Festschrift für Johannes Koder zum 65. Geburtstag*, Wien – Köln – Weimar, 2007, pp. 399-406, argued in favour of a possible influence on Gregory of the *kontakia* of Romanos the Melodist.

literature.⁴⁹ Alternatively, one could suppose that it was Gregory himself who spread this *exemplum*, or its seminal idea (be it of his own invention or not), among Eastern Christians. A third, more prudent suggestion would be to assume that both Gregory and the author of Philentolos' tale derived the same narrative motif from a common source; in fact, it is not to be excluded that this tale, or a very similar one, had been circulating in various manners, both orally and in written form, within the monastic milieu of the sixth and seventh centuries and then independently gave rise to different narrations, as was the case with many similar stories.⁵⁰

Whoever first conceived the idea of a soul being suspended between Heaven and Hell might have taken inspiration from scriptural passages, such as the parable of the rich man and poor Lazarus in Luke 16, 19-31, which depicts the image of an unbridgeable gulf dividing the damned from the saved,⁵¹ or might have been influenced by a literary reminiscence, such as the myth of Tantalus, he too condemned to strive for all eternity towards something

⁴⁹ As WORTLEY, *The Genre* [see n. 1], points out, the fact that several short narrations which are found in Gregory's *Dialogues* also occur in Byzantine edifying collections such as the *Apophthegmata Patrum* and Moschos' *Pratum spirituale* (to which we can add Climacus' *Ladder*, where Gregory also appears as the protagonist of a couple of anecdotes) implies that "in all probability" Gregory and the compilers of such collections derived such tales "from the same (or a similar) source" (i.e. Gregory might have had access to Greek texts – either orally or in written form – through the mediation of some of his collaborators or bilingual monks). As to the popularity of Gregory in the Eastern monastic (mostly Chalkedonian) circles, and more generally the uninterrupted ties between Roman and Palestinian monks, which is attested throughout the 6th and 7th centuries, see ANGOLD, *Gregory the Great in the Byzantine tradition* [see n. 39], and P. BOOTH, *Gregory and the Greek East* in NEIL – DAL SANTO, *A Companion to Gregory the Great* [see n. 39], pp. 109-131; on the network of Gregory's relations with Greek-speaking people, see in the same volume M. DAL SANTO, *Gregory the Great, the Empire and the Emperor*, pp. 57-81, esp. 64-65.

⁵⁰ Claudia Rapp appropriately speaks of a "common hagiographical *koine*", referring to that vast amount of narrations concerning holy men and women which spread through the Eastern and Western Mediterranean in Late Antiquity (even in languages different from Greek and Latin, such as Coptic, Aramaic and Syriac), which "depended on oral information at least as much as on written texts and that remained vibrant regardless of linguistic barriers" (C. RAPP, *Hagiography and Monastic Literature between Greek East and Latin West in Late Antiquity*, in *Cristianità d'Occidente e Cristianità d'Oriente (secoli VI-XI)* [Settimane di Studio della Fondazione Centro Italiano di Studi sull'Alto Medioevo (CISAM), 51], Spoleto, 2004, pp. 1221-1280, viz. p. 1266; for examples of stories which spread through Eastern and Western milieus, see esp. pp. 1262 et seq.).

⁵¹ See above and n. 24. The fate of Lazarus is a common feature of Byzantine iconography of Hell, frequently found in pictorial representations (to mention only a couple of examples, in the Last Judgement scenes depicted in the Panagia Church at Moutoullas of Cypré and in the Church of St Stephen at Soletto, in Salento) – see respectively A. NICOLAÏDES, *Le jugement dernier de l'église de la Panagia de Moutoullas à Chypre. Une peinture inédite de la seconde moitié du XIV^e siècle*, in *ΔΧΑΕ*, IV/18 (1995), pp. 71-78, viz. pp. 73-74, and M. BERGER – A. JACOB, *La chiesa di S. Stefano a Soletto. Tradizioni bizantine e cultura tardogotica*, Lecce, 2007 (*Terra d'Otranto bizantina*, 1), pp. 70 (ill. 45) and 73.

forever out of his reach, as Philentolos does for Paradise. Indeed, such echoes seem to emerge in other tales and visions from the tours-of-Hell tradition.⁵²

ECHOES OF PHILETOLOS' LIMBUS?

The idea of an intermediate place between Hell and Heaven is far from inconceivable, and in fact it is well attested not only in Western theological thought (wherein the speculation on the matter resulted in the theorization of the *limbus puerorum* on the one hand and of Purgatory on the other), but in the Qu'ran as well, two suras of which mention a sort of limbus called *Al-'Araf*.⁵³ Indeed, according to a hypothesis ventured by Constan P. Kyrris, this quranic tradition might have been inspired by the vision of Kaioumos.⁵⁴

⁵² Tantalization as a form of punishment is frequently encountered in visions of Hell; see HIMMELFARB, *Tours of Hell* [see n. 22], pp. 92-94. The integration of such a motif within apocalyptic literature might originate from the classical myth of Tantalus as narrated in Homer, *Odyssey* 11, 582-592 and in other Greek sources (see *Der Neue Pauly*, vol. 12/1 [2002], s.v. *Tantalos* [J. STENGER]); the same motif, however, is also present in the oriental tradition issuing from the Palestinian Talmud. Both in the *Apocalypse of Paul* (Greek version, §24, ed. K. TISCHENDORF, *Apocalypses apocryphae*, Lipsiae, 1866, pp. 52-53; Latin version, §24 ed. M. R. JAMES, *Apocrypha anecdota. A Collection of thirteenth Apocryphal Books and Fragments [Texts and Studies. Contributions to Biblical and Patristic Literature, II, 3]*, Cambridge, 1893, pp. 24-25) and in the Ethiopic *Apocalypse of Mary* and *Apocalypse of Baruch* there is mention of a place, just outside the walls of the Heavenly city, designated to hold men who had been proud during their life and also (but only in the first two apocalypses mentioned) "lacking in good deeds" (p. 92); they will, however, eventually be admitted to Heaven after the second coming of Christ. Therefore, though there are similarities between these souls' condition and Philentolos', the two cases are not exactly overlapping (Philentolos is not said to have behaved proudly or to have lacked in good actions, nor is there any mention of his possible admission to Heaven).

⁵³ *Al-A'RAF* is connected with the verb *arafa* ('to distinguish between things', 'to part') and means 'partition' or 'diaphragm'. Thus, it might be imagined as a crest (see R. PARET, *Al-A'RAF*, in *Encyclopédie de l'Islam*, nouv. éd., t. I, Leyde – Paris, 1960, col. 623: "plur. de 'urf, 'lieu élevé', 'crête'"), or rather as a 'wall' or 'veil' dividing Heaven and Hell, see R. TOTTOLI, *After-life*, in G. KRÄMER – D. MATRINGE – J. NAWAS – E. ROWSON (eds), *Encyclopaedia of Islam, THREE*, Brill Online, 2014 (last accessed: May 2016), who underlines that this place has been given a "variety of interpretations" within the Muslim tradition. Chr. LANGE, *Hell (Jahannam, nār, sa'ir, saqar, Zaqqūm)*, *ibidem* (last accessed: May 2016), explains it as "a residual place or limbo situated between Paradise and Hell, in which there is neither reward nor punishment". According to some interpreters this zone is deputed to host the souls of "those deemed unworthy of both places, such as the babes, the epilectics, the imbeciles, the moslem martyrs who behaved impiously towards their parents, the illegitimate, an order of angels destined to be cleaned of their disgrace, and generally all those who did neither good nor evil" (KYRRIS, *The Admission of the Souls* [see n. 36], pp. 474-475). The souls residing in the *Al-'Araf* would be able to see both the sinners damned in Hell and the just people in Paradise and to speak to both categories. According to the Muslim tradition, the permanence in the *Al-'Araf* seems to be transitory, at least for some categories of sinners, who after a while can gain access to Paradise.

⁵⁴ KYRRIS, *The Admission of the Souls* [see n. 36], pp. 468-475, here 474, argues that "given the proximity of Arabia to the bay of St Anthony, where Kaioumos had lived before

As to Byzantine religious literature, possibly the only close parallel is provided by a passage from the *Life of Basil the Younger*. I refer to the longest and perhaps most ancient redaction of this dense hagiographic narration, presumably dating back to the tenth century, which has been handed down in MS *Mosquensis Synodalis gr.* 249 (*BHG, BHG Nov. Auct.* 263-264).⁵⁵ This *vita*, as is well known, contains a lengthy vision of the Last Judgement and of the otherworld regions supposedly granted to the saint's disciple, Gregory.⁵⁶ Having seen a multitude of laymen being sentenced to Hell (§§52-68), Gregory is then shown a group of negligent, lazy and sinful monks, who "setting aside their vows, [...] were slaves to gluttony and drunkenness, to fornication and adultery, to vainglory and malice, to envy and slander and the other remaining sins".⁵⁷ Despite their pleas for mercy, these people are dragged off to the "sea of fire" (§§70-71). A few lines below, a second assemblage of nuns and monks is introduced (§73):

οὐχ ὁμοίως τῇ πρὸ αὐτῆς
πολύανθρωπος, ἀλλὰ μέση πως αὐτῆς
φαινομένη· Καὶ ἐν αὐτῇ μοναχοὶ καὶ
μοναχαὶ μιγάδες καὶ ἀπὸ παντὸς
τάγματος καὶ γένους τῶν κατὰ κόσμον
ἀνθρώπων ὠρῶντο, οἵτινες ἀντὶ
περιβολαίου ὁμίχλη πως μεστῆ σκοτίᾳ
καὶ φέγγει ἐσπαργανωμένοι, ὡς εἴ τις
ἔχει παρεϊκάσαι αὐτὴν πρωϊνὴν
ὁμίχλην. Τὰ δὲ πρόσωπα αὐτῶν
ὑπῆρχον οἷα τὰ τῶν μελαγχρόων
ἀνθρώπων, καὶ ποτὲ μὲν ἠσχύνοντο καὶ
κατηφείας ἐπληροῦντο, ποτὲ δὲ

...it was not as numerous as
the previous one, but appeared about half
as large. In it were cenobitic monks and
nuns from every rank of life and every
people in the world, who instead of
wearing a garment were swaddled in
a mist somehow filled with darkness
and light, so that one might compare it
to the mist of dawn. Their faces
resembled those of dark-skinned
people, and sometimes they were
abashed and completely darkened, but
sometimes radiant; their hands were

moving to Cyprus and where he would, together with other anchorites, have certainly formulated his theory, it is most probable that Mohammed himself heard of it from people related to Kaioumos or from the latter personally". Alternatively, he suggests that "Philentolos' Biography [...] would have come to be known to the Arabs" either on the occasion of their "intermittent shorter or longer periods of occupation of Cyprus after 647/8 (down to 964/965)" or through the activity of Cypriot scholars and theologians (such as the Nestorian Gregory the Cypriote) who entered into contact with devotees of the Muslim religion (*ibid.*).

⁵⁵ The complete text has recently been made available in *The Life of St. Basil the Younger*, quoted above [see n. 2]. On the other versions of the *vita*, see *ibidem*, pp. 53-55 and C. G. ANGELIDI, *Ὁ βίος τοῦ ὁσίου Βασιλείου τοῦ Νέου*, Ioannina, 1980, pp. 32-51.

⁵⁶ This vision constitutes the fifth part of the text based on the subdivision proposed by the editors (see *The Life of St. Basil the Younger* [see n. 2], pp. 2-6); I will quote the text using the paragraph numbers from this edition.

⁵⁷ *The Life of St. Basil the Younger* [see n. 2], p. 551 (§69, p. 550, ll. 28-30: ἀθετήσαντες τὰς συνθήκας ἐδοῦλευσαν τῇ γαστριμαργίᾳ καὶ μέθῃ, τῇ πορνείᾳ καὶ μοιχείᾳ, τῇ κενοδοξίᾳ καὶ μνησικακίᾳ, τῷ φθόνῳ καὶ τῇ καταλαλιᾷ καὶ τοῖς λοιποῖς ἄλλοις καταπτώμασιν).

ἐλαμπρύνοντο, χειῖρας κεκτημένοι ἐξ
 ἡμισείας, λέγω δὴ σκοτεινάς καὶ
 λαμπράς· ἤγουν αἱ δεξιαὶ λαμπραί,
 στάζουσαι διὰ τῶν δακτύλων
 χρυσέλαιον, αἱ δὲ ἀριστεραὶ σκοτειναί,
 ἀποστασιάζουσαι ὑγρόπισσον· οἱ δὲ
 πόδες αὐτῶν μέσως ἀγαθυνόμενοι καὶ
 μέσως πονηρευόμενοι, οἱ ὀφθαλμοὶ
 αὐτῶν ὁμοίως εὐμενιζόμενοί τε καὶ
 βλοσυρόν τι στρεβλούμενοι. Καὶ
 ἐπέβλεψεν ἐπ' αὐτοὺς ὁ Κύριος καὶ
 εἶδεν αὐτοὺς ἡμιμοχθήρους πῶς
 ὑπάρχοντας καὶ μὴ τὸ τέλειον
 πεφθακότας μέτρον τῆς αὐτοῦ
 εὐαρεστήσεως· ἦσαν γὰρ καὶ αἱ ἄκοαι
 αὐτῶν σὺν ταῖς λοιπαῖς τούτων
 αἰσθήσεσιν ἐξ ἡμισείας, ποτὲ μὲν
 ὑπακούουσαι, ποτὲ δὲ βύουσαι.

half and half, I mean indeed dark and
 bright; that is, their right hands
 were bright, dripping golden olive oil
 through their fingers, their left hands
 dark, dripping liquid pitch. Their feet
 were half virtuous, and half evil, their
 eyes likewise appeared both kindly
 and grimly distorted. The Lord looked
 upon them and saw that they were
 half-wicked and had not completely
 reached a measure of goodness to
 His satisfaction. And their hearing,
 along with their other senses,
 was also divided in half, sometimes
 hearkening, sometimes blocked up.⁵⁸

The angels cast these sinners into the sea of fire (§74), but soon afterwards God's Mercy, in the person of "a most beautiful young woman..., wearing a most wondrous royal diadem on her head", adorned with golden garments and precious stones, with hands "white as light" and feet "radiant as the sun",⁵⁹ intervenes and proclaims that these sinners will be spared from such torment (§75-76). In the following dialogue scene (§77), she successfully implores God to forgive this group, which

ἐνοχός ἐστιν εἰς τὴν Γέενναν τοῦ
 πυρός, ὅτι οὐκ ἔφθασεν ἐπιστρέψαι καὶ
 διὰ μετανοίας καὶ ἐξομολογήσεως
 ἐξιλεώσασθαι τὸ κράτος τῆς βασιλείας
 σου· διὰ δὲ τὴν ἔλεημοσύνην αὐτῶν καὶ
 τὴν ἄβυσσον τοῦ ἔλεους σου ἄφες
 αὐτοῖς δι' ἐμοῦ τὰ παραπτώματα αὐτῶν.

is subject to the Gehenna of fire, for it
 did not manage to undergo conversion
 and propitiate the might of
 Your Majesty through repentance and
 confession; but forgive them
 their transgressions for me because of
 the mercy they have shown and the depth
 of Your compassion.⁶⁰

⁵⁸ *The Life of Saint Basil the Younger* [see n. 2], §73, ll. 4-17, pp. 554-557.

⁵⁹ This powerful apparition escorted by angels "as if she were a queen" (§76, p. 559) clearly refers to Ἐλεημοσύνη (p. 560, l. 16), whereas the role of intercessor on behalf of the damned is usually played, in early Christian apocalyptic literature, by the protagonist of the journey (for instance, the apostle Paul in the *Visio Pauli*) and is traditionally portrayed by the Virgin Mary, as we are told in the Apocalypse of the Theotokos, see BAUN, *Tales* [see n. 3], esp. pp. 266 et seq. (in fact Mary is introduced as intercessor in two other instances of Gregory's vision, see part V, §18, p. 466 and §§85-86, pp. 574-578).

⁶⁰ *The Life of Saint Basil the Younger* [see n. 2], p. 561 (§77, p. 560, ll. 7-9).

The Lord is persuaded and addresses the sinners as follows:

<p>Διὰ μὲν τὴν ἐλεημοσύνην ὑμῶν ἐφεισάμην καὶ ἀπηλλοτριώσα ὑμᾶς τῆς ἀσβέστου τοῦ πυρὸς χαλεπῆς τιμωρίας, διὰ δὲ τὴν πορνείαν καὶ ἀκαθαρσίαν ὑμῶν, ἧς οὐκ ἀπέστητε μέχρι τῆς ἐσχάτης ὑμῶν ἀναπνοῆς, οὐκ εἰσάξω ὑμᾶς εἰς τὴν περικαλλῆ καὶ πανθαύμαστον καὶ ἀνεξιχνίαστον ταύτην πόλιν μου, τὴν ὄντως πεποθμένην κατοικεσίαν ἢν ἡτοιμασάμην πᾶσι τοῖς ἐκλεκτοῖς μου, οὐδὲ ὄψεσθε τὴν βασιλείαν μου.</p>	<p>Because of your merciful deeds I have spared you and removed you from the terrible punishment of the unquenchable fire, but because of your fornication and depravity from which you did not refrain until your last breath, I will not allow you to enter into this my most beautiful, all wondrous and indescribable city, the truly desired abode that I have prepared for all my chosen people, nor will you see my kingdom.⁶¹</p>
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There then follows a description of the place where these merciful sinners will be cast:

<p>Καὶ εὐθέως ἐπένευσε τοῖς κατ' ἄρκτον ἐστῶσιν ἀγγέλοις ἐτοιμάσαι τόπον αὐτοῖς εὐπερίγραπτον καὶ κατασκηνῶσαι πάντας παρ' αὐτῷ τῷ τόπῳ πλὴν τῶν ἀναγκαίων ἐστερημένους, ὃ καὶ γέγονε. Παραλαβόντες γὰρ αὐτοὺς οἱ ἄγγελοι τοῦ Θεοῦ ἐπορεύθησαν ἔνθα καὶ προσετάχθησαν, κακεῖ αὐτοὺς κατεσκήνωσαν εἰς τόπον μὲν ἀναπαύσεως, πλὴν δὲ τῶν ἀναγκαίων, ὡς εἴρηται, τῆς αἰωνίου ζωῆς ἐστερημένους.</p>	<p>Immediately He nodded to the angels standing to the north to prepare for them a well-chosen place and to house them all there, but deprived of the essentials, which indeed occurred. For the angels of God took them and journeyed where they were commanded, and they housed them in a place of repose, but deprived of the essentials, as has been said, of eternal life.⁶²</p>
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The dwelling place described here differs in some instances from that evoked in the *narratio* about Philentolos, in that, first of all, it is not situated between Hell and Heaven and, secondly, in that its inhabitants are quite numerous, while Philentolos seems to be confined to a limbus tailored for him alone. Moreover, these sinners are people who vowed to follow a religious life, which was not the case with Philentolos. Nonetheless, just like Philentolos, these nuns and monks were merciful sinners (some of them also fornicators) who do not deserve total condemnation, but still will be deprived from the joy of fully contemplating God and life in the Heavenly city; thus, tantalization is another common aspect of these two visions.⁶³

⁶¹ *Ibidem*, p. 561 (§77, pp. 560, l. 18-562, l. 23).

⁶² *Ibidem*, p. 563 (§77, p. 562, ll. 23-28).

⁶³ The ensuing chapter deals with unbaptized infants, who too are excluded from both Paradise and Hell, sent instead into “a place of rest to the south”, to experience “a very small

I am not aware of any other close parallels to the tale of Philentolos in Byzantine literature.⁶⁴ One possible echo of the same motif (though not of the tale itself) is perhaps to be seen in the chronicle written by Michael the Syrian, Jacobite Patriarch of Antioch (1166-1199 A.D.). In the conclusion of the section of his work dedicated to Justinian, Michael introduces an anecdote concerning the fate of the emperor's soul. The passage (from Book IX, 34) runs as follows in the French translation provided by Jean-Baptiste Chabot:

A l'époque de la mort de Justinianus, un homme pieux et digne de foi eut la vision que voici: il y avait une grande plaine et au milieu une fournaise de feu dont les flammes s'élevaient jusqu'au ciel. Saisi de crainte, il interrogea, et on lui répondit: « Elle a été allumée pour que Justinianus y soit jeté, parce qu'il a introduit la 'corruption' dans la foi, par son ignorance ; mais il y a échappé à cause de son abondante miséricorde pour les pauvres, et à cause des églises qu'il a bâties ». ⁶⁵

Here too we have a furnace with flames rising up into the sky and an unrepented sinner who has been spared being thrown into it. His soul is not said to be confined near the furnace, nor in any sort of middle ground, and we might infer that it has been saved due to his almsgiving towards poor people and his charitable deeds, including the construction of churches. His condemnation to Hell would have otherwise been certain, for in the eyes

enjoyment of eternal life" (*The Life of St. Basil the Younger* [see n. 2], §78, p. 563; see p. 562, ll. 14-15: τόπον ἀναπαύσεως κατὰ μεσημβρίαν καί τινα βραχυτάτην ἀπόλαυσιν ζωῆς αἰωνίου). A few lines below, it is said that these babies (mostly "newborn infants and fetuses of Christians who did not receive in time the seal of divine baptism", p. 565; p. 564, ll. 35-36: τὰ ἀρτίτοκα βρέφη καὶ ἔμβρυα τῶν Χριστιανῶν, τὰ μὴ φθάσαντα τὴν σφραγίδα τοῦ θεοῦ βαπτίσματος δέξασθαι) will be resurrected "at a mature age in a manner equivalent to that of the rest of the mortal race" (p. 564, ll. 40-41: ἐν τελείᾳ ἡλικίᾳ ἐπ' ἴσης τῆ λιοπιῆ βροτεῖα φύσει) and "granted a place of repose and some small portion of enjoyment – but far distant from the allotment and portion of the chosen ones" (*ibidem*, ll. 38-40: τόπον ἀνάπαυσεως καὶ μερίδα μικρᾶς τινοῦ ἀπολαύσεως – πλὴν πόρρω οὖσαν τοῦ κλήρου καὶ τῆς μερίδος τῶν ἐκλεκτῶν).

⁶⁴ Another parallel, though not entirely pertinent, is provided by John Moschos, *Pratum Spirituale*, ch. 64. Here an old abba counts a negligent (ἀμελής) monk among his disciples, and when the monk dies, the elder, concerned with the fate of his spiritual son's soul, asks God for a revelation; he is thus shown a fiery river, in which he sees the younger brother submerged up to his neck. As the old man reproaches the monk, reminding him that he had urged him to repent in order to avoid such a punishment, the monk replies: "I thank God, father, for my head is spared: due to your prayers, indeed, I stand on the top of a bishop's head". Here too the tale revolves around the destiny of the soul of a man whose borderline behaviour in life (he embraced the monastic habit but was lazy and negligent) makes it necessary to investigate his condition in the afterlife, and once again a holy person requests and receives a vision concerning the deceased; nonetheless, the monk's soul indisputably resides into Hell. Furthermore, this text possibly pokes fun at the ecclesiastical hierarchy (as suggested by LEWELLYN IHSSSEN, *John Moschos* [see n. 14], p. 135), an attitude which is absent in Philentolos's tale.

⁶⁵ J.-B. CHABOT (ed. and transl.), *Chronique de Michel le Syrien, patriarche jacobite d'Antioche (1166–1199)*, t. II, Paris, 1901, p. 281.

of the miaphysite Michael Justinian was a heretic, not by choice but out of ignorance of the truth (and perhaps this might have been further justification for his being saved).

THE STORY OF PHILENTOLOS IN LATER BYZANTINE AND NON-BYZANTINE
LITERATURE

As we have already mentioned, George the Monk included the tale *De elemosynario fornicatore* in the section of his chronicle (second half of the 9th century), which recounts the events occurring under Emperor Leo III. He relies on the redaction *BHG* 1322w, some passages of which he reproduces *verbatim* or almost literally (compare my edition, §§15-21 and 23 respectively with *Chronicon*, p. 747, 10-748, 1 and 748, 4-5, DE BOOR). The most evident change introduced by George was to set the tale in Constantinople⁶⁶ at the time of the patriarch Germanos I (715-730 A.D.).⁶⁷ George does not report the name of the sinner, nor that of the hermit (p. 746, 7-8 and p. 747, 7-8, DE BOOR respectively), and says that the latter convoked Germanos I in person to unveil the contents of his vision (pp. 747, 7-8, DE BOOR: hence the reference in *RACP* I/1, pp. 7-8, n. 335); furthermore, he provides an original version of the moral considerations appended to the narration, one that differs from that of *BHG* 1322w (pp. 747, 7-748, 17, DE BOOR). The most ancient manuscripts of George's chronicle are more or less contemporary to those of *BHG* 1322w.⁶⁸

Also Michael Glykas (12th century) incorporates the anecdote in his narration of the events occurring under Emperor Leo III, and he too omits the name of the sinner. Moreover, he provides a name for the patriarch – Romanos – which does not correspond to any historical patriarch of the

⁶⁶ Such an innovation could be the work of George himself, or instead might have already been present in his source (the same location is given in the redaction *BHG* 1322x). The issue is not tackled in the insightful contributions on John and the tradition of the *historiae animae utiles* by J. LJUBARSKIJ, *George the Monk as a Short-Story Writer*, in *JÖB*, 44 (1994), pp. 255-264, who mentions the passage at pp. 260-261, or by M. DETORAKI, *Chronicon animae utile. La Chronique de Georges le Moine et les récits édifiants*, in TH. ANTONOPOULOU – S. KOTZABASSI – M. LOUKAKI (eds), *Myriobiblos. Essays on Byzantine Literature and Culture (Byzantinisches Archiv, 29)*, Berlin – New York, 2015, pp. 103-130 (see here p. 122).

⁶⁷ On Germanos, see *supra* n. 8.

⁶⁸ This passage was extrapolated from the *Chronicon* by an anonymous compiler and is found in at least four manuscripts, viz. the *Marcianus gr.* 127 (11th-12th c.), the *Parisinus gr.* 37 (1558 A.D.), the *Athoniensis Vatopedinus gr.* 34 (16th c.) and the *Vaticanus gr.* 2093 (12th c.). On the tradition of this *excerptum de elemosynario fornicatore sub Germano patriarcha*, see M.-A. MONÉGIER DU SORBIER, *Quatre extraits de la Chronique de Georges le moine*, in *RHT*, 22 (1992), pp. 269-288, viz. pp. 269, 272-273 and 284-287.

time. He summarizes the story very briefly, abruptly interrupting the angel's reproach at the end and condensing the moral reflections in one short sentence ("Money donated by a filthy hand will be of no help", i.e., for the benefit of the donor's soul).⁶⁹ A transcription of the two passages is provided in Appendix II to this article. Subsequently, the narrative entered the compilation of Theognostos (first half of the 13th century), together with other short stories, and this version corresponds to *BHG* 1322xc (see Appendix I).

The tale also made its way to the West through the Latin translation produced by John of Amalfi, a monk and priest who resided for a while in Constantinople around the mid-eleventh century. During his stay there he translated some forty edifying *narratiunculae*, among which that of *BHG* 1322w.⁷⁰ The comparison of John's translation with my collations leads me to suppose that he may have worked on a Greek text close to that of MSS **D** and **L** of my list.⁷¹

⁶⁹ Glykas returns to the issue of the inutility of almsgiving if coupled with fornication in a chapter entitled "It is not licit to those living in sin to enter the Church of God, and their offerings are not well accepted by God" in his *Quaestiones in sacram scripturam* (nr. 63, pp. 167, 17-170, 8 in the edition by S. EUSTRATIADIS, *Μιχαὴλ τοῦ Γλοκᾶ, Εἰς τὰς ἀπορίας τῆς θείας Γραφῆς*, Alexandria, 1912; on this collection of short essays, often in the form of epistolary response, see EI.-S. ΚΙΑΠΙΔΟΥ, *Chapters, Epistolary Essays and Epistles. The Case of Michael Glykas' Collection of Ninety-Five Texts in the 12th Century*, in *Παρεκβολαί*, 3 [2013], pp. 45-64). On Glykas' eschatological views, see ANGOLD, *Church* [see n. 24], esp. pp. 449-452, and the survey of Y. PAPAΔΟΓΙΑΝΝΑΚΙΣ, *Michael Glykas and the Afterlife in Twelfth-Century Byzantium*, in P. CLARKE – T. CLAYDON (eds), *The Church and the Afterlife. Papers Read at the 2007 Summer Meeting and the 2008 Winter Meeting of the Ecclesiastical History Society (Studies in Church History, 45)*, Oxford, 2009, pp. 130-142.

⁷⁰ F. HALKIN, *Entre ciel et enfer: Philentolus*, in *AB*, 90 (1972), pp. 323-327, published this translation from MS *Laurentianus* 29, 39 (where it appears as an autonomous piece without any mention of the author), unaware that the text had already been published by M. HUBER (ed.), *Johannes monachus, Liber de miraculis*, Heidelberg, 1913, pp. 40-41. On John's activity as a translator and scholar, see P. CHIESA, *Giovanni di Amalfi*, in *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani*, 55 (2001), coll. 652-654, with a detailed bibliography.

⁷¹ DUFFY, *The Jewish Boy Legend* [see n. 5], p. 318, had suggested that the exemplar consulted by John of Amalfi for his translation of a spiritually beneficial tale *De quodam Iudeo (inc. "Ἦν τις Ἰουδαῖος ἐν Κωνσταντινουπόλει"*, in John's version, "*Fuit quidem vir iudeus in Constantinopoli*", text in Johannes Monachus, *Liber de miraculis* [see n. 70], pp. 44-45) might have been "extremely close to, though not identical with", MS *Parisinus gr.* 1596 (our *siglum*: **B**). Indeed, as concerns our tale, John's translation (**J**) is closer to **DL** than to any other witness (including **U**), as evidently results from the two following cases: *a camino ignis* of **J** relies on ἐκ τῆς καμίνου τοῦ πυρός, an addition found in **DLU** and not shared by any of the other witnesses, including **B** (see the apparatus to our edition, §25); *masculorum concubitores* of **J** implies the presence in its antigraphon of οὔτε ἀρσενοκοῦται, which is found in **DL** and in other MSS as well, but is omitted by **U** (*ibidem*, §33); furthermore, **J** does not reflect the additions ὑπὸ τοῦ Θεοῦ of **DU** (*ibidem*, §8) as well as τοῦ... αὐτοῦ of **LU** (*ibidem*, §9; in both cases, and especially in the latter, where the pronoun sounds pleonastic, he might have voluntarily omitted those words).

If we exclude the above-mentioned passages from the *Life of Basil the Younger* and Michael the Syrian's chronicle, the issue of the possibility of being trapped between Hell and Heaven does not seem to have stimulated great speculation in Byzantium, nor is there evidence of any theologian or 'highbrow' author quoting (or referring to) Philentolos' tale.⁷² Nonetheless, the manuscript evidence demonstrates that this short story was read by "uncountable generations of readers, both monks and secular, from the seventh century... until the fall of the Byzantine empire".⁷³ Even if the example of Philentolos may have seemed paradoxical to many of those readers, it most probably met the ordinary person's need for answers to questions concerning aspects of dogma that were not clearly addressed in their basic instruction, such as, for instance, "What if my good deeds balanced my bad?", or "Would my alms be sufficient to secure the salvation of my soul?". The reason for the success of such 'spiritually beneficial tales' lies precisely in their function as supplements to the ordinary catechism, and in their status as brief compendia for moral guidance.⁷⁴

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SUMMARY

The spiritually beneficial tale *De Philentolo fornicatore*, as it was termed by the Bollandist fathers, contains quite an original vision of the otherworld, in which a man is shown trapped between Hell and Heaven due to the perfect balance of his good and evil deeds – that is, on the one hand, his numerous charitable actions, and on the other, his repeated sexual sins. This paper aims to provide new insight into the origins and the reception of this tale, together with an edition of four Greek redactions, viz. BHG 1322w, 1322xd, 1322x and 1322xc, the latter two previously unpublished.

⁷² It goes beyond the purposes of the present study and the competences of its author to search for *comparanda* for Philentolos' tale in the visual arts; I thus leave this task to art historians.

⁷³ HALKIN, *La vision* [see n. 9], p. 60.

⁷⁴ In this respect, these *historiae psychopheleis* functioned exactly as their Western equivalents, the *exempla*, as already noted by LJUBARSKIJ, *George the Monk as a Short-Story Writer* [see n. 66], p. 262; in fact, both traditions contain stories derived "from different literary and other sources, including oral tales and folklore stories", and both "reflect a specific type of mentality incorporating not only the doctrinal form of Christianity but, to some extent, its popular and vulgar version".

APPENDIX I
GREEK TEXT OF THE FOUR REDACTIONS

Of the four redactions that follow, only two – *BHG* 1322x and 1322xc – are being published for the first time. For the convenience of the reader I have chosen to add a new version of *BHG* 1322w and 1322xd in an edition based on a collation of manuscripts previously disregarded by other editors. The earliest attested redaction, *BHG* 1322w (whose attribution to Anastasios the monk / Anastasios of Sinai is perhaps reasonable, if not yet demonstrated, as mentioned above) has been handed down through several *testimonia*. For the present edition, I have collated the following:⁷⁵

A = *Ambrosianus gr.* M 83 sup. (gr. 529), *membra.*, 14th c., ff. 144^r-145^v.⁷⁶

B = *Parisinus gr.* 1596, *membra.*, 11th c., ff. 659-660.⁷⁷

⁷⁵ I did not have access to the two other copies of this redaction, which are mentioned in BINGGELI, *Récits* [see n. 6], p. 136: the *Scorialensis* Ω III 14 (*gemellus* of MS London Addit. 28270, our **L** according to BINGGELI, *ibidem*) and the *Sinaiticus gr.* 450 (which BINGGELI, *ibidem*, defines “un parent proche” of MS Coislin 283, our **D**). It is highly probable that other copies of the text (often transmitted without a title and inserted in manuscripts within collections of anecdotes, stories and *erotapokriseis*, which are often poorly catalogued and hardly studied) do exist, and possibly A. Binggeli’s edition of the (Pseudo-)Anastasian *narrationes* would provide additions to my list. MS *Hierosolymitanus gr.* 113 (**J**), which, albeit *recentior* (it was written in either 1672 or 1678 AD), is still a very important witness of collection II (i.e. BC) of the *narrationes animae utiles* attributed to Anastasios, does not contain nr. 15 of “collection C”, i.e. our *De Philentolo fornicatore* (C. FARAGGIANA DI SARZANA, *Il paterikon Vat. gr. 2592, già di Mezzoiuso, e il suo rapporto testuale con lo Hieros S. Sepulchri gr. 113*, in *BBGG*, n.s., 47 [1993], pp. 79-96, viz. p. 96). The same can be said for MS *Sinaiticus MG* 21, which contains some other narratives attributed to Anastasios: see A. BINGGELI, *Un nouveau témoin des Narrationes d’Anastase le Sinaïte dans les membra disjecta d’un manuscrit sinaitique (Sinaiticus MG 6 + MG 21)*, in *REB*, 62 (2004), pp. 261-268.

⁷⁶ On this manuscript, which was copied in Epirus or in Thessaly, see A. CATALDI PALAU, *Manoscritti provenienti dalla Tessaglia a Milano*, in M. D’AGOSTINO – P. DEgni (eds), *Alethes philia. Studi in onore di Giancarlo Prato*, Spoleto, 2010, pp. 93-167, esp. pp. 162-163. A dating to the 13th century was proposed by A. MARTINI – D. BASSI, *Catalogus codicum graecorum Bibliothecae Ambrosianae*, Mediolani, 1906, t. II, p. 640, nr. 529, and by C. PASINI, *Inventario agiografico dei manoscritti greci dell’Ambrosiana*, Bruxelles, 2003, pp. 131-135, viz. p. 131 (the latter arguing for the end of that century). Further bibliographical references can be found in C. PASINI, *Bibliografia dei manoscritti greci dell’Ambrosiana (1857-2006)*, Milano, 2007, p. 285. It contains *narrationes animae utiles* mostly taken from John Moschos’ *Spiritual Meadow*. The text of *BHG* 1322w is preceded by *BHG* 1440y (*Interrogandi peritiores*) at ff. 142^v-143^v and followed by *BHG* 801c, i.e. [Anast. Sin.] *narrat.* C 9 = II, 18 Binggeli (*De Mesita*, cf. UTHEMANN, *Anastasios Sinaites*, 2015a [see n. 6], pp. 478 and n. 1, 529, and *passim*) at ff. 145^v-147^v.

⁷⁷ This thick parchment manuscript dates back to the second half of the 11th century. A description is provided by F. NAU, *Analyse du manuscrit grec de Paris 1596*, in *ROC*, 7 (1902), pp. 606-617; see also M. BANDINI, *La Doctrina ad Antiochum ducem pseudo-atanasiana. Tradizione diretta, struttura, datazione*, in *Prometheus*, 23 (1997), pp. 171-187, esp. 173-174. It contains (as does its *gemellus*, or *apographon*, *Marcianus gr.* II 70, see *infra*) among other things portions of Palladius’ *Historia Lausiaca*, Moschos’ *Spiritual Meadow*, the *Apophthegmata patrum*, the *Doctrina patrum*, and, at ff. 381-395 the *narrationes* attributed

C = *Parisinus Coislin 257, membr.*, 11th c., ff. 83^v-85^v.⁷⁸

D = *Parisinus Coislin 283, membr.*, 11th c., ff. 57^r-58^v.⁷⁹

H = *Athonensis Vatopedi 38, membr.*, 10th c., ff. 339^r-340^r.⁸⁰

K = *Athonensis Vatopedi 14, chart.*, 1550 A.D., f. 47^{r-v}.⁸¹

to Anastasios of Sinai. Philentolos' tale begins at line 1 of f. 660 (the numeration is modern, without any indication of recto-verso) and ends at f. 661. The text is preceded by other short stories and anecdotes (f. 656, *inc.*: “εἶπεν ὁ ἀββᾶς Ζήνων ὅτι λόγον τῷ θεῷ ὁ μοναχός” [cf. *fort. BHG 1450zt*]; f. 658, *inc.*: “ἡ ἀγρυπνία εὐσέβειαν ἐκδιδάσκει· ἡσυχίας γίνεταί προξενός”) and followed by an anecdote *De meditatione mortis* (*BHG 1450a, inc.* “Γέρων τις ἐκάθητο ἐπὶ τὸν κόλπον τοῦ ἀγίου Ἀντωνίου”, ed. NAU, *Analyse du manuscrit grec de Paris 1596 [Suite]*, in *ROC*, 8 [1903], pp. 91-100, viz. pp. 99-100).

⁷⁸ This small-format parchment codex, nicely written in neat, ample handwriting, contains parts of Moschos' *Pratum spirituale*, the *Apophthegmata Patrum* and other materials. Philentolos' story is preceded by a text whose *incipit* is (f. 82^r): “περὶ ἄλλης παρθένου ἁγίας ὁμοίως ἀγωνισαμένη ἐν τοῖς αὐτοῖς Πέρσαις. Καὶ τοῦτο δὲ τὸ διήγημα συμφώνως παρὰ πολλῶν ἀκηκοῶς εὐλογον”, and whose *desinit* is (f. 83^v): “καὶ τύπον ταῖς τὴν παρθενίαν αἰρουμένας καταλείπουσα· παρὰ Χριστοῦ τοῦ Θεοῦ ἡμῶν τὸν στέφανον ἐκομίσατο, ᾧ ἡ δόξα καὶ τὸ κράτος σὺν τῷ παντοκράτορι πατρὶ καὶ τῷ ζωοπιῶν αὐτοῦ πνεύματι νῦν καὶ αἰεὶ καὶ εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας”; it is followed by a story whose *incipit* is (f. 85^v): “Θαυμάσιος Ἰωάννης ὁ Σαβαΐτης ἡμῖν διηγήσατο ὅτι καθεζομένου μου – φησι – ἐν ἀκροτάτῳ ἐρέμῳ παρέβαλέν μοι τις ἀδελφός ἐκ τοῦ μοναστηρίου ἐπισκέψεως χάριν”). Along the left margin of f. 85^v there is a cryptographic inscription by a hand other than that which wrote down the tale. A brief description of this MS is provided in R. DEVRESSE, *Catalogue des manuscrits grecs. II. Le fonds Coislin*, Paris, 1945, pp. 234-235.

⁷⁹ This manuscript is the result of the grouping of different codicological units of diverse origins (see DEVRESSE, *Catalogue* [see n. 78], pp. 264-266). It contains Moschos' *Spiritual Meadow* and other writings by several authors (e.g. Euagrios Pontikos, Pseudo-Makarios and Makarios of Alexandria). Philentolos' tale is preceded by Moschos, *Pratum spirituale*, 102, in a version which does not correspond exactly to the one printed in *PG 87, 2960 D (inc. f. 57^r*: “Μέλλοντος τελειοῦσθαι τοῦ ἀββᾶ Σωφρονίου τοῦ σοφιστοῦ”; *expl. ibidem*: “τὸν ἀληθινὸν Θεὸν ἡμῶν, ὅτι αὐτῷ πρέπει δόξα τε καὶ προσκύνησις, νῦν καὶ αἰεὶ καὶ εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων, ἀμήν”); and followed, at f. 58^r, by the tale *De taxeota seu milite redivivo* (*BHG 1318 = W 010; tit.*: “Περὶ τοῦ ταξεώτου”; *inc.*: “ἐν τοῖς χρόνοις Νικήτα τοῦ πατρικίου ἐν Καταργένη [sic] τῆς Ἀφρικῆς”).

⁸⁰ This manuscript is in a poor state of conservation due to exposure to humidity and bacteria. For a detailed description, see E. LAMBERZ, *Katalog der griechischen Handschriften des Athosklosters Vatopedi, Band I, Codices 1-102*, Thessalonike, 2006, pp. 168-183. It is a miscellany of ascetical and hagiographical writings, among which Pseudo-Athanasios' *Quaestiones ad Antiochum*, “collection B” of Anastasios of Sinai's *Quaestions and Answers* (cf. *Anastasioi Quaestiones*, ed. RICHARD† – MUNITZ [see n. 15], pp. xxiv, xxxiii-xxxiv), and John Moschos' *Spiritual Meadow*. The narration on Philentolos is located between the tale *De monacho et nepote* (corresponding to [Pseudo?-] Anastasios Sinaites' *narratio C 16 [II, 26 Binggeli] = BHG 1450h = W 915*; cf. UTHEMANN, *Anastasios Sinaites*, 2015a [see n. 6], pp. 575-577 and notes, *passim*), whose explicit is at f. 339^r, and the tale *De taxeota seu milite redivivo* (cf. *supra*, n. 79; *tit.*: “Περὶ τοῦ ταξεώτου”; *inc.* “ἐν τοῖς χρόνοις Νικήτα τοῦ πατρικίου ἐν Καταργένη τῆς Ἀφρικῆς”), whose *incipit* is at f. 340^r. These folia have been damaged by a lengthwise cut in the middle of the page; moreover, some portions of the pages close to the external margins are also damaged, and the script there is now illegible.

⁸¹ This paper manuscript was written in 1550 A.D. A description is provided in LAMBERZ, *Katalog* [see n. 80], pp. 94-100. It contains, among other texts, the “Collection d” parts of “Collection b” of Anastasios of Sinai's *Quaestions and Answers* (*CPG 7746*; see *Anastasioi Quaestiones* [see n. 15], pp. xxv, xxviii). The text of *BHG 1322w* is copied after *quaest. 22*

- L** = *Londinensis Add.* 28270, *pergam.*, A. D. 1111, ff. 131^v-133^v.⁸²
M = *Marcianus gr.* 494 (coll. 331), *chart.*, 13th c., f. 245^r.⁸³
N = *Marcianus gr.* II, 70 (coll. 1057), *pergam.*, 11th-12th c., ff. 246^v-247^r.⁸⁴
R = *Philadelphiensis Ridgway* 1141, *chart.*, 14th c., ff. 71^v-72^r.⁸⁵
S = *Mosquensis Musei Historici, olim Bibliothecae Synodalis gr.* 165 (Vladimir 340), *chart.*, 1345 A.D., ff. 109^v-110^r.⁸⁶

of the edition by J. GRETSEK (Ingolstadt, 1617), reproduced in *PG* 89, 536 C-540 B (f. 45^v, *tit.*: “Ποῖα ἁμαρτήματα συγχωροῦνται μετὰ θάνατον διὰ τῶν λειτουργῶν καὶ εὐχῶν καὶ ἐλεημοσιυῶν τῶν γενομένων ὑπὲρ τῶν κοιμηθέντων;”); a *notabile* in the right margin of f. 49^r reads “ἐκ τοῦ Λειμωναρίου” (which LAMBERZ, *Katalog* [see n. 80], p. 95, argues stands as a title for the tale). The text ends at f. 47^v with the words “ἐκφερομένην ἀπὸ τοῦ σώματος αὐτοῦ σποράν”, thus omitting the final part of the moral reflections, and is followed by another *quaestio* beginning with the words: “ἐκ πόσων τρόπων ἡ πορνεία καὶ οἱ ἐνυπτισμοὶ ἐν τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ γίνονται· καθὼς οἱ πατέρες φασὶν ἐκ τεσσάρων κτλ.”.

⁸² This manuscript contains selections from Moschos’ *Spiritual Meadow* and other *gerontika*, as well as extracts from various hagiographical texts. See description in NAU, *Le texte grec* [see n. 6], pp. 57-59; C. VAN DER VORST – H. DELEHAYE, *Catalogus codicum hagiographicorum Graecorum Germaniae, Belgii, Angliae*, Bruxelles, 1913, pp. 271-272. The tale is preceded by a story entitled “περὶ τῶν τρίτων καὶ ἐννάτων καὶ τῶν σαρακοστῶν» (*inc.* f. 129^r) and followed by a tale entitled “περὶ τοῦ ἀνδρογύνου τοῦ ἐν τῇ φυλακῇ ὄντος καὶ τοῦ ληστοῦ” (*inc.* f. 133^v).

⁸³ This *codex*, once part of Cardinal Bessarion’s collection, is described in E. MIONI, *Codices Graeci manuscripti Bibliothecae divi Marci Venetiarum. Codices 300-625*, II, Roma, 1985, pp. 307-318. It is made up of different codicological units and contains, among other texts, collections of *apophthegmata*, *vitae* and narrations of the desert fathers. The fifteenth codicological unit consists of three *narrationes animae utiles: De taxeota seu milite redivivo* (see above, notes 15, 79, 80), Makarios of Alexandria’s *Visio de sorte animarum* (BHG 999w) at ff. 244^v-245, then Philentolos’ story at f. 245^r, followed by the *Symbolum Nicaenum seu Pseudo-Athanasii* (ff. 245^r-246^r).

⁸⁴ Description in E. MIONI, *Codices Graeci manuscripti Bibliothecae divi Marci Venetiarum*, I/1, Roma, 1967, pp. 197-204, *viz.* p. 197; BANDINI, *La Doctrina* [see n. 77], p. 175, n. 10, is inclined to attribute it to the 12th c., after a suggestion of Paolo Eleuteri (see also here, p. 187). It contains the *Vitae patrum* and several collections of *narrationes* and *apophthegmata* in the same sequence as MS *Parisinus gr.* 1596 (our B); these two *testimonia* are very close and they are generally believed to be twins (FARAGGIANA DI SARZANA, *Il paterikon Vat. gr.* 2592 [see n. 75], p. 86). Indeed, BANDINI (*La Doctrina* [see n. 77], p. 180) maintains that the *Marcianus* (our N) is a copy of the *Parisinus* (our B). Philentolos’ tale is to be found at ff. 246^v-247^r; it is preceded by a tale *de numismate cuiusdam divitis* (ff. 245^v-246^r): *inc.* “ἦλθε ποτὲ εἰς Ῥαιθοῦ ἀνθρώπος πλούσιος ἀποξένης”, *expl.* “μελετῶντα ἡμέρας καὶ νυκτός”) and followed, as in MS B, by the anecdote BHG 1450a (above, n. 77; *inc.* f. 247^r: “Γέρων τις ἐκάθητο ἐπὶ τὸν κόλπον τοῦ ἁγίου Ἀντωνίου”).

⁸⁵ A description can be found in I. H. HALL, *A Hagiologic Manuscript in the Philadelphia Library*, in *Journal of Biblical Literature*, 6 (1886), pp. 3-39, *viz.* pp. 3-29. It contains *gerontika* and a treatise on the names of the prophets. It shows similarities with MS S (below, n. 86) in its handwriting style and decoration. Philentolos’ story is preceded, as in other cases (see above, notes 79, 80, and 83), by the tale *De taxeota* (ff. 70^r-71^v) and followed by a collection of *apophthegmata* (f. 72^v, *tit.*: “Διηγῆματα καὶ νουθεσίαι ὁσίων πατέρων <περὶ> κατανώξεως”; *inc.*: “Διηγῆσαντο ἡμῖν τινες ἀδελφοὶ παραλαβοῦσιν ἡμῖν εἰς Ῥαιθοῦ ὅτι γέρων”).

⁸⁶ On this manuscript, see ARCHIM. VLADIMIR, *Sistematičeskoe opisanie rukopisej Moskovskoj Sinodal’noj (Patriaršej) biblioteki*, I, *Rukopisi grečeskija*, Moskva, 1894, nr. 340,

U = *Vaticanus gr.* 2592, *pergam.*, 11th, ff. 132^v-134^r.⁸⁷

V = *Leidensis Vossianus* F. 46, *pergam.*, 10th c., ff. 121^v-122^r.⁸⁸

Z = *Vaticanus gr.* 1844, *pergam.*, 12th c., ff. 88^v-89^v (*scriptio inferior*).⁸⁹

As this *recensio* is far from complete, it is impossible to provide a stemmatic reconstruction of the tradition, which would in any case be a difficult task to accomplish, due to the fact that several manuscripts have handed down contaminated, or to some extent re-elaborated versions of the text. The oldest witnesses are **H** (10th c.) and **V** (10th-11th c.). Halkin based his edition on **V** and collated four more witnesses, **BCDR**. He noticed that **R** is very close to **V** and supposed that such could also be the case with **S** (which, however, was inaccessible to him), given that the three witnesses contain the same writings in the same sequence. My collations confirm Halkin's hypothesis; **R** and **S** share some readings which are not found in **V**, such as δεξιάν instead of δεξιᾶ (§15), and neither can be a copy of the other, as both have singular errors. **V** could thus be the common ancestor of **R** and **S**, and of

pp. 335-344. It contains, in the same sequence as **V** (below, n. 88), the *Historia Lausiaca*, the *Vita Pauli eremitaie Thebaidis* (BHG 1466), the tale *De Taxeota* (above, notes 79, 80, 83, and 85) at ff. 107^v-109^v (*inc.*: “ἐν τοῖς χρόνοις Νικήτα τοῦ πατρικίου ἐν Καρταγένῃ τῆς Ἀφρικῆς”), Philentolos' tale, a collection of *apophthegmata* (f. 110^r, tit.: “Πατερικὸν ἢ λεγομένη Παράδεισος: διηγῆματα καὶ νουθεσίαι πατέρων ὁσίων περὶ κατανύξεως”; *inc.*: “Διηγῆσαντο ἡμῖν τινες ἀδελφοὶ παραλαβοῦσιν ἡμῖν ἐς Ῥαιθοῦ ὅτι ἦν τις γέρον πονικὸς καθέμενος εἰς τὰ σπήλαια”), Pseudo-Athanasios' *Syntagma ad monachos* (CPG 2264 = BHG 1445s), the treatise on the names and deaths of the prophets, and Pseudo-Dorotheos' *Indices apostolorum*.

⁸⁷ This manuscript contains the most ancient redaction of the alphabetical collection of the *Apophthegmata Patrum* and the *Narrationes* attributed to Anastasios the monk (published from this manuscript by HEID, *Die C-Reihe* [see n. 1]; for its role in the transmission of the Anastasian collections of tales, see UTHEMANN, *Anastasios Sinaites*, 2015a [see n. 6], *ad indicem*). A complete description is provided by P. CANART, *Une nouvelle anthologie monastique: le Vaticanus graecus 2592*, in *Mus*, 75 (1962), pp. 108-129; see also IDEM, *Nouveaux récits du moine Anastase*, in *Actes du XII^e Congrès international d'études byzantines, Ochride, 10-16 sept. 1961*, Beograd, 1964, pp. 263-271; FARAGGIANA DI SARZANA, *Il paterikon Vat. gr. 2592* [see n. 75], pp. 79-96.

⁸⁸ A description is provided in K. A. DE MEYIER, *Codices Vossiani Graeci et miscellanei*, Lugduni Batavorum, 1955, pp. 51-53. It contains, in the same sequence as its probable copies **R** and **S**, the *Historia Lausiaca*, the *Vita Pauli eremitaie Thebaidis* (BHG 1466), the tale *De taxeota* at ff. 120^r-121^v (above, notes 79, 80, 83, 85, and 86; *des.*: “ἀπέλθη καθαρῶς πρὸς κύριον, προγνοὺς πρὸ τριῶν ἡμέρων τὴν ἰδίαν τελευτήν· οἱ οὖν πορεύοντες καὶ ἐορακότες ἀξιόπιστοι πατέρες· αὐτοὶ ἡμῖν διηγῆσαντο· ὠφελείας χάριν.”), Philentolos' tale, a collection of *Apophthegmata* (beginning at f. 123^v), then Athanasios' *syntagma*, a treatise entitled *Prophetarum vita et obitus*, and Pseudo-Dorotheos' *Indices Apostolorum discipulorumque domini* (both of the latter found in **S** as well, see *supra* n. 86).

⁸⁹ This manuscript is for the most part a palimpsest. A description is found in *Codices Vaticanus Graeci. Codices 1745-1962*, rec. P. CANART, I, Città del Vaticano, 1970, pp. 308-314. The *folia* containing Philentolos' tale were probably written in Southern Italy in the 11th or 12th century and subsequently were rewritten in the 14th century with liturgical works. Philentolos' tale is inserted within what appears to be a *paterikon*; it is preceded at f. 88^r by a text beginning with “ἀδελφ”, and followed at f. 91^v by another one beginning with the words “ἀδελφός τις παρέβαλεν” (both transcriptions are uncertain: CANART, *ibidem*, pp. 311-312).

all the manuscripts which I have examined it may well be the closest to the first written version of the tale. With respect to **RSV**, the rest of the tradition has introduced innovations and interpolations. The tale's title is Περὶ τοῦ Φιλεντόλου Ὀλυμπίου in **RSV** (the reading Ὀλυμπίου is shared by MSS **BMN**, whilst other manuscripts have Ὀλύμπου and still others omit the title); furthermore, at §7 **RSV** read πλήθος ἁμαρτιῶν (as in the biblical passage quoted here, 1ac 5, 20), whereas all other witnesses read ἁμαρτίας μεγάλας. At §2, the words καὶ νοσοκομεῖον (-α) ποιήσας are found in **ABDKLNU** but are absent in the two *antiquiores* **H** and **V**, as well as in the rest of the tradition (**CMRS**). Though relying on **V**, F. Halkin printed these words in the text;⁹⁰ my opinion is that they possibly constitute an interpolation and that they may have been present as an interlinear gloss in some manuscripts, including the ancestor of the **HBN** family and that of the **ACDKLU** family (**H** and **C** did not include this gloss in the text). **HBN** share some common readings and additions (§2, ἄλλην πασαν **HBN** : πᾶσαν ἄλλην *rell.*; §3, ἀναλίσκων **HBN** : καταναλίσκων *rell.*; §4, τοῦ μισοκάλου ἐχθροῦ **HBN** : τοῦ μισοκάλου *rell.*; §21, τῆς χάριτος **HBN** : τῆς χαρᾶς *rell.*; §31, τούτων **HBN** : τούτοις *rell.*). **B** and **N** are probably twins, as they share common variants, such as λέγω for λέγε at §30, διώκετε μετὰ πάντων instead of §35, ἀσκήσατε; additions, such as καὶ μοναχοῦς (§2), λοιπόν (§10), and οὔτε μαλακοί (§33); and omissions, such as that of ὑπάρχει (§26). **M** shares several readings with (**H**)**BN** and bears several omissions and interpolations. **ACDKLU** share the significant addition of ἀπὸ (/ἐκ) τοῦ σώματός (σου) at §24; they also share the omission of τῆς χαρᾶς (§21). Other peculiarities are common only to **ADKLU**, e.g. the addition of καὶ μάλιστα ἔχων (/ἔχοντα) (ιδίαν) γυναῖκα (§21) and of πάλιν (§8) and the omission of αὐτοῖς (§14). **DLU** (each bearing peculiar readings) share common readings (e.g. §25, ἐκ τῆς καμίνου τοῦ πυρὸς instead of τῆς κολάσεως; §15, ἔχουσαν instead of ἔχοντα; the addition of τοῦ σώματος at §35; the omission of §35, οὖν, the latter shared with **C**); moreover, **DU** share some additions (§6, παρά; §8, ὑπὸ τοῦ Θεοῦ, and §32, σοι), whilst **LU** alone read ἕως τοῦ θανάτου αὐτοῦ at §9. **K** has several unique readings and omissions of entire clauses. **A** seems closer to **DU** than to **C** and introduces several mistakes and interpolations of its own. I was able to read but a few lines of the text in the *scriptio inferior* of **Z**, which seems to contain several peculiar readings.⁹¹

⁹⁰ The use of Philentolos' tale as a source for the foundation of hospitals in Late Antique Cyprus (which is found, for instance, in the *DHGE* article mentioned above, n. 4, and in some of the contributions quoted at n. 36) might therefore need to be reconsidered in light of the fact that this notation on Philentolos having promoted the construction of a νοσοκομεῖον could be due to an interpolation (though attested early on in the tradition, and possibly plausible in the eyes of the Byzantine readers of the text).

⁹¹ With the help of the Wood's lamp I was able to read some passages, of which I give here a transcription, without correcting the misspellings of the manuscript: “ἐπὶ τοῦ ἐν ἁγίοις Ἀρκαδίου τοῦ ἀρχιεπισκόπου [...] γέγονέν τις Φιλεντόλος [...] ἐνεργείας[...] ἔλθων ἐτελεύτησε, μήτε τῆς ἐλεημοσύνης [...] ἁμαρτίας [...] κόννας. πολλὴ οὖν γέγονεν κατὰ[?] τοῖς ἀρχιερεῖς [...] ζήτησίς τε καὶ ἀμφίεξις περὶ τούτου, τῶν μὲν λεγόντων ὅτι· ἐσώθη· εἴρηται γὰρ ὅτι ἐλεημοσύνη ἀνδρὸς καλῶσι ἁμαρτίας μεγάλας,

The second redaction, *BHG* 1322x, has until now remained unpublished. My edition is based on the following *testimonia*:

E *Atheniensis Bibliothecae Nationalis* 278, *chart.*, 14th-15th c., ff. 98^r-99^r.⁹²

O *Oxoniensis Bibliothecae Bodleianae Cromwell* 10, *chart.*, 16th c., ff. 133^r-134^r.⁹³

This redaction is indeed a rewriting of the previous one, introduced as a liturgical reading “for each second Sunday of Lent”,⁹⁴ and it presents some new features concerning the story’s characters: Philentolos is said to have lived in Constantia “since his youngest age” (§1), and the recluse’s name is Serapion. The tone of the narration is more pathetic, as can be seen from the words pronounced by the visionary monk, who says that the vision caused him “much weeping” and “fountains of tears” (§10), as well as from some details which enhance the contrast between the two otherworld zones. Moreover, the place in which Philentolos is standing is depicted as a “fearful” one (*ibidem*), whilst the angel is said to be “very beautiful” (§13). Of the two *testimonia*, **E** and **O**, the latter has several more omissions and the former in general provides a better text.

A third version, *BHG* 1322xc, previously unpublished as well, has to the best of my knowledge been handed down by means of a single witness:

I *Athoniensis Iviron* 408 (4528 Lampros), *chart.*, 12th-13th c., ff. 1^r-3^r.⁹⁵

τῶν δὲ ἀντιλεγόντων ὅτι· γέγραπται ἐν τῷ προφήτῃ Ἰεζεκιήλ ὅτι· ἐν ᾧ εὗρωσαι ἐν αὐτῷ καὶ κρινῶσαι. πῶς οὖν λοιπῶν δυνατὸν σωθῆναι τὸν μὴ ἀφηστάμενον τῆς ἁμαρτίας ἕως θανάτου αὐτοῦ; πολλῶν οὖν καὶ λεχθέντων, κηρύττει [f. 90^r] νηστεΐαν”. This witness could possibly be close to the **BHN** family.

⁹² A brief description is found in A. SAKKELION, *Katálogoς τῶν χειρογράφων τῆς Ἐθνικῆς Βιβλιοθήκης τῆς Ἑλλάδος*, Ἀθήναι, 1892, p. 49.

⁹³ This manuscript, dating to the beginning of the 16th century, is a miscellany of writings of diverse origins and subject matter (e.g. theology, exegesis and homiletics). A description is provided in H. COXE, *Catalogi codicum manuscriptorum Bibliothecae Bodleianae pars prima recensionem codicum Graecorum continens*, Oxford, 1853, coll. 429-433; see also I. AULISA – C. SCHIANO, *Dialogo di Papisco e Filone giudei con un monaco. Testo, traduzione e commento (Quaderni di «Vetera Christianorum», 30)*, Bari, 2005, pp. 117-118; and D. SPERANZI, *Marco Musuro. Libri e scrittura (Supplemento nr. 27 al «Bollettino dei classici»)*, Roma, 2013, p. 290 nr. 101 (who excludes that some parts of this manuscript might have been written by Marcus Musurus, contrary to what is often reported in bibliographies). Philentolos’ tale is preceded at ff. 119^r-132^r by an “anonymi epistola ad Nicodemum responsoria, qui per epistolam ab auctore quaesierat de adulterio” (*inc.* “Τῷ ὀσιωτάτῳ ἱερῷ κυρίῳ Νικοδήμῳ ἐν Κυρίῳ χαίρειν. Οὐκ ἔδει ἡμᾶς τοσοῦτον ἀπέχειν ἀλλήλων φίλων μοι, ἄριστε”; COXE, *Catalogi* [see *supra*], col. 430), and followed at f. 135^r by the *Expositio de divino templo* by Symeon, Archbishop of Thessalonike (*PG* 155, coll. 697-749 = St. Symeon of Thessalonika, *The Liturgical Commentaries [Studies and Texts, 168]*, ed. and transl. S. HAWKES-TEEPLES, Toronto, 2011, pp. 80-163).

⁹⁴ See BINGGELI, *Récits* [see n. 6], pp. 136-137.

⁹⁵ This manuscript contains ascetical *florilegia*, as well as hagiographic and theological writings. According to WORTLEY, *The Spiritually Beneficial Tales* [see n. 1], pp. 32-33, it can be dated around 1200 A. D.; indeed, S. P. LAMBROS, *Catalogue of the Greek Manuscripts on Mount Athos*, Cambridge, 1900 [repr. Amsterdam 1966], vol. II, pp. 143-144, dated it to the 14th century.

The innovations of this version concern the setting in Alexandria and the assertion that the patriarch⁹⁶ promoted a one-week period of fasting and prayer in order to ask God for a revelation concerning Philentolos' fate (§4). The names of the patriarch and the hermit are omitted. Here too a pathetic notation is added when the author depicts the reaction of the people to the recluse's account: "they shuddered and wailed bitterly" (§7), followed by the authorial remark "and we wrote down this story so that we would know how to perform good deeds" (§8).

A fourth redaction, *BHG* 1322xd, appears within the "Amphilochian" chapters (i.e. derived from a sermon written by a certain Amphilochios [Pseudo-Amphilochios of Iconium] no later than the 11th century) included in Theognostos' *Thesaurus* (XV, 2, ll. 665-700, MUNITIZ [see n. 13]), which dates between 1204 and 1253 AD.⁹⁷ I have reproduced the text as given by Joseph Munitiz in his edition of the *Thesaurus*, integrating the latter with readings from my collation of MS *Venetus Marcianus* gr. III, 12 (coll. 1267; *chart.*, A.D. 1467, ff. 280^r-281^r: Q)⁹⁸ and MS *Vaticanus Archivii Sancti Petri* C 149 (*chart.*, A.D. 1610-11, ff. 253^v-255^r: P).⁹⁹ In this version

⁹⁶ The epithet *πάπας* might also mean "bishop" or "priest" (see LAMPE, *Lexicon*, s.v.).

⁹⁷ See MUNITIZ, *Theognosti Thesaurus* [see n. 13], pp. XLIX-LXXXVI; J. A. MUNITIZ, *Theognostos, Treasury, Introduction, Translation and Notes (Corpus Christianorum in Translation, 16)*, Turnhout, 2014, pp. 14-15; the translation of the story is at pp. 174-175.

⁹⁸ It is a miscellany mainly composed of canonical, exegetical and ascetical works. For a full description, see E. MIONI, *Codices Graeci manuscripti Bibliothecae divi Marci Venetiarum*, I/2, Roma, 1972, pp. 176-190. Just as in P, the tale of Philentolos is preceded by the tale *De baptismo pueri mortui* (*BHG* 1444x, cf. below, n. 99; *inc.* f. 279^v: "ἐν τῇ Λαοδικαίῳ πόλει, πρεσβύτερός τις ἦν εὐλαβῆς"; *expl.* f. 280^r: "βασιλείαν τῶν οὐρανῶν καὶ παραντίκα πάλιν κεκοίμηται ἐν Κυρίῳ") and introduced by the following words: "ὄρῳς πῶς μετὰ τὸ βάπτισμα ἢ τῶν οὐρανῶν βασιλεία· πρὸ γὰρ τοῦ βαπτίσματος οὐδαμῶς, ἀλλὰ γὰρ οὔτε κόλασις πάλιν διὰ τὸ μὴ εἶναι ἔργα τῆς κολάσεως ἕξια· ἐγνώμεν δὲ καὶ τινα τῶν φιλοχρίστων ἐκ ἀπροσεξίας τῆς τοῦ παραδείσου τρυφῆς εὐστοχῆσαντα· ἐν αὐτῷ μὲν ἄξιός ἦν κατοικῆσαι διὰ τὸ τῆς ἐλεημοσύνης ἄφθονον, ἀλλ' ἢ τυραννίς τῆς πορνείας τοῦτον αὐτοῦ ἀπεξένωσεν" (f. 280^r). Philentolos' tale is followed at ff. 281^r-284^v by another *narratio* (*tit.*: "διήγησις περὶ τῆς μισικακίας [scil. μνησικακίας] τοῦ ἱερέως καὶ τοῦ διακόνου"; *inc.*: "θαυμαστός ὁ Θεὸς ἐν τοῖς ἀγίοις αὐτοῦ *Psalm.* 68 (67), 36>, φησὶν ὁ μακάριος Δαυὶδ" = Niceta Chartularius, *De vindicta diaconi et presbyteri* = *BHG* 1322d). There follows at ff. 285^r-287^r an anecdote *de diaboli poenitentia* (*BHG* 1445m) and at ff. 287^v-288^r some extracts from the miracles of St Martinus episcopus (*BHG* 1181, cf. below, n. 99). Philentolos' text contains frequent spelling errors, which I have not recorded in the apparatus.

⁹⁹ This manuscript had already been used by Munitiz; my readings are somewhat different from his. A complete description is provided in P. CANART, *Catalogue des manuscrits grecs de l'Archivio di San Pietro* (ST, 246), Città del Vaticano, 1966, pp. 35-39; see also WORTLEY, *The Spiritually Beneficial Tales* [see n. 1], p. 34; MUNITIZ, *Theognosti Thesaurus* [see n. 13], pp. XIX-XXI and LXIV-LXV; AULISA – SCHIANO, *Dialogo* [see n. 93], pp. 165-167. It is a miscellany containing numerous *apophthegmata* and *narrationes*, among which the collection of tales attributed to Paul of Monembasia (ff. 5^r-98^r), some tales pertaining to the collections attributed to Anastasios the monk and extracts from Moschos' *Pratum Spirituale*; ff. 54-60 are a selection from Theognostos' *Thesaurus*. The tale of Philentolos is preceded by some *narratiunculae* concerning the topic of death and visions of the otherworld (*Macarii de poenisi inferni*, cf. *BHG* 999s, at ff. 241^v-242^v; *Macarii visio de sorte animarum*, cf. *BHG* 999w, at ff. 242^v-253^r; [Anastasioi monachi] *De baptismo pueri mortui*, cf. *BHG* 1444x, ed. F. NAU, in

the story takes place in Constantinople, which may be due to intervention on the part of the redactor or simply to the fact that confusion between the names of Constantia and Constantinople occurred at some point in the tradition (perhaps due to the erroneous interpretation of an abbreviated form); the same setting is provided in the versions by George the Monk and Michael Glykas, *BHG* 1322y. The bishop's name is not recorded, and the name of the hermit is Maioumas (§8). The redactor shortened the original account, introducing a few particulars of his own, for instance the notation on the indescribable "delight" and "perfume" of Heaven (§10) and the adjective "insatiable" to qualify Philentolos' πάθος τῆς πορνείας (§3).

Post scriptum

After this article was completed I came upon a mention of George the Monk's account of the tale in R.-J. LILIE, *Reality and Invention. Reflections on Byzantine Historiography*, in *DOP*, 68 (2015), pp. 157-210. Lilie is possibly right when he suggests that George might have decided to include the story *De eleemosynario fornicatore* in his treatment of Patriarch Germanos' reign "to enrich the patriarch's biography with this anecdote and make it more vivid" (p. 198), and that "the patriarch merely serves as a point of reference for time and place, playing no other role in the narrative" (p. 208, n. 191). It is not true, however, that "the anecdote is also found in John Moschos's *Pratum spirituale*" (p. 198).

ROC, 8 [1903], pp. 82-83, which begins at f. 253^r with the words: "ἐν τῇ Λαοδικαίων πόλει, πρεσβύτερός τις ἦν εὐλαβῆς" and ends at f. 253^v with the words: "βασιλείαν τῶν οὐρανῶν καὶ παρατῖκα πάλιν κεκοίμηται ἐν Κυρίῳ") and is followed by a short biography of St Martinus, bishop of Terracina, which also describes a miracle performed by him (corresponding to *BHG*^a 1181e = *Synaxarium Constantinopolitanum*, ed. H. DELEHAYE, nov. 10, coll. 211-212; *inc.* f. 255^r: "ὁ ὁσιος Μαρτῖνος πάντα τὰ τῆδε καταλιπών"; *des.* f. 256^r: "ὁ δὲ ἐγερθεὶς διέμεινεν ἐπὶ πολὺ βιοτεύων καὶ εὐχαριστῶν τῷ θεῷ").

1. BHG 1322w

SIGLA

A = *Ambrosianus gr.* M 83 sup.B = *Parisinus gr.* 1596C = *Parisinus Coislin* 257D = *Parisinus Coislin* 283H = *Athonensis Vatopedi* 38K = *Athonensis Vatopedi* 14L = *Londinensis Addit.* 28270M = *Marcianus gr.* 494 (coll. 331)N = *Marcianus gr.* II 70 (coll. 1057)R = *Philadelphiensis Ridgway* 1141S = *Mosquensis Musei Historici, olim Bibl. Synodalis gr.* 165 (340 Vladimir)U = *Vaticanus gr.* 2592V = *Leidensis Vossianus Fol.* 46

Περὶ τοῦ Φιλεντόλου Ὀλυμπίου

[1] Ἐπὶ τοῦ ἐν ἁγίοις Ἀρκαδίου τοῦ ἀρχιεπισκόπου γέγονέν τις Φιλέντολος ἐν τῇ Κωνσταντία λεγόμενος ὁ τοῦ Ὀλυμπίου, [2] πολλὰ χρήματα εἰς πτωχοῦς καὶ ὄρφανους καὶ εἰς πᾶσαν ἄλλην εὐσέβειαν σκορπίσας, [3] καὶ ἀπλῶς πᾶσαν αὐτοῦ τὴν εἴσοδον ἐκ τε γῆς καὶ θαλάττης καὶ πραγματείας καὶ χωρίων καὶ πλοίων εἰς εὐσεβεῖς χρείας καταναλίσκων. [4] Ἐξ ἐνεργείας δὲ τοῦ μισοκάλου εἶχεν τὸ πάθος τῆς πορνείας. [5] Εἰς γῆρας οὖν ἐλθὼν ἐτελεύτησεν, μήτε τῆς ἐλεημοσύνης παυσάμενος, μήτε τῆς ἁμαρτίας ἀποκόψας.

Tit. sic RSV (sed possis et Ὀλύμπου legere in R), Περὶ τοῦ Φιλεντόλου Ὀλύμπου HL, Περὶ Ὀλυμπίου τοῦ Φιλεντόλου BN, Περὶ τοῦ Φιλεντόλου τοῦ Ὀλύμπου D, Περὶ Φιλεντόλου τοῦ Ὀλυμπίου M, om. ACKU 1 Ἐπὶ] post hoc τοῖς χρόνοις add. K | τοῦ ἀρχιεπισκόπου om. A, τοῦ ἐπισκόπου MR, τοῦ ἀρχιεπισκόπου Κύπρου BDKLN, τοῦ ἀρχιεπισκόπου Κύπρων H | γέγονεν] ἐγένετο K | τῇ] om. ABHN | λεγόμενος] γεγόνως καὶ λεγόμενος M | ὁ om. ABDN | Ὀλυμπίου] Ὀλύμπου ABCDHKLNU 2 πολλὰ] οὖν add. L | πτωχοῦς καὶ ὄρφανους] ὄρφανους καὶ πτωχοῦς K, τοὺς πτωχοῦς κ. ὁ. L, καὶ μοναχοῦς add. BN | πᾶσαν ἄλλην] ἄλλην πᾶσαν BN, nisi fallor et H | σκορπίσας] διασκορπίσας A, σκορπίζων K, καὶ νοσοκομεῖον (νοσοκομίον L, νοσοκομεῖα BN) ποιήσας add. ABDKLN 3 τὴν] om. MRS | θαλάττης] θαλάσσης ABHLN | πραγματείας] πραγματειῶν A, verba πραγματείας usque ad πλοίων om. K | καὶ χωρίων] om. ABHMN | καὶ πλοίων] καὶ λοιπῶν add. A | καταναλίσκων] ἀναλίσκων BHN : ἀνίλισκε M, ἀνέλυσκε (transp. ante χρείας) A 4 τοῦ μισοκάλου] ἐχθροῦ add. BHN, διαβόλου add. L 5 εἰς γῆρας οὖν ἐλθὼν] εἰς γῆρας (γῆρος C) οὖν λοιπὸν ἐλθὼν CDLU, εἰς γῆρας οὖν ἐλληλυθῶς K, γηράσας οὖν λοιπὸν A | ἐτελεύτησεν] ἐτελεύτησε λοιπὸν K | τὴν ἁμαρτίας] ἁμαρτίαν BDHKN | ἀποκόψας] om. A, ἐγκόψας K

[6] Πολλὴ οὖν περὶ αὐτοῦ γέγονεν παρὰ τοῖς ἐπισκόποις καὶ τῷ ἀρχιεπισκόπῳ ζήτησίς τε καὶ ἀμφίλεξις, [7] τῶν μὲν λεγόντων ὅτι· «Ἐσώθη· εἴρηται γὰρ ὅτι ἐλεημοσύνη ἀνδρὸς καλύψει πλῆθος ἁμαρτιῶν», [8] τῶν δὲ ἀντιλεγόντων ὅτι· «Γέγραπται ἐν τῷ προφήτῃ Ἰεζεκιήλ ὅτι· ἐν ᾧ εὗρω σε, ἐν τούτῳ καὶ κρινῶ σε. [9] Καὶ πῶς δυνατὸν σωθῆναι τὸν μὴ ἀφιστάμενον τῆς ἁμαρτίας ἕως θανάτου;» [10] Πολλῶν οὖν λεχθέντων, κηρύττει νηστείαν καὶ λιτὴν ὁ ἀρχιεπίσκοπος, [11] δηλώσας καὶ εἰς τὰ μοναστήρια καὶ πρὸς τοὺς στυλίτας καὶ ἐγκλείστους, δεηθῆναι τοῦ Θεοῦ τοῦ γνωρίσαι δι' ἀποκαλύψεώς τινος ἐν ποίοις τὰ κατὰ τὸν τελευτήσαντα ὑπάρχουσιν.

[12] Καὶ τούτου γενομένου ἀπεκάλυπεν ὁ Θεὸς τῷ δούλῳ αὐτοῦ ἀββᾶ Καίουμῳ, ἐγκεκλεισμένῳ εἰς Ἀμμόχωστον, [13] ἀνδρὶ ἐναρέτῳ καὶ ἐπὶ χρόνους πολλοὺς ἐν τῷ κόλπῳ τοῦ ἁγίου Ἀντωνίου πέραν τοῦ Κλύσματος τῆς Ἐρυθρᾶς Θαλάσσης διατρίψαντι. [14] Καὶ μεταστειλόμενος τὸν ὄσιον Ἀρκάδιον καὶ τοὺς σὺν αὐτῷ ἐπισκόπους, διηγήσατο αὐτοῖς λέγων·

7 ἐλεημοσύνη ἀνδρὸς : cf. Eccl 17, 22 | καλύπει – ἁμαρτιῶν : Iac 5, 20; cf. 1 Pe 4, 8 8 ἐν ᾧ – κρινῶ σε : cf. Ez 18, 24-26; cf. e.g. Theodorus Studita, *Epistulae*, 539, 28 FATOUROS; Georgius Monachus, *Chronicon*, p. 747, 2 DE BOOR

6 περὶ αὐτοῦ] περὶ τούτου AK, L (transp. post ἀμφίλεξις), transp. M (vide infra) | παρὰ (om. K) τοῖς ἐπισκόποις καὶ (παρὰ add. DU) τῷ ἀρχιεπισκόπῳ (τοῦ ἀρχιεπισκόπου R)] παρὰ τε τοῦ ἐπισκόπου καὶ τῶν ἐπισκόπων A, παρὰ τοῖς ἐπισκόποις καὶ παρ' αὐτῷ τῷ ἐπισκόπῳ L, παρὰ τῶν ἐπισκόπων περὶ αὐτοῦ M | ζήτησίς τε καὶ ἀμφίλεξις] post γέγονε transp. A (omissis τε καὶ ἀμφίλεξις) M (omisso τε) 7 ὅτι] om. H | ἀνδρὸς] om. M | πλῆθος ἁμαρτιῶν] ἁμαρτίας μεγάλας ABCDHLKLMNU 8 τῶν δὲ] πάλιν add. ADKLU | ἀντιλεγόντων] λεγόντων K | ὅτι] ὅτι ὁ προφήτης λέγει M, ommissis verbis γέγραπται usque ad ὅτι | Γέγραπται] ὑπὸ τοῦ Θεοῦ add. DU | εὗρω σε] σε εὗρω M | ἐν τούτῳ καὶ] om. BCDHNU, ἐν αὐτῷ καὶ KL, ἐν τούτῳ A, ἐκείσε M 9 πῶς δυνατὸν] πῶς λοιπὸν δυνατὸν BN, πῶς δυνατὸν λοιπὸν ACHU, πῶς οὖν δυνατὸν λοιπὸν L, πῶς οὖν δυνατὸν K | τὸν] om. K | ἀφιστάμενον] ἀποστάνα A | ἁμαρτίας] πορνίας M | ἕως θανάτου] ἕως τοῦ θανάτου αὐτοῦ LU 10 λεχθέντων] περὶ αὐτοῦ λεχθέντων M, τοιοῦτων λαληθέντων A, λεχθέντων καὶ ἀντιρηθέντων U, καὶ ἐτέρων ῥημάτων λεχθέντων παρ' αὐτῶν L | κηρύττει] λοιπὸν add. BN | νηστείαν καὶ λιτὴν] λιτὴν καὶ νηστείαν H, σύναξιν καὶ λιτὴν καὶ νηστείαν A, νηστείαν καὶ λιτὴν καὶ σύναξιν DKLU, νηστείαν N, σύναξιν B | ὁ ἀρχιεπίσκοπος] Ἀρκάδιος add. A 11 καὶ εἰς] εἰς ὅλα (καὶ omisso) ADL, καὶ εἰς ὅλα U, εἰς πάντα (καὶ omisso) K | μοναστήρια] αὐτοῦ add. D | πρὸς] om. ABMN, εἰς S | ἐγκλείστους] om. M, ἐγκληστές U, ἐγκλειστούς HLRSV | δεηθῆναι τοῦ Θεοῦ] τοῦ δεηθῆναι Θεοῦ M, δεηθῆναι τῷ θεῷ CD | τινος] om. A, τινὸς αὐτῶν L, τι K, qui pergit ἵνα ἴδωσι τὸν τελευτήσαντα ἐν οἷς κακοῖς ὑπάρχει | τὰ] om. S | τελευτήσαντα ὑπάρχουσιν] ἀπελθόντα εἰσὶ A, ἀπελθόντα ὑπάρχουσι BNU 12 ἀββᾶ] τῷ ἀββᾶ BDHKL MN | Καίουμῳ] Καίουμᾶ ABN, K a.c., Καίουμῳ ἀνδρὶ παναρέτῳ LU, Ἀκακίῳ M | Ἀμμόχωστον] Ἀμμοχωστὸν C, Ἀμόχωστον A, Ἀμόσχοτον U, Ἀμμόσχοτον H, ἄμμον χωστήν M 13 ἀνδρὶ ἐναρέτῳ] ἐναρέτῳ tantum M, ἀνδρὶ παναρέτῳ transp. L (vd. supra), ἄ. πάνυ ἐναρέτῳ M, ἄ. παναρέτῳ ADKU | χρόνους πολλοὺς] χρόνοις πολλοῖς AK | Ἐρυθρᾶς] νεκρᾶς M | διατρίψαντι] διατρίψαντος BCDHLN, ἀσκήσαντι A 14 Καὶ] ὅς καὶ K | διηγήσατο] διηγείτο KLU, fort. et A (vix dispicio: an potius διηγῆσατο?) | αὐτοῖς om. ADKLU | λέγων] ὅτι add. A

[15] «Θεωρήσαι με τῇ νυκτὶ ταύτῃ ὡς ἐν ἐκστάσει τόπον τινά, δεξιᾷ μὲν ἔχοντα παράδεισον, ἀδιήγητον κάλλος περικείμενον, [16] ἐξ εὐωνύμων δὲ κάμινόν τινα ὑπεράπτουσαν, ἧς ἡ φλόξ ἔφθανεν ἕως τῶν νεφελῶν· [17] καὶ τὸν τελευταίαντα ἰστάμενον μέσῳ ἀμφοτέρων καὶ ἀτενίζοντα πρὸς τὸν παράδεισον καὶ στενάζοντα. [18] Ἐν τῷ οὖν στενάζειν αὐτὸν ὄρω τινα λαμπροφόρον ἐπιστάντα καὶ λέγοντα πρὸς αὐτὸν· [19] “Μάτην στενάξεις. Οὐ πολλάκις σε ἐνουθέτουν λέγων· Παῦσαι τῆς πορνείας; [20] Ἴδου διὰ μὲν τῆς ἐλεημοσύνης ἐλυτρώθης τῆς γεέννης· [21] διὰ δὲ τὸ μὴ ἀποστήναί σε τῆς πορνείας ἐστερήθης τῆς χαρᾶς τοῦ παραδείσου”».

[22] Ἀκουσάτωσαν οἱ λέγοντες ὅτι· «Κἂν πορνεύω, διδῶ ἐλεημοσύνην καὶ σώζομαι». [23] Ἀληθὴς ἐλεημοσύνη ἐστὶν ἵνα πρὸ πάντων ἑαυτὸν ἐλεήσης· ὅτι πᾶσα ἁμαρτία ἦν ἂν ποιήσῃ ἄνθρωπος, ἐκτὸς τοῦ σώματος ἐστίν· ὁ δὲ πορνεύων, φησὶν, εἰς τὸ ἴδιον σῶμα ἁμαρτάνει. [24] Τί ἐστίν εἰς τὸ ἴδιον

23 ὁ δὲ πορνεύων – ἁμαρτάνει : 1 Cor 6, 18 24 τί ἐστίν – σποράν] cf. Anastius Sinaita, *Quaestiones*, 38, p. 91, 7-10 RICHARD† – MUNITIZ

15 Θεωρήσαι με] εἶδον ἐν A, θεωρήσαι μοι (subintellige ἦν vel ἔτυχε) fortasse corrigendum cum Murali (vd. *Georgii Monachi Chronicon*, p. 747, 11, DE BOOR, app.) | ἐκστάσει] γενόμενος add. K | τόπον τινά] χώραν τινά D, πεδιάδα τελειαν ἀγροῦ U, πεδιάδα τινά θεωρεῖν K, om. L | δεξιᾷ] δεξιᾶν RS, ἐκ δεξιῶν KU, δεξιὸν L | ἔχοντα παράδεισον] παράδεισον ἔχοντα A, ἔχουσαν παράδεισον DLU | ἀδιήγητον] ἀνεκδιήγητον M | περικείμενον] κεκτημένον A 16 εὐωνύμων] ἀριστερᾷ add. A | κάμινόν τινα] κάμινον πυρὸς | R ὑπεράπτουσαν] ὑπερανάπτουσαν M, ὑπεράπειρον A, ὑπεράπτουσα R | ἡ φλόξ] ἡ κεφαλὴ ἦτοι ἡ φλόξ K | τῶν νεφελῶν] οὐρανῶν M, τοῦ οὐρανοῦ add. L, καὶ μέσον τούτων ὑπεράπειρον, ἄχρι τοῦ οὐρανοῦ φθάνουσαν add. A 17 καὶ τὸν] τὸν δὲ ἄνδρα τὸν U | μέσῳ (ἐν μέσῳ BCDHLM: ἐμμέσῳ NU, μέσον R) | ἀμφοτέρων] καὶ] om. A | ἀτενίζοντα] διηνεκῶς add. M | πρὸς] εἰς BHLN | στενάζοντα] πικρῶς στενάζοντα U, ἐκ βάθους στενάζοντα L, προστενάζοντα K 18 Ἐν τῷ οὖν] ἐν τῷ γούν DLU, ἐν γούν τῷ C, ἐν τούτοις γούν A | στενάζειν αὐτὸν] om. A | ὄρω] ὄρω DV | πρὸς αὐτὸν] αὐτὸν H, αὐτῷ ABMN 19 μάτην] τί μάτην ACDKL, τί μάτην νῦν U | verba οὐ usque ad πορνείας om. KL | σε ἐνουθέτουν] σοὶ ἐ. BHN, ἐ. σε D | λέγων] om. M | παῦσαι τῆς πορνείας] τῆς πορνείας παύσασθαι M, ἀπόστα τῆς ἁμαρτίας D, μὴ ποιεῖς τοῦτο, καὶ μάλιστα ἔχων γυναῖκα C, ἀπόστηθι τῆς πορνείας πράξεως A, ἀπόστηθι τῆς ἁμαρτίας U 20 ἴδου] ἰ. οὖν AD, ἰ. λέγω σοὶ ὅτι K, λοιπὸν ἰ. U, ἰ. λέγω σοὶ L | μὲν] om. D | ἐλεημοσύνης] σου add. DL | τῆς (2)] ἐκ τῆς U 21 σε] om. ADRU | τῆς πορνείας] καὶ μάλιστα ἔχοντα ἴδιαν (ἔχων A) γυναῖκα add. ADKLU | τῆς χαρᾶς] om. ACDKLU, τῆς χάριτος BHN 22 Ἀκουσάτωσαν] ταῦτα add. U, τοίνυν add. L | ὅτι] om. KMU | πορνεύω] πορνεύσω N | διδῶ] δίδω BNU, ἀλλὰ δίδω DL, ἀλλὰ παρέχω K, ποιῶ A 23 Ἀληθὴς] ἡ ἀ. ABCDHLMN | ἐστίν] αὐτὴ ἐστίν A, ἐστὶν ἀγαπητὴ L | πρὸ πάντων] πρὸ τῶν ἄλλων A | ἑαυτὸν] σὲ αὐτὸν L, ante πρὸ πάντων transp. U, σεαυτὸν K | ἐλεήσης] ἐλεήσεις R | ὅτι] om. ADKLU | πᾶσα ἁμαρτία] πᾶσα (π. μὲν A : π. γὰρ L) ἁμαρτία ADLMU, πᾶσαν ἁμαρτίαν R cett. πᾶσαν γὰρ ἁμαρτίαν K | ἂν] om. DMLU | ποιήσῃ] ποιήσῃ ACDMSRU | φησὶν] om. ABHKMNR, post ἁμαρτία transp. L, i. l. add. S, vix dispicitur in R ob lacunam codicis 24 τί ἐστίν εἰς τὸ ἴδιον σῶμα (εἰς om. U)] om. CLK, τί ἐστίν εἰς τὸ ἴδιον σῶμα ἁμαρτάνειν H, διὰ τί A | ὅτι] ὅτι ὡσανεὶ M, ἦτοι DK | τῆς (1)] ter praebebat K | τῆς (2)] om. K | σαρκός] τουτέστι τῆς σ. L | σου] om. AK, αὐτοῦ M | ὡσανεὶ] om. M, ὡσάν εἰς RS | προσάγεις] προσάγει AKR, προσάγεις LS | εἰς πορνείαν (πορνίαν M) ἐκφερομένην] εἰς πορνείαν ἐκφερομένην ἀπὸ τοῦ σώματός σου (αὐτοῦ K) CDKLU, ἐκ τοῦ σώματος A | σποράν] hic desinit textus in K

σώμα; Ὅτι ἐξ αὐτῆς τῆς οὐσίας τῆς σαρκός σου ὄσανει θυσίαν τινὰ προσάγεις τῷ διαβόλῳ, τὴν εἰς πορνείαν ἐκφερομένην σποράν. [25] Καὶ μή μοι εἴπῃς ὅτι· «Εἶθε κἀγὼ ἀπαλλαγῶ μόνον τῆς κολάσεως καθάπερ κἀκεῖνος, καὶ μέγα μοί ἐστιν». [26] Τί λέγεις, ἄνθρωπε; Μέγα σοι ὑπάρχει τὸ στερηθῆναι πυρός; [27] Ἐγὼ λέγω ὅτι χαλεπότερον μᾶλλον ὑπάρχει τὸ στερηθῆναι σε τῆς βασιλείας τῶν οὐρανῶν ὑπὲρ μυρίας καμίνους καὶ κολάσεις. [28] Τὶ γὰρ τούτου ἔλειπνότερον τοῦ εἰς αἰῶνας αἰῶνων στερηθῆναι σε τοῦ Θεοῦ; [29] Ὁ Θεὸς φῶς ἐστίν· ὁ δὲ στερούμενος τοῦ φωτὸς ἐν σκοτία πάντως εὐρίσκεται.

[30] Μὴ οὖν λέγε ὅτι ἀρκεῖ σοι ἀπαλλαγῆναι τῆς γεέννης· τάχα γὰρ καὶ τὰ νῆπια πασῶν τῶν αἰρέσεων ὡς ἀναμάρτητα λυτροῦνται τῆς γεέννης, εἰς δὲ βασιλείαν οὐρανῶν οὐκ εἰσέρχονται. [31] Λοιπὸν μὴ θέλε τούτοις εἶναι συναρίθμιος· ἀλλὰ τῆς ἁμαρτίας ἀπόστηθι. [32] Ἄκουσον τοῦ Χριστοῦ διὰ στόματος Παύλου λέγοντος· [33] Μὴ πλανᾶσθε· οὔτε πόρνοι, οὔτε μοιχοί, οὔτε ἀρσενικοῖται, οὔτε πλεονέκται, οὐ λοιδοροί, οὐ μέθυσοι βασιλείαν Θεοῦ κληρονομήσουσι. [34] Καὶ ἐπισφραγίζει ὁ Χριστὸς λέγων· Ὁ οὐρανὸς καὶ ἡ γῆ παρελεύσονται, οἱ δὲ λόγοι μου μὴ παρέλθωσιν. [35] Λοιπὸν οὖν εἰρήνην ἀσκήσατε καὶ τὸν ἁγιασμόν, οὐ χωρὶς οὐδεὶς ὄψεται τὸν Κύριον.

25 καθάπερ κἀκεῖνος : cf. Dan 3, 24-49 29 ὁ Θεὸς – ἐστίν : 1 Joh 1, 5 33 μὴ πλανᾶσθε– κληρονομήσουσι : cf 1 Cor 6, 9-10 34 ὁ οὐρανὸς – παρέλθωσιν : Mt 24, 35 | εἰρήνην – Κύριον : Hebr 12, 14

25 Καὶ μή μοι εἴπῃς] καὶ μηδεὶς λεγέτω A | Εἶθε κἀγὼ ἀπαλλαγῶ μόνον] εἶθε κἀγὼ (τοῦτο πέπονθα add. L) μόνον ἀπαλλαγῶ DLU, εἶθε κἀγὼ ἀπηλλάγην A, εἶθε κἀγὼ ἀπαλλαγῶ M | τῆς κολάσεως] om. DLU | verba καθάπερ usque ad [29] εὐρίσκεται om. M | κἀκεῖνος] ἐκεῖνος BDNLU, et post hoc ἐκ τῆς καμίνου τοῦ πυρός add. DLU | καὶ μέγα μοί] μεγάλα μοι U | ἐστίν] ὑπάρχει DLU 26 ὑπάρχει] om. BN, ἐστὶ M, ἐστὶν H | τὸ στερηθῆναι] τοῦ σ. MHLU | πυρός] τοῦ π. BCDHLMNU 27 Ἐγὼ] δὲ add. BDHLMNU | ὅτι] om. M | μᾶλλον ὑπάρχει] ὑπάρχει μᾶλλον DRU | τὸ στερηθῆναι] τοῦ σ. BNLU | σε] om. DRM | τῆς βασιλείας τῶν οὐρανῶν (τ. οὐ. om. D)] τῆς βασιλείας τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ τῶν αἰώνων ἀγαθῶν L, τοῦ προσώπου τοῦ θεοῦ U, τοῦ θεοῦ M | μυρίας] μυρίους LS | καμίνους καὶ κολάσεις] κολάσεις καὶ καμίνους BMN 28 τοῦ] om. D | αἰῶνας] αἰῶνα BHNR, αἰῶνα S | αἰώνων] om. M, αἰῶνος BHNS | στερηθῆναι] ἀπαλλοτριωθῆναι DLU | σε] om. BDN (nescio an et H), ante στερηθῆναι praebet S 29 στερούμενος] ὑστερούμενος L | ἐν] τῇ add. CDLMU | πάντως] ante ἐν transp. M, πάντοτε BN (nescio an et H, vix dispicitur) 30 λέγε] λέγω BN, ἀγαπητὲ add. L | σοι] μοι BCDHLMNU | ἀπαλλαγῆναι] κἂν add. M ut videtur | verba τάχα usque ad [31] συναρίθμιος om. M | λυτροῦνται] μὲν add. L | βασιλείαν] βασιλείαν δὲ DLU, βασιλείας R 31 θέλε] θέλεται R | τούτοις] τούτων BHN | τῆς] τοῖς μὲν L | ἀπόστηθι] τῆς δὲ ἀρετῆς ἐπιλαβοῦ add. L 32 Ἄκουσον] ἄκουε γοῦν L | τοῦ] om. D | στόματος] τοῦ σ. L | Παύλου] τοῦ εὐλογημένου Παύλου M | λέγοντος] σοι λ. DU 33 μοιχοί] οὔτε μαλακοὶ add. BN | οὔτε ἀρσενικοῖται] om. U | οὔτε πλεονέκται] om. BCDHLMNU | οὐ (1)] οὔτε BHN | οὐ λοιδοροί] post οὐ μέθυσοι transp., dein οὐχ ἄρπαγες οὐ πλεονέκτες add. L | οὐ (2)] οὔτε BN, nescio an et H | μέθυσοι (μέθοισοι H)] οὐ μαλακοὶ add. M | Θεοῦ] οὐ add. BCDLMU (rasuram exhibet N) 34 ὁ Χριστὸς] Χριστὸς BN (ante hoc lac. H)] ὁ Θεὸς D, ὁ Χριστὸς καὶ υἱὸς τοῦ Θεοῦ ὁ Κύριος ἡμῶν M | λέγων] ὅτι add. CLU 35 οὖν] om. CDLU | ἀσκήσατε] ἀ. ἀγαπητοὶ L, ἀσκήσωμεν C, ἀσκεῖται H, διώκετε μετὰ πάντων BN | ἁγιασμόν] τοῦ σώματος add. DLU

2. BHG 1322x

SIGLA

E = *Atheniensis Bibliothecae Nationalis* 278O = *Oxoniensis Bibliothecae Bodleianae Cromwell* 10

Λόγος τῶν ἁγίων πατέρων περὶ ἀποκαλύψεως σωτηρίας ψυχῆς.
Λέγεται κυριακῇ δευτέρᾳ τῶν νηστειῶν. Κύριε, εὐλόγησον.

[1] Ἐπὶ τοῦ ἐν ἁγίοις πατρὸς ἡμῶν Ἀρκαδίου ἀρχιεπισκόπου γέγονέ τις Φιλέντολος ἐν τῇ Κωνσταντίᾳ ἐκ νεαρῆς ἡλικίας αὐτοῦ, ὑπῆρχεν δὲ ὁ τοῦ Ὀλύμπου. [2] Πολλὰ χρήματα εἰς τοὺς πτωχοὺς καὶ ὄρφανοὺς καὶ ἀπλῶς πᾶσαν τὴν περιουσίαν αὐτοῦ σκορπίσας ἦν περιεκέκμητο ἔκ τε γῆς καὶ θαλάσσης καὶ πραγματείας καὶ χωρίων καὶ πλοίων εἰς εὐσεβεῖς χρείας καταναλίσκων, [3] ἐξ ἐνεργείας δὲ τοῦ μισοκάλου διαβόλου εἶχεν τὸ πάθος τῆς πορνείας. [4] Εἰς γῆρας οὖν ἔλθων ἐτελεύτησε, μήτε τὴν ἐλεημοσύνην παυσάμενος, μήτε τὴν ἁμαρτίαν ἐγκόψας.

[5] Πολλὴ δὲ περὶ αὐτοῦ ἐγένετο παρὰ τῶν ἐκεῖσε ἐπισκόπων ἀμφιβολία, τῶν μὲν λεγόντων ὅτι· «Ἐσώθη· γέγραπται γὰρ ὅτι ἐλεημοσύνη ἀνδρὸς καλύψει ἁμαρτίας μεγάλας», [6] τῶν δὲ λεγόντων ὅτι· «Γέγραπται ἐν τῷ προφῆτῃ Ἰεζεκιήλ ὅτι· ἐν ᾧ εὐρῶ σε, κρινῶ σε. Καὶ πῶς λοιπὸν δύναται σωθῆναι ὁ μὴ ἀφιστάμενος τῆς ἁμαρτίας ἕως θανάτου;» [7] Καὶ πολλῶν οὖν λεχθέντων, κηρύττει νηστείαν ὁ ἀρχιεπίσκοπος, δηλώσας καὶ εἰς τὰ μοναστήρια καὶ πρὸς τοὺς στυλίτας καὶ μονάζοντας καὶ τοὺς ἐν σπηλαίοις ὄντας δεηθῆναι τῷ Θεῷ τοῦ γνωρίσαι δι' ἀποκαλύψεώς τινος τῶν πατέρων ἐν ποίοις τόποις τὸν τελευτήσαντα ὑπάρχειν.

[8] Καὶ τούτου γενομένου, ἀπεκάλυψεν ὁ Θεὸς τῷ ὀσίῳ πατέρι ἡμῶν ἀββᾶ Σεραπίωνι ἐν σπηλαίῳ ἄχροστον ὄντι ἐγκεκλεισμένῳ, ἀνδρὶ ἐναρέτῳ, ὃς ἐπὶ χρόνοις πολλοῖς ἐν τῷ κόλπῳ τοῦ ἁγίου Ἀντωνίου ἐκαθέζετο πέραν τοῦ Κλύσματος τῆς Ἐρυθρᾶς Θαλάσσης διατρίψας. [9] Μεταστειλόμενος οὖν τὸν ὄσιον Ἀρκάδιον καὶ τοὺς σὺν αὐτῷ ὄντας ἐπισκόπους καὶ πάντας τοὺς πιστοὺς πατέρας καὶ ὀσίους, διηγῆσατο αὐτοῖς λέγων· [10] «Ἐν πολλῷ κλαυθμῷ καὶ πηγαῖς δακρῶν, πνευματικοὶ ἡμῶν ἀδελφοὶ καὶ πατέρες, ἐθεώρησα τῇ νυκτὶ ταύτῃ ὡς ἐν ἐκστάσει μου γενομένου τόπον τινὰ φοβερόν, δεξιᾷ μὲν ἔχοντα

5 ἐλεημοσύνη ἀνδρὸς : cf. Eccl 17, 22 | καλύψει – μεγάλας : Iac 5, 20; cf. 1 Pe 4, 8; cf. e.g. Ps.-Athanasius, *Quaestiones ad Antiochum ducem*, PG 28, 652 6 ἐν ᾧ – κρινῶ σε : cf. Ez 18, 24-26; cf. e.g. Theodorus Studita, *Epistulae*, 539, 28 FATOUROS; Georgius Monachus, *Chronicon*, p. 747, 2 DE BOOR

1 Ὀλύμπου] Ὀλίμπου mss. 8 τῷ ὀσίῳ πατέρι ἡμῶν ἀββᾶ Σεραπίωνι] τὸν ὄσιον πατέρα ἡμῶν ἀββᾶν Σεραπίωνα mss. | ἐν σπηλαίῳ ἄχροστον] pro ἐν Ἀμμοχόστῳ scilicet 10 ἀδιήγητον κάλλος] ἀδιήγητον καλὸν mss. (an potius ἀδιηγήτῳ κάλλει legendum?)

παράδεισον, ἀδιήγητον κάλλος περικεκοσμημένον, [11] ἐν τῇ ἀριστερᾷ κάμινόν τινα ὑπεράπτουσαν καὶ τὴν φλόγα αὐτῆς ἐξάπτουσαν ἕως τῶν νεφελῶν τοῦ οὐρανοῦ· [12] καὶ εἶδον τὸν τελευτήσαντα ἰστάμενον ἀνά μέσον τῶν ἀμφοτέρων, καὶ ἀτενίζοντα εἰς τὸν παράδεισον καὶ στενάζοντα πικρῶς. [13] Ἐν τῷ οὖν στενάζειν αὐτὸν ὄρῳ τινα λαμπροφοροῦντα εὐηδῆ πάνυ ἐπιστάντα καὶ λέγοντα πρὸς αὐτὸν· [14] “Μάτην στενάζεις, ὃ ἄνθρωπε. Οὐ πολλάκις σε ἐνουθέτησαν οἱ ἱερεῖς λέγοντες· Παῦσον τῆς πορνείας καὶ μετανόησον πρὸς Κύριον; [15] Σὺ δὲ οὐκ ἤκουσας αὐτῶν καὶ οὐκ ἀπέστης ἀπ’αὐτῆς ἕως θανάτου· καὶ ἰδοὺ διὰ μὲν τῆς ἐλεημοσύνης σου ἠξιώθης βλέπειν τὸν παράδεισον καὶ ἐλυτρώθης τῆς γεέννης τοῦ πυρός· διὰ δὲ τὸ μὴ ἀποστῆναι σε τῆς πορνείας ἐστερήθης τῆς τρυφῆς τοῦ παραδείσου.”»

[16] Καὶ ἐκ τούτου γνώσεσθε πάντες οἱ πορνεύοντες καὶ μὴ μετανοοῦντες, ἀλλ’ ἐγκείμενοι εἰς τὸ πάθος τῆς πορνείας καὶ τῆς μοιχείας ἕως τῆς τελευτῆς ὑμῶν ἀμετανόητοι· [17] καὶ ἀκούσαντες σπουδαῖοι γενώμεθα τοῦ ἐπιστρέψαι καὶ μετανοῆσαι πρὸς Κύριον τὸν Θεὸν ἡμῶν, ὡς ὅτι καιρὸν ἔχομεν, πρὶν ἐξέλθωμεν ἐκ τοῦδε τοῦ βίου καὶ χωρισθῆ ἡ ψυχὴ ἐκ τοῦ σώματος αὐτῆς· [18] πρὶν λυθῆ ἡ πανήγυρις, πρὶν κλεισθῆ ἡ θύρα μετανόησωμεν, στενάξωμεν, κλαύσωμεν τὰς ἁμαρτίας ἡμῶν, ἐξαγγέλλοντες ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ τοῦ Θεοῦ τοῖς ἱερεῦσιν ἡμῶν καὶ μοναχοῖς τοῖς ἱερατεύουσιν· [19] ὅταν δὲ ἐξαγγέλωμεν τὰς ἁμαρτίας ἡμῶν, βοήσωμεν πρὸς Κύριον λέγοντες οὕτως· [20] «Ἐξαγορεύω σοι, πάτερ, Κύριε τοῦ οὐρανοῦ καὶ τῆς γῆς, πάσας τὰς ἁμαρτίας μου ἃς ἔπραξα ἐν κρυφῇ»· [21] καὶ κλίνωμεν τὸ γόνυ πρὸς τὸν φιλόανθρωπον Θεὸν καὶ λάβωμεν συγχώρησιν παρὰ τῶν ἱερέων ἡμῶν, ἵνα εὕρωμεν ἔλεος ἐν τῇ φοβερᾷ ἡμέρᾳ τῆς κρίσεως, [22] ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ τῷ Κυρίῳ ἡμῶν, ᾧ ἡ δόξα καὶ τὸ κράτος καὶ ἡ τιμὴ καὶ ἡ προσκύνησις εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων, ἀμήν.

18 πρὶν λυθῆ – θύρα : cf. e.g. Ps.-Johannes Chrysostomus, *De salute animae*, PG 60, 737, 24-29 **20** πάσας τὰς ἁμαρτίας μου : cf. e.g. Ps 24, 18; 84, 3

11 ἐν τῇ ἀριστερᾷ] ἐν δὲ τὰ ἀριστερὰ E | τινα] om. E | τὴν φλόγα αὐτῆς ἐξάπτουσαν] ἡ φλόγα αὐτῆς ἐξάπτουσα mss. **12** ἀνά μέσον] ἀναμέσφ O **14** Παῦσον] παῦσαι E **16** ὑμῶν] om. O **18** verba ἐξαγγέλλοντες usque ad ἡμῶν om. O **21** κλίνωμεν] κλινόμεν O **22** verba καὶ τὸ κράτος usque ad προσκύνησις om. O | τῶν αἰώνων om. O

3. BHG 1322xc

SIGLA

I = *Athoniensis Iviron* 408

[1] Γένετο ἀνὴρ τις ἐν τῇ πόλει Ἀλεξανδρείας ὀνόματι Φιλέντολος· οὗτος δὲ ἦν πλούσιος σφόδρα, ἐγένετο δὲ καὶ ἐλεήμων πάνυ, ὥστε πᾶσαν τὴν εἴσοδον τὴν τε τῶν ἑαυτοῦ χωρίων, τὴν τε τῶν πλοίων, τὴν τε τῶν λουτρῶν τῶν τε ἄλλων κτημάτων πάντων διαδοῦναι πτωχοῖς καὶ μηδὲν ἐξ αὐτῶν κρατεῖν πλην τῶν ἀναγκαίων. [2] Εἶχε δὲ καὶ τὸ πάθος τῆς πορνείας, καὶ οὐκ ἐπαύσατο μέχρι θανάτου οὔτε τῆς ἐλεημοσύνης, οὔτε τῆς πορνείας. Οὕτως δὲ ποιῶν ἐτελεύτησεν.

[3] Αὐτοῦ δὲ τελευτήσαντος, ἐγένετο περὶ αὐτοῦ ζήτησις, καὶ οἱ μὲν ἔλεγον ὅτι· «Σέσωσται, ὅτι γέγραπται· ἡ ἐλεημοσύνη καλύπτει πληθὸς ἁμαρτιῶν»· ἄλλοι ἔλεγον· «Οὐκ οὕτως, ἀλλὰ γέγραπται ὅτι· ἐν ᾧ εὐρῶ σε, ἐν αὐτῷ καὶ κρινῶ σε, φησὶν ὁ Θεός». [4] Ταῦτα δὲ αὐτῶν πρὸς ἀλλήλων λεγόντων, ἐκήρυξεν ὁ πάπας νηστείαν καὶ εὐχὴν ἑβδομάδα μίαν εἰς τὸ ἀποκαλυφθῆναι αὐτοῖς περὶ τούτου.

[5] Πληρωθείσης δὲ τῆς ἑβδομάδος, ἀπεκάλυψεν ὁ Θεὸς ἐνὶ τῶν εὐχαζόντων ἐγκεκλεισμένων ἐν ἐνὶ κελλίῳ, καὶ βλέπει ἐν ὄραματι τῆς νυκτὸς παράδεισον, οἷον γλῶσσα ἀνθρώπου ἐρμηνεῦσαι οὐ δύναται· ἐξ ἀριστερῶν δὲ βλέπει κάμινον φθάνουσαν μέχρι τοῦ οὐρανοῦ· τὸν δὲ Φιλέντολον μέσον ἰστάμενον, καὶ ὀδυρόμενον πικρῶς. [6] Αὐτοῦ δὲ θρηνοῦντος ὤφθην αὐτῷ ἄγγελος ἀπ' οὐρανοῦ λέγων· «Τί θρηνεῖς, ἄθλιε, καὶ στενάζεις; Ἰδοὺ διὰ μὲν τῆς ἐλεημοσύνης σου, ἔκτισας τὸν παράδεισον τοῦτον· διὰ δὲ τῆς πορνείας σου, ἔκτισας τὴν κάμινον ταύτην· καὶ διὰ μὲν τῆς ἐλεημοσύνης, οὐκ εἰσέρχεται εἰς τὴν κάμινον· διὰ δὲ τῆς πορνείας σου εἰς τὸν παράδεισον οὐκ εἰσέρχεται».

[7] Ταῦτα θεασάμενος ὁ γέρον ἐδήλωσε τῷ πάπᾳ· αὐτὸς δὲ συναθροίσας τὸν λαὸν πάντα, ἀπεκάλυψεν αὐτοῖς τὸ ὄραμα· οἱ δὲ ἀκούσαντες ταῦτα ἔφριξαν καὶ ἐθρήνησαν. [8] Πικρῶς ταῦτα δὲ ἡμεῖς γεγράφαμεν, ἵνα γνῶμεν πάντες πῶς ὀφείλομεν ἐργάζεσθαι τὸ ἀγαθόν· εἷς γάρ φησιν οἰκοδομῶν καὶ εἷς καταλύων, τί ὀφέλησαν ἀλλ' ἢ κόπους; [9] Εἰσὶ γάρ τινες λέγοντες ὅτι· *Kān* ἁμάρτω, ποιῶ ἐλεημοσύνην καὶ σώζομαι. [10] Οὐκ ἔστι τοῦτο, μὴ γένοιτο· ἀλλ' ἢ ἔκκλινον ἀπὸ κακοῦ καὶ ποιήσον ἀγαθόν, καὶ πάλιν ἐν ᾧ σε

3 ἐλεημοσύνη ἀνδρὸς : cf. Eccl 17, 22 | καλύπει – ἁμαρτιῶν : Iac 5, 20; cf. 1 Pe 4, 8; cf. e.g. Ps.-Athanasius, *Quaestiones ad Antiochum ducem*, PG 28, 652 | ἐν ᾧ – κρινῶ σε : cf. Ez 18, 24-26; cf. e.g. Theodorus Studita, *Epistulae*, 539, 28 FATOUROS; Georgius Monachus, *Chronicon*, p. 747, 2 DE BOOR 8 εἷς – κόπους : cf. Barsanuphius et Johannes Gazaetus, *Epistulae*, 616, 14 DE ANGELIS – NOAH – NEYT; Johannes Climacus, *Scala paradisi*, 4, PG 88, 708B; Neophytus Inclusus, *Homiliae*, 4, 7, 11 STEPHANES | ἔκκλινον – ἀγαθόν: Ps 33, 15; 36, 22

εὕρω, ἐν αὐτῷ καὶ κρινῶ σε. [11] Καὶ οὐ μόνον ἐπὶ πορνεία, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐπὶ πάσης ἁμαρτίας, οἷον φιλαργυρίας, μνησικακίας, ὑπερηφανείας καὶ τῶν λοιπῶν· εἰ γὰρ πλεονεκτεῖς καὶ ἀδικεῖς, τί ὠφελεῖ ἡ ἐλεημοσύνη σου; [12] “Ἐλέησον, γὰρ φησιν, ὃν ἀδικεῖς”· εἰ δὲ μνησικακεῖς, τί ὠφελεῖ ἡ νηστεία καὶ ἡ εὐχή σου; Οὐδέν. [13] Ἄφες καὶ ἀφεθήσῃ· εἰ δὲ ὑπερηφανεύεσαι, τί ὠφελεῖ ἡ ξενοδοχία σου καὶ ἀγάπη; Οὐδέν. [14] Ταπεινώσόν σε αὐτὸν καὶ ὑψώθησῃ· ὁ γὰρ ταπεινῶν ἑαυτὸν ὑψώθησεται, καὶ ὁ συγχωρῶν συγχωρεῖται, καὶ ὁ ἐλεῶν ἐλεεῖται, καὶ ὁ καθαρὸς τῇ καρδίᾳ ὄρα τὸν Θεόν, καὶ ὁ ὑπομένων τοὺς πειρασμοὺς εισέρχεται εἰς τὴν βασιλείαν τῶν οὐρανῶν.

12 ἐλέησον – ἀδικεῖς cf. *Physiologus*, red. III, 8, 14 SBORDONE; *Basilii sermones de moribus*, PG 32, 1164B; Johannes Damascenus, *Sacra Parallela*, PG 95, 1536A **13** Ἄφες – ἀφεθήσῃ : cf. Mt 6, 14-15; cf. e.g. Johannes Chrysostomus, *Homiliae in epistulam ad Ephesios*, 17, 1, PG 62, 115, 48-49 **14** ὁ ταπεινῶν– ὑψώθησεται : Lc 14, 11; 18, 14 | ὁ συγχωρῶν – συγχωρεῖται : Ps.-Athanasius, *Quaestiones ad Antiochum ducem*, PG 28, 256A | ὁ ἐλεῶν ἐλεεῖται: cf. Eustathius, *Ad Iliadem*, 2, 778, 7 VAN DER VALK | καθαρὸς – Θεὸν : cf. Mt 5, 8; cf. e.g. Gregorius Nyssenus, *In canticum canticorum homiliae*, 6, 246, 5 LANGERBECK; Johannes Chrysostomus, *In Matthaicum homiliae*, 47, 3, PG 58, 485B

4. BHG 1322xd
 (= *Theognosti Thesaurus*, XV², 665-700, pp. 130-131 Munitiz)

SIGLA ¹⁰⁰

P = *Vaticanus Archivii Sancti Petri* C 149

Q = *Marcianus gr.* III 12 (coll. 1267)

[1] Ἐν τῇ Κωνσταντίνου Φιλέντολός τις ὀνόματι, λεγόμενος τοῦ Ὀλύμπου· [2] οὗτος πολλὰ χρήματα εἰς ὀρφανούς καὶ πτωχοὺς καὶ εἰς πᾶσαν ἄλλην εὐσέβειαν σκορπίζων, πᾶσαν ἀπλῶς τὴν εἴσοδον αὐτοῦ ἐκ τε γῆς καὶ θαλάσσης διεδίδου τοῖς πενομένοις. [3] Ἐξ ἐνεργείας δὲ τοῦ μισοκάλου δαίμονος εἶχε καὶ τὸ πάθος τῆς πορνείας ἀκόρεστον. [4] Εἰς γῆρας οὖν ἐλθὼν ἐτελεύτησεν, μήτε τῆς ἐλεημοσύνης παυσάμενος, μήτε τῆς ἀμαρτίας ἀποστάς.

[5] Πολλὴ οὖν γέγονε περὶ αὐτοῦ συζήτησις καὶ ἀμφίλεξις, τῶν μὲν λεγόντων ὅτι ἐσώθη, εἴρηται γὰρ ὅτι ἐλεημοσύνη ἀνδρὸς καλύπτει ἀμαρτίας μεγάλας· [6] τῶν δὲ λεγόντων ὅτι οὐχί, γέγραπται γὰρ ἐν τῷ προφήτῃ Ἰεζεκιήλ ὅτι· ἐν ᾧ εὗρω σε, ἐν αὐτῷ καὶ κρινῶ σε, εἶπεν ὁ Θεός. Καὶ πῶς δυνατόν σωθῆναι τὸν μὴ ἀποστάντα τῆς ἀμαρτίας ἕως θανάτου;» [7] Πολλῶν οὖν λεχθέντων κηρύττει νηστείαν καὶ λιτὴν ὁ ἀρχιεπίσκοπος, δηλώσας καὶ εἰς τὰ μοναστήρια καὶ εἰς τοὺς στυλίτας καὶ εἰς τοὺς ἐγκλείστους δεηθῆναι τοῦ Θεοῦ τοῦ γνωρίσαι τινὶ αὐτῶν δι' ἀποκαλύψεως περὶ τούτου ἐν ποίοις κατὰ τὸν τελευτήσαντα ὑπάρχει.

5 ἐλεημοσύνη ἀνδρὸς : cf. Eccl 17, 22 | καλύψει – μεγάλας : Iac 5, 20; cf. 1 Pe 4, 8; cf. e.g. Ps.-Athanasius, *Quaestiones ad Antiochum ducem*, PG 28, 652 6 ἐν ᾧ – κρινῶ σε : cf. Ez 18, 24-26; cf. e.g. Theodorus Studita, *Epistulae*, 539, 28 FATOUROS; Georgius Monachus, *Chronicon*, p. 747, 2 DE BOOR

1 Κωνσταντίνου] πόλει add. BPQ 2 ἄλλην εὐσέβειαν σκορπίζων (ἐσκορπίζεν S) πᾶσαν] om. P | αὐτοῦ] τὴν add. B 4 μήτε τῆς ἐλεημοσύνης παυσάμενος om. S | ἀμαρτίας] πορνείας Q | ἀποστάς] μήτε τῆς ἐλεημοσύνης add. S 5 οὖν] γοῦν L | ἀμφίλεξις] ἀμφιβολία S | ἐλεημοσύνη... καλύπτει] ἐλεημοσύναι... καλύπτουσιν S 6 γὰρ] om. LS | εὗρω σε] σε εὗρω Q, σε om. V 7 ἐγκλείστους] ἐγκλειστοὺς Q | ἀποκαλύψεως] ἀποκαλύψεὺς τινος PQ | κατὰ (τὰ κατὰ V) τὸν τελευτήσαντα ὑπάρχει] κάλους τόπων ὁ τελευτήσας ὑπάρχει B

¹⁰⁰ The apparatus reproduces that of the CCSG edition, accordingly to Munitiz's sigla (A = *Athon. Iviron* 517; B = *Athen. Benaki, Fonds des Échangeables* 72; L = *Laur. S. Marco* 684; O = *Oxon. Bodleianus* E 3 11; P = *Vat. Arch. Sancti Petri* C 149; S = *Hierosol. S. Sabas* 223; V = *Vindob. Theol. gr.* 205). I have personally collated Q (which was not employed by Munitiz) and P – in some instances my readings from this manuscript are different from those reported by Munitiz.

[8] Καὶ τούτου γενομένου ἀπεκάλυψεν ὁ Θεὸς τῷ δούλῳ αὐτοῦ τῷ ἄββᾶ Μαΐουμᾶ, ἀνδρὶ ἐναρέτῳ καὶ ἐπὶ πολλοῖς ἔτεσιν ἐγκεκλεισμένῳ· [9] καὶ μεταστειλόμενος τὸν ἀρχιεπίσκοπον καὶ τοὺς σὺν αὐτῷ, διηγεῖτο αὐτοῖς λέγων· [10] «Εἶδον ὡς ἐν ἐκστάσει τῇ νυκτὶ ταύτῃ τόπον τινά, δεξιᾷ μὲν ἔχοντα τὸν παράδεισον, οὗ τὸ κάλλος καὶ ἡ τερπνότης καὶ ἡ εὐωδία ἀνεκδιήγητος· [11] ἐξ εὐωνύμων δὲ κάμιнос ὑπεράπτουσα, ἧς ἡ φλόξ ἐφθάνεν ἕως τῶν οὐρανῶν· [12] καὶ τὸν τελευτήσαντα μέσον ἀμφοτέρων ἰστάμενον καὶ ἀτενίζοντα πρὸς τὸν παράδεισον καὶ κλαίοντα καὶ στενάζοντα. [13] Ἐν τῷ οὖν στενάζειν αὐτὸν ὄρῳ τινα λαμπροφόρον λέγοντα αὐτῷ· “Μάτην στενάζεις καὶ κλαίεις, ταλαίπωρε· ὁ γὰρ καιρὸς τῆς πανηγύρεως ἐλύθη. [14] Ἴδου διὰ μὲν τῆς ἐλεημοσύνης ἐλυτρώθης τῆς κολάσεως τῆς γεέννης· διὰ δὲ τὸ μὴ ἀποστῆναι τῆς ἁμαρτίας μέχρι θανάτου, ἐστερήθης τῆς χαρᾶς τοῦ παραδείσου”».

11 εὐωνύμων] ἐπονύμων P | οὐρανῶν] τῶν οὐρανῶν V, τὸν ουρανόν cett. Munitiz **12** καὶ (3) om. B **13** αὐτῷ om. Q **14** διὰ μὲν] μὲν διὰ Q, verba μὲν usque ad διὰ om. O | τῆς (2) om. B | τὸ] τοῦ L | παραδείσου] hic desinit textus in P; cett. (et Q) pergunt Βλέπε κἀνταῦθα τί προξενεῖ (-οί; ms.) τὸ ἕως θανάτου ἐμμένειν τῇ τοῦ κακοῦ ἐργασίᾳ καὶ μὴ μετανοεῖν κτλ.

APPENDIX II

THE 'CONSTANTINOPOLITAN' REDACTION OF THE TALE (BHG 1322Y)

1. Georgius Monachus, *Chronicon*, pp. 747-748, ed. DE BOOR.

Ἐφ' ὧν χρόνων ὑπῆρχεν ἐν Κωνσταντινουπόλει ἄνθρωπος τις διαβόητος καὶ περιφανῆς ἄγαν πλούσιός τε σφόδρα καὶ φιλόπτωχος ἄκρως, εἶχε δὲ καὶ ἐξ ἐνεργείας τοῦ πονηροῦ τὸ πάθος τῆς πορνείας. Εἰς γῆρας οὖν ἐλθὼν καὶ μῆτε τῆς πολλῆς καὶ καθ' ὑπερβολὴν ἐλεημοσύνης παύσας, μῆτε μὴν ἐκ τῆς πορνείας διὰ τὴν χρόνιον καὶ κακίστην συνήθειαν ἐκκόσας ἐτελεύτησεν αἰφνίδιον. Ζητήσεως δὲ γενομένης περὶ αὐτοῦ παρά τε τοῦ πατριάρχου Γερμανοῦ καὶ τῶν ἐπισήμων ἐπισκόπων, καὶ τῶν μὲν λεγόντων· ἐσώθη διὰ τὸ γεγράφθαι· λύτρον ψυχῆς ὁ ἴδιος πλοῦτος, ἐξ ἰδίων γὰρ καὶ δικαίων πόνων καὶ οὐκ ἐξ ἀλλοτριῶν καὶ ἀδίκων ἐποίει τὴν ἐλεημοσύνην· τῶν δὲ μὴ παραδεχομένων, ἀλλ' ἀντιλεγόντων ὡς ἄμωμον εἶναι χρὴ τὸν δοῦλον τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ τέλειον, γέγραπται γάρ· ἐάν τις ὄλον τὸν νόμον πληρώσῃ, πταίση δὲ ἐν ἐνί, γέγονε πάντων ἔνοχος, καί· ἐν ᾧ εὖρω σε κρινῶ σε, φησὶν ὁ θεός – ἐκηρύχθη νηστεία καὶ προσευχὴ ὑπὸ τοῦ πατριάρχου, καὶ ἐδήλωσεν εἰς ὅλα τὰ μοναστήρια καὶ ἡσυχαστήρια δεηθῆναι τοῦ θεοῦ τοῦ γνωρίσαι αὐτοῖς διὰ τινος ἀποκαλύψεως τὰ περὶ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου τούτου. Οὐπὲρ γενομένου, ἀπεκάλυψεν ὁ θεὸς ἐγκλειστῶ τινι μεγάλῳ καὶ θεοφόρῳ, πῶς καὶ ποῦ τυγχάνει ὁ ἄνθρωπος. καὶ δὴ μεταστειλάμενος αὐτίκα τὸν πατριάρχην διηγήσατο αὐτῷ μετὰ πολλῶν δακρύων ἐνώπιον παντὸς τοῦ λαοῦ λέγων οὕτως· θεωρήσαί με † τῇ νυκτὶ ταύτῃ προσευχομένῳ κατὰ θεῖαν ἔκστασιν τόπον τινὰ ἐκ δεξιῶν μὲν ἔχοντα παράδεισον ἀνεξήγητον κάλλος περικείμενον, ἐξ εὐωνύμων δὲ κάμινον, ἧς ἡ φλοῶς μέχρι τῶν νεφελῶν ἀνέβαινεν, καὶ τὸν τελευτήσαντα πλούσιον τοῦτον μετὰ τοῦ παραδείσου καὶ τῆς φοβερᾶς ἰστάμενον καμίνου καὶ πολλὰ στενάζοντα καὶ πυκνὰ πρὸς τὸν παράδεισον ἀποβλέποντα. Ἐν τῷ οὖν στενάζειν αὐτὸν καὶ ὀδύρεσθαι ὄρῳ τινα λαμπροφόρον ἐπιστάντα καὶ λέγοντα πρὸς αὐτόν· τί μάτην στενάζεις, ἄνθρωπε; Ἰδοὺ γὰρ διὰ τῆς ἐλεημοσύνης σου ἐλυτρώθης τῆς γεέννης, διὰ δὲ τοῦ μὴ ἀποστήναι σε τῆς ἀκαθάρτου καὶ βδελυρᾶς πορνείας ἐστερήθης τοῦ παραδείσου. Καὶ ταῦτα ὁ τε πατριάρχης καὶ οἱ σὺν αὐτῷ πάντες ἀκούσαντες φόβῳ μεγάλῳ συσχεθέντες πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἔλεγον· δικαίως οὖν καὶ ἀξίως ὁ ἀπόστολος ἔγραψεν· φεύγετε τὴν πορνείαν. Πᾶν ἁμάρτημα ὃ ἐὰν ποιήσῃ ἄνθρωπος ἐκτὸς τοῦ σώματός ἐστιν, ὃ δὲ πορνεύων εἰς τὸ ἴδιον σῶμα ἁμαρτάνει. Καὶ γὰρ ὁ θεὸς ἐν τῷ νόμῳ παρεγγυᾷ φάσκων· γίνεσθε ἅγιοι ὅτι ἐγὼ ἅγιός εἰμι. Καί· οὐ πορνεύσεις, οὐ μοιχεύσεις. Καί· οὐκ ἔσται πορνεία ἀπὸ θυγατέρων Ἰσραὴλ καὶ οὐκ ἔσται πορνεύων ἀπὸ υἱῶν Ἰσραὴλ. Ποῦ τοίνυν εἰσὶν οἱ λέγοντες ὅτι, κἂν πορνεύωμεν, ποιούμεν ἐλεημοσύνην καὶ σωζόμεθα. Ὁ γὰρ ὄντως ἐλεήμων ἑαυτὸν ὀφείλει πρῶτον ἐλεῆσαι καὶ τὸν ἁγιασμόν τοῦ σώματος κατορθῶσαι, οὐ χωρὶς οὐδεὶς ὄψεται τὸν κύριον. Οὐκοῦν οὐδὲν ὠφελήσει τὸ ἀργύριον διδόμενον ἐκ χειρὸς ῥυπαρᾶς καὶ ψυχῆς ἀμετανοήτου καὶ μεμολυσμένης καὶ διεφθαρμένης ὑπὸ τῶν ἀκαθάρτων ἔργων.

2. Michael Glycas, *Annales*, IV, pp. 522-523, ed. BEKKER.

Κατ' ἐκεῖνο δὲ καιροῦ καὶ πλούσιός τις ἦν ἐλεημοσύναις ὁμοῦ καὶ πορνείαις συζῶν, καὶ οὕτω καταγεράσας ἀπέθανε. Γίνεται οὖν στάσις περὶ τοῦ ποῦ ὁ τοιοῦτος τέτακται· οἱ μὲν γὰρ ἔλεγον ἄμωμον εἶναι δεῖ τὴν ἐλεημοσύνην, οἱ δὲ ταύτη καθαίρεσθαι τὰ ἁμαρτήματα δισχυρίζοντο. δεηθέντων οὖν τοῦ πατριάρχου τε Ῥωμανοῦ καὶ τῶν θεοφιλῶν ἐπισκόπων τοῦ θεοῦ περὶ τούτου, ἀπεκαλύφθη τινὶ ἐγκλείστῳ. ἑώρα γὰρ ἐντεῦθεν μὲν παράδεισον, ἐκεῖθεν δὲ φλόγα πυρὸς μεγίστην, μέσον δὲ τὸν τελευτήσαντα ἐστῶτα καὶ μέγα στενάζοντα· πρὸς ὃν ἄγγελος ἐλθὼν εἶπε «τί μέγα στενάζεις; ἡ ἐλεημοσύνη σου ἐρρύσατό σε τῆς φλογός». Μανθάνομεν οὖν ἐντεῦθεν ὅτι οὐ τοσοῦτον ὠφελήσει τὸ ἀργύριον ἐκ ῥυπαρᾶς χειρὸς διδόμενον.

APPENDIX III

THE TALE (*BHG* 1322W) IN THE LATIN TRANSLATION OF JOHN OF AMALFI.¹⁰¹

De quodam philentulo qui omnem substantiam suam erogauit pauperibus, nec tamen a fornicatione cessauit.

In diebus sanctissimi Archadii archiepiscopi fuit quidam filentulus in Constantia que dicitur de Olimpo. Hic quidem multam pecuniam in pauperes, orphanos et uiduas et in alias elemosinas expendit necnon et infirmorum domos edificauit.

Et, ut omnia dicamus simpliciter, omnem substantiam ex terra et mari, ex negociis, ex prediis et ex nauibus in operibus pietatis et elemosinis expendebat. Ex qua operatione¹⁰² inimici habebat passionem fornicationis. Peruenit autem usque ad summam senectutem et mortuus est; et neque elemosinas dereliquit neque a fornicatione quieuit.

Multa quidem inquisitione de hoc ab episcopis et archiepiscopo facta, in dubium uenerat utrum saluus esset homo ille an non. Quidam autem dicebant quoniam saluus esset. Scriptum est enim, quoniam elemosina operit multitudinem peccatorum. Et iterum: Sicut aqua extinguit ignem, ita elemosina extinguit peccatum. Item e contrario dicebant alii, quoniam scriptum est in prophetia Ezechielis, quia ubi te inueniam, in hoc te iudicabo. Quomodo poterit saluari qui usque ad mortem non desiit a peccato? Multa quidem sunt dicta et multa inquisitio propter hoc facta est. Erat enim res in dubio. Archiepiscopus autem, cum esset omni bonitate et sanctitate decoratus, predicauit ieiunium, letanias et orationes fieri mandans per omnia monasteria et ad eos qui in columnis stabant et qui inclusi erant, ut omnes unanimiter Deum orarent et deprecarentur, ut ipse per suam clementiam reuelare dignaretur, in quibus locis deputatus esset qui defunctus fuerat.

Cum hoc per aliquod tempus cum omni sollicitudine perorassent, reuelauit Deus famulo suo abbati Caimo incluso, uiro omnibus uirtutibus repleto qui per multos annos fuerat in monte sancti Antonii et ultra Clisma maris rubri. Et aduocans beatum Archadium archiepiscopum cum episcopis suis narrauit dicens: «Nocte hac factus sum in extasi et uidi a dextro latere meo paradisum ineffabili pulchritudine decoratum; a sinistra autem uidi caminum ignis ardentem, cuius pertingebat usque ad nubes flamma. Et defunctus ille stabat in medio amborum, adtendentem atque aspicientem in paradisum et nimis gementem. Cum autem gerneret ille sic fortiter, uideo quendam cum splendidis uestibus astantem et dicentem sibi: 'Quid gemis in vanum? Ecce dico tibi quoniam pro elemosinis tuis liberatus es a gehenna. Pro eo autem quod a fornicatione non cessasti, perdidisti beatitudinem paradisi, maxime cum non haberes propriam uxorem.'»

¹⁰¹ In reproducing the text from Johannes monachus [Johannes de Amalfi], *Liber de miraculis*, ed. M. HUBER, Heidelberg, 1913, pp. 40-41, I have introduced some orthographic changes here and there; for instance, I have opted for *dereliquit* instead of *dereliquid*, *columnis* instead of *columnnis* and *paradisi* instead of *paradysi*.

¹⁰² *Ex cooperatione* corr. Halkin.

Audiant hoc qui dicunt: «Etsi fornicatus fuero, tamen dabo elemosinam et saluus ero». Sed audi rationem: Vera elemosina est, si tibi ipsi primo misertus fueris. Dicit enim beatus apostolus Paulus: «Omne peccatum quodcumque fecerit homo, extra corpus est; qui autem fornicatur, in proprium corpus peccat, quoniam quasi libationem suscipit diabolus semen hominis quod in fornicatione effusum fuerit».

Et non dicas michi: «O utinam et ego liberer a camino ignis, sicut ille liberatus est, et sufficit michi». Quid dicis, o homo? Magnum tibi uidetur liberari a gehenna ignis? Ego dico quoniam multo peius est perdere regnum Dei quam si arsisses in mille fornacibus et tormentis. Que enim est durior pena quam in seculum seculi segregari a Deo? Deus enim lux est; qui uero separatur a luce, in tenebris sine dubio inuenitur. Tamen audi Paulum dicentem, in quo locutus est Christus: «Nolite errare, quia neque fornicatores neque adulteri neque masculorum concubitores neque rapaces regnum Dei consequentur». Et hoc confirmat Christus dicens: «Celum et terra transibunt, uerba autem mea non transibunt».

Propterea cesset unusquisque a malo et sequatur pacem et sanctimoniam, id est mundiciam corporis, sine qua nemo uidebit Deum.

THE “WOLVES OF ARABIA”:
A RECONSIDERATION OF MAXIMUS THE CONFESSOR’S
EPISTULA 8*

On Pentecost of 632, the Emperor Heraclius (r. 610-641) issued a controversial edict. Just two years earlier he had completed his triumphal entry into Jerusalem, which, until his costly peace treaty in 628 with the Sassanid Empire had, along with the prized relic of the True Cross, spent fourteen years under Persian control. Four years after this illusive victory and during a period of relative peace, for reasons which remain mysterious, Heraclius declared that all Jews within the Empire would convert to Christianity and be baptized by force.

Considering the ramifications of this decree, there is little evidence concerning its issuance or its enforcement. While several later sources mention the baptism, only two contemporary sources survive; a unique dialogue known as the *Doctrina Jacobi nuper baptizati*, and an account that survives in a small number of manuscripts of *Epistula* 8 by Maximus the Confessor, which contains a direct reference to the date and enforcement of the edict in North Africa beginning on Pentecost of 632.¹ This letter is nearly as mysterious as the edict to which it bears witness. Lacking any direct addressee, routine information such as the intended recipient continues to elude scholars. Moreover, an intriguing reference to “the wolves of Arabia”, a phrase taken from the Septuagint, brings to mind the sweeping Arab Muslim force that would begin to inflict heavy losses in 634, but was little more than a nuisance in 632.

This letter is the subject of the present study. By placing internal evidence in conversation with the letter’s context, it argues that, rather than a unified whole, this letter is best understood as a composite of two letters, including a fragment of an otherwise lost document. However, before this can be done, the letter’s historical context and the *status quaestionis* must first be examined.

* I thank David Olster, whose seminar inspired this article, as well as Bronwen Neil, Pauline Allen, Maria Mavroudi and the anonymous readers whose gracious input have greatly improved this final version.

¹ R. DEVREESE, *La fin inédite d’une lettre de saint Maxime: un baptême forcé de Juifs et de Samaritains à Carthage en 632*, in *Revue des sciences religieuses*, 17 (1937), pp. 25-35. For the latest edition of the *Doctrina*, see G. DAGRON – V. DÉROCHE, *Juifs et chrétiens en Orient byzantin (Bilans de recherche, 5)*, Paris, 2010, pp. 70-219. For a discussion of Western precedents and later accounts of the forced baptism, see DAGRON – DÉROCHE, *Juifs et chrétiens*, pp. 32-38.

THE REIGN OF HERACLIUS: A PERIOD OF TRANSFORMATIVE CRISIS

The seventh century was a period of significant turmoil on a number of fronts. From the moment of his coronation on 10 October 610, the Emperor Heraclius inherited an empire in crisis.² The reign of his predecessor, the usurper Phocas (r. 602-610), had been marked with civil war and the beginning of a series of defeats at the hands of the Persians under Chosroes II.

Heraclius and the empire itself received a respite as the tide began to turn in favour of the Byzantines with the eventual recapturing of territory lost to the Persians, including the recapture of the Holy Cross in 628 from Ctesiphon. This victory provided a much-needed psychological boon to the Empire, which had been brought to the brink of collapse, and Heraclius's victory seemed to indicate that divine favour had returned to the Byzantines. On 21 March 630, in a scene reminiscent of ancient Roman triumphs, Heraclius made a historic and rare visit to the holy city, where he personally restored the Holy Cross in a solemn ceremony.³

This period of triumph would prove to be short lived. As early as October 630 Byzantines easily overcame small skirmishes with the followers of a new religious sect led by the prophet Muhammad.⁴ However, a mere four years later this ragtag group of Bedouins would become a force that would inflict a stunning defeat against their forces at the battle of Ajnadayn, or that Jerusalem would fall permanently into Muslim hands in 637.⁵ It is during this period that two of the most important figures of the time, Sophronius of Jerusalem and Maximus the Confessor, were engaged in the doctrinal debates concerning the energies and wills of Christ that would dominate the intellectual and political landscape of the empire through the remaining decades of the century and beyond.⁶

Maximus the Confessor's early life and career are shrouded in mystery and are currently the topic of great debate, which is beyond the scope of this study.⁷ It is sufficient to say that during the period under consideration,

² J. HALDON, *Byzantium in the Seventh Century: The Transformation of a Culture*, Cambridge, 1990, p. 41.

³ W. E. KAEGI, *Heraclius, Emperor of Byzantium*, Cambridge, 2003, pp. 205-207.

⁴ W. E. KAEGI, *Byzantium and the Early Islamic Conquests*, New York, 1992, pp. 68-73.

⁵ KAEGI, *Byzantium* [see n. 4], p. 95.

⁶ See C. HOVORUN, *Maximus, a Cautious Neo-Chalcedonian*, in P. ALLEN – B. NEIL (eds), *The Oxford Handbook of Maximus the Confessor*, Oxford, 2015, pp. 106-124.

⁷ See A. LOUTH, *Maximus the Confessor*, London – New York, 1996, and C. BOUDIGNON, *Maxime le Confesseur était-il Constantinopolitain?*, in B. JANSSENS – B. ROOSEN – P. VAN DEUN (eds), *Philomathestatos: Studies in Greek and Byzantine Texts Presented to Jacques Noret for his Sixty-Fifth Birthday*, Leuven, 2004, pp. 11-43. For an overview of Maximus's life see P. ALLEN, *Life and Times of Maximus the Confessor*, in P. ALLEN – B. NEIL (eds), *The Oxford Handbook of Maximus the Confessor*, Oxford, 2015, pp. 3-18. For an exhaustive

Maximus was in North Africa as a member of the Greek-speaking diaspora community that had fled the threat of the Persian invasions. During his exile, he developed a reputation as a spiritual authority, one that granted him significant influence among Byzantine Imperial officials in North Africa, and his large corpus of writings make up a significant portion of surviving documents from this period. Maximus’s opposition to imperial religious policy put him in the crosshairs of Heraclius’s successors and resulted in his eventual trial, mutilation, and death in exile in 662.

Sophronius had also developed a reputation as spiritual authority and rabble-rouser. He became a thorn in the side of the patriarchate of Constantinople when he expressed his opposition to the doctrine of monoenergism, the doctrine that Christ had two natures but one composite “theandric energy”.⁸ This opposition came to a head upon his election to the patriarchate of Jerusalem in 634, where, contrary to his promise not to discuss the subject, he published his opposition to a single energy in his *Synodical Letter*, the customary letter sent out by patriarchs of the pentarchy to bishops upon their consecration.⁹ His tenure would see the complete loss of his see to Muslim control, and he would be forced to hand over Jerusalem to the Caliph Umar in 637 shortly before his death.

It was in this context of brief triumph and sudden decline that *Epistula* 8 was composed, a context that is crucial to understanding the questions raised by this text. This brief overview provides the background for the remaining discussion below. At this juncture, let us turn to the *status quaestionis*, in particular the document’s manuscript tradition, modern reception, and previous scholarship, after which we can discuss the text itself.

STATUS QUAESTIONIS OF EPISTULA 8

The history of the reception of *Epistula* 8 is almost as fascinating as the document itself. The letter received its *editio princeps* by François Combeffis, which was later reprinted by Jacques-Paul Migne in his magisterial *Patrologia Graeca*.¹⁰ The extended ending, which discussed Heraclius’ edict of forced baptism in 632, was published – based on a single manuscript,

overview of Maximus’s corpus and recent bibliography, see P. VAN DEUN – P. MUELLER-JOURDAN, *Maxime le Confesseur*, in C. G. CONTICELLO (ed.), *La Théologie byzantine et sa tradition*, vol. I/1: *VIe-XIIe siècle*, Turnhout, 2015, pp. 375-510.

⁸ P. ALLEN, *Sophronius of Jerusalem and Seventh-Century Heresy: The Synodical Letter and Other Documents*, New York – Oxford, 2009, pp. 19-20.

⁹ ALLEN, *Sophronius of Jerusalem* [see n. 8], pp. 66-157.

¹⁰ PG 91, 440-445.

Vaticanus gr. 507 – in 1917 by Sergei Epifanovich.¹¹ However, historical circumstances prevented this edition from achieving wide circulation. The letter and its extended ending languished in obscurity until 1937 when Robert Devreesse, apparently unaware of Epifanovich’s discovery, believed he had discovered the lost ending of the letter for the first time.¹² This extended ending confirmed the account mentioned in the *Doctrina Jacobi nuper Baptizati*, which until then had been the only known contemporary evidence of the edict.

1. Authenticity

The next question of import concerns the authenticity of the text. Thus far, Paul Speck is the primary opponent of the letter’s authenticity.¹³ All previous scholarship has taken its authenticity for granted, and nearly all scholarship since has rejected Speck.¹⁴ The sole exception is Wolfram Brandes, who dismisses the ending’s authenticity on the grounds that its apocalyptic speculation is “too primitive” for a theologian of Maximus’ calibre. Based on this judgment, which reveals more about Brandes’s opinion of the intellectual quality of apocalyptic discourse than Maximus’s use of it, he argues that the long ending is a later interpolation to an otherwise authentic letter.¹⁵ Brandes’s suspicion of the ending’s relationship to the letter is prudent; however, his conclusion that the ending is a foreign interpolation is wanting.

2. The Manuscript Tradition

At this point, it is necessary to address the manuscript tradition of the letter. As Carl Laga has observed, the ending concerning the forced baptism is found in what Basile Markesinis has informed him to be the best manuscript tradition.¹⁶ Admittedly, this is difficult to address, since *Epistula* 8 has

¹¹ S. EPIFANOVICH, *Materialy k izučeniju žizni i tvorenij prep. Maksima Ispovednika*, Kiev, 1917, p. 84.

¹² DEVREESSE, *La fin inédite* [see n. 1], pp. 34-35.

¹³ P. SPECK, *Beitäge zum Thema byzantinische Feindseligkeiten gegen die Juden im frühen siebten Jahrhundert*, vol. 6, Bonn, 1997, pp. 441-467.

¹⁴ J.-C. LARCHET, *Saint Maxime le Confesseur (580-662)*, Paris, 2003, p. 43; Y. STOYANOV, *Defenders and Enemies of the True Cross: The Sasanian Conquest of Jerusalem in 614 and Byzantine Ideology of Anti-Persian Warfare*, Vienna, 2011, p. 69; P. BOOTH, *Crisis of Empire: Doctrine and Dissent at the End of Late Antiquity*, Berkeley – Los Angeles, 2013, p. 170.

¹⁵ W. BRANDES, *Heraclius between Restoration and Reform*, in G. REININK - B. STOLTE (eds), *The Reign of Heraclius (610-641): Crisis and Confrontation*, Leuven, 2002, p. 38.

¹⁶ C. LAGA, *Judaism and Jews in Maximus Confessor’s Works. Theoretical Controversy and Practical Attitude*, in *Bsl*, 51/2 (1990), pp. 184-185.

yet to receive a modern critical edition, and thus no proper stemma has yet been provided. However, based on descriptions provided by Robert Devreesse in his monumental catalogue of the Greek *codices Vaticani*, in which all known manuscripts that contain the ending exist, we are able to address, in at least a cursory fashion, this small selection of manuscripts.¹⁷

While it may be true that the ending is found in the best manuscripts, the tradition that contains the ending with the forced baptism, found in only four codices, is quite small in comparison to the rest of the letter, which survives in over 20 manuscripts.¹⁸ Two manuscripts, roughly contemporary with each other, represent the earliest witnesses to the extended ending. The first, *Vaticanus gr.* 504, dates to 1104 and is addressed to “Sophronius Eukratas”. The second, *Vaticanus gr.* 1502 is dated between the eleventh and twelfth centuries, and includes the *incipit* “another letter to the same”. The letters immediately preceding *Epistula* 8 in *Vaticanus gr.* 1502 are addressed to Jordanes, who is presumably the referent intended by “to the same”. Thus, we see that two different addressees are present in manuscripts, which are contemporary to one another, both of which are five centuries removed from the letter’s original composition.

The manuscript tradition does not end here, but raises further questions. *Vaticanus gr.* 504 contains a second version of the letter without the ending in question. Moreover, the two remaining manuscripts are each copies of the previous two. *Vaticanus gr.* 507, dated to 1344, is identical to *Vaticanus gr.* 504, complete with the dual versions, and *Vaticanus gr.* 505, dated to 1520, is identical to *Vaticanus gr.* 1502. Thus, while the ending survives in four manuscripts, in reality there are only two traditions preserved.

With some consideration, the tradition that contains the ending in question can be narrowed even further. Christian Boudignon, in his edition of Maximus’s *Mystagogia*, has noted that *Vaticanus gr.* 504 has two sources, the *Corpus Constantinopolitanum*, and a source related to *Atheniensis* B.N. 225.¹⁹ Bart Janssens, in his edition of Maximus’s *Ambigua ad Thomam*, hypothesized based on the double edition of *Epistula* 8 and other irregularities that *Vaticanus gr.* 504, and by extension *Vaticanus gr.* 507, contain a contaminated text.²⁰ Considering the fact that *Vaticanus gr.* 1502, and by extension *Vaticanus gr.* 505, are recognized as witnesses to the *Corpus*

¹⁷ R. DEVREESSE, *Codices Vaticani graeci: tomus II, codices 330-603*, Vatican City, 1937, pp. 343-356.

¹⁸ *Vaticanus gr.* 504, ff. 150-151; *Vaticanus gr.* 505, ff. 141v-143, *Vaticanus gr.* 507, ff. 170v-171, and *Vaticanus gr.* 1502, fol. 175.

¹⁹ C. BOUDIGNON (ed.), *Mystagogia* (CCSG, 69), Turnhout, 2011, pp. xic-xc.

²⁰ B. JANSSENS (ed.), *Maximi Confessoris Ambigua ad Thomam* (CCSG, 48), Turnhout, 2002, p. cviii.

Constantinopolitanum, we can hypothesize that the ending published by Epifanovich and Devreesse, the “contamination” hypothesized by Janssens, is part of a single manuscript tradition, taken from the *Corpus Constantinopolitanum*. Thus, our already small sample of four manuscripts in fact bears witness to a single tradition.

3. *Intended Recipient*

Based on the confusion in the manuscript tradition, it is not surprising that one of the most hotly contested problems surrounding the letter is the intended recipient. Polycarp Sherwood noted that the manuscripts contain three different inscriptions, to Sophronius, Jordanes, and a certain John.²¹ Scholars who discuss the letter have debated between Sophronius, following Devreesse, and John, following Sherwood.²² Recent scholars are still divided on the subject. Carl Laga dismisses Sophronius, but does not take a firm stand, only suggesting that Jordanes may indeed be the recipient.²³ While the *Epistula* 8 was not a direct object of his study, David Olster in effect treats the body and ending as separate documents, referring to the section which references “the Wolves of Arabia” as the “letter to John the Presbyter”, and the ending and its reference to the forced baptism as “the ending of letter 8”.²⁴ His tendency to label letters by the addressee suggests that he treats them as separate documents. He gives no direct opinion as to the choice of recipient, as this was not the focus of his study. Recently, Phil Booth has followed Christian Boudignon in asserting Sophronius as the recipient.²⁵ However, Booth and Marek Jankowiak have put forward an interesting theory, which is discussed in greater detail below, that the letter had two versions, one addressed to Sophronius and one to Jordanes.²⁶

²¹ P. SHERWOOD, *An Annotated Date-List of the Works of St. Maximus the Confessor*, Rome, 1952, p. 28.

²² J. STARR, *St. Maximos and the Forced Baptism at Carthage in 632*, in *BNJ*, 16 (1939), pp. 192-196. Starr agrees with Devreesse.

²³ LAGA, *Judaism and Jews* [see n. 16], pp. 177-188.

²⁴ D. M. OLSTER, *Roman Defeat, Christian Response and the Literary Construction of the Jew*, Philadelphia, 1994, pp. 88 and 96 respectively.

²⁵ BOUDIGNON, *Maxime le Confesseur* [see n. 7], p. 19; C. BOUDIGNON, «*Le temps du saint baptême n'est pas encore venu*». *Nouvelles considérations sur la Doctrina Jacobi*, in S. MORLET – O. MUNNICH – B. POUDERON (eds), *Les dialogues adversus Iudaeos: Permanences et mutations d'une tradition polémique*, Paris, 2013, p. 247; and BOOTH, *Crisis of Empire* [see n. 14], p. 149.

²⁶ M. JANKOWIAK – P. BOOTH, *A New Date-List of the Works of Maximus the Confessor*, in ALLEN – NEIL, *The Oxford Handbook* [see n. 6], p. 41

4. *Dating*

Scholars have, on the whole, accepted the date given by the ending, Pentecost 632, as applying to the whole letter. Therefore, controversy has not surrounded the date of the letter, so much as the letter's implication for the timeline of the rise of Islam and Byzantine responses to the growing Arab threat. Laga argues that the date of Pentecost 632, given by Maximus, allows scholars to exclude any association of the baptism, and thus the letter itself, with the Arab invasions, as it would have been composed two years before the battle at Adjnadayn.²⁷ Instead, he posits an explanation that he admits is difficult to prove. Laga argues that *Epistula* 8 is best understood in the context of Maximus's *Epistula* 14 and the *Questions to Thalassius*, as well as Sophronius's *Homily on the Nativity*, all of which are contemporary with the Arab invasions but deal much more extensively with the Jews. Thus, according to Laga, there was an obsession with the Jews that blinded the Byzantines to the real threat, namely the Arab invaders. This leads Laga to the curious suggestion that the forced baptism may have actually been inspired by the anti-Jewish literary activity produced by "Sophronius and his disciples, like Maximus", and though the emperor's actions were an unintended consequence opposed by Maximus, nevertheless they were direct result of the sentiments stirred up by these writers.

Laga is correct in observing the puzzling phenomenon in which Byzantine authors sublimated the crisis of the Islamic invasions through increased anti-Jewish rhetoric.²⁸ However, as is discussed in detail below, internal evidence within *Epistula* 8 offers another solution altogether and it could be argued that Laga dismisses the Arab threat too quickly. Moreover, considering Maximus and Sophronius' negative reputation in Constantinopolitan circles, one wonders how much influence their anti-Jewish rhetoric would have had on imperial policy. Nevertheless, Laga's study illustrates the difficulties of establishing a chronology for the period.

5. *Anti-Judaism*

Epistula 8 has understandably been a subject of great interest for scholars of Jewish-Christian relations. Devreesse argues that the forced baptism, now confirmed by the letter he has edited, was a continuation of increasing anti-Jewish sentiment on the part of Heraclius.²⁹ Starr is the first scholar to make significant use of *Epistula* 8 as evidence of Byzantine anti-Jewish

²⁷ LAGA, *Judaism and Jews* [see n. 16], p. 185.

²⁸ This topic receives extended treatment in OLSTER, *Roman Defeat* [see n. 24].

²⁹ DEVREESE, *La fin inédite* [see n. 1], p. 29.

polemic, and particularly Maximus's negative attitude toward the Jews.³⁰ Most scholars have agreed with Starr that the letter does not reveal the motives of Heraclius' policy. Starr argues that Maximus' opposition to "baptism *per vim*", while sincere, is rather mild compared to opposition to later forced baptisms in the eighth and ninth centuries, particularly under Basil I.³¹

In one recent study, Christian Boudignon discusses the controversy of the suitability of Jews for baptism by placing Maximus's corpus, and in particular *Epistula* 8 in direct conversation with the *Doctrina Jacobi nuper baptizati*.³² The *Doctrina*, written from the perspective of a baptized Jew, assumes that Jews are indeed fit for baptism. Maximus disagrees quite strongly. Boudignon argues, based on a close grammatical analysis of the passage that Maximus was not simply attempting to prevent the baptism from occurring, but rather "Maxime pense au passé que fut le baptême forcé: le baptême a donc été, craint-il, profané."³³ The perspective that the baptism had occurred, and that, as Boudignon argues, Maximus associates this with the abomination of desolation brings clarity to Maximus's apocalyptic analysis of the event, and his view that the introduction of Jews baptised by force represented a contagion to the church.

There has been one recent attempt to establish the motives of Heraclius' forced baptism, using *Epistula* 8 as evidence. Paul Magdalino has used this letter, along with the *Doctrina Jacobi nuper baptizati* to attempt to explain Heraclius's forced baptism in the context of *Reichseschatologie*. According to Magdalino, in the eyes of the emperor, Heraclius's triumph over the Persians "marked a decisive moment in the accomplishment of the empire's divine mission on earth." Moreover, it could be claimed that, in fulfilment of Matthew 24:14, the Gospel had been preached through the whole world. All that remained was for all Israel to be saved in accordance with Romans 11:25.³⁴ Heraclius, he argues, was attempting to fulfil this divine role by the forced baptism of the Jews. Magdalino suggests that Maximus's objection, particularly based on the risk of apostasy, was out of a fear that ex-Jews would cause weak minded Christians to judaize, rather than abandon Christianity altogether.³⁵

Magdalino is correct in his observation that Byzantines under Heraclius held a worldview that "blurred the distinction between the Christian Roman

³⁰ STARR, *St. Maximos and the Forced Baptism* [see n. 22].

³¹ *Ibidem*, p. 195.

³² BOUDIGNON, «*Le temps du saint baptême n'est pas encore venu*» [see n. 25].

³³ *Ibidem*, pp. 247-248.

³⁴ P. MAGDALINO, "All Israel Will be Saved?" *The Forced Baptism of the Jews and Imperial Eschatology*, in J. TOLAN – C. NEMO-PEKELMAN (eds), *Jews in Early Christian Law: Byzantium and the Latin West, 6th-11th Centuries*, Turnhout, 2013, p. 238.

³⁵ MAGDALINO, "All Israel Will be Saved?" [see n. 34], p. 241.

Empire and the Kingdom of Christ.”³⁶ However, it is highly speculative to claim that Heraclius’ actions were motivated by semi-messianic aspirations. The evidence concerning the forced baptism that survives, primarily from North Africa, does not, on its own, indicate a concerted effort to save “all Israel”. There is simply not enough evidence of the edict’s enforcement on an empire-wide scale, let alone on a biblical scale. Moreover, Heraclius’s general anti-Jewish policies, including possible expulsion and massacre, indicate less of a desire to save the Jews and more a strategy to eliminate them as a perceived political threat.³⁷

Magdalino’s suggestion that Maximus associated the apostasy of 2 Thesalonians 2:3 with judaizing is plausible. However, one wonders if the spread of judaizing tendencies would be severe enough to warrant the dire label of apostasy, or to bring about the end of days. Considering the severity of apostasy, its implied abandonment of faith, and its role in apocalyptic discourse it seems more likely that Maximus’s concern was a fear that there would be a complete rejection of Christianity by those who Maximus describes as “the most simple” (τοῖς ἀφελεστέροις) in favour of the “ancestral unbelief” (τῆς πατρικῆς ... ἀπιστίας) of the Jews.³⁸ At any rate, Magdalino is correct in observing that Maximus did not consider a successful forced baptism as a victory for the church.

6. *The Wolves of Arabia*

One of the more intriguing aspects of *Epistula* 8 is Maximus’s allegorized use of the phrase “many evil bites of the wolves of Arabia”. The “wolves of Arabia” appear twice in the Septuagint, once in Habakkuk 1:8, and again in Zephaniah 3:3. The Hebrew Bible renders the phrase in both of these verses as “wolves of the evening” and thus the phrase has widely been neglected in modern biblical studies. The Septuagint passages are discussed in greater detail below, but it is worth noting at this point that no scholar has noted the potential Zephaniah 3:3 connection, instead most adopt Migne’s footnote referring to Habakkuk 1:8.³⁹

Olster discusses the reference to the wolves of Arabia in the larger context of his demonstration of the great apocalyptic role played by the Jews in the Christian apologetic against Islam. Olster notes that, in what he refers to as the letter to John the Presbyter, “[Maximus] mentioned rumors of Arab

³⁶ *Ibidem*, p. 239.

³⁷ KAEGI, *Heraclius* [see n. 3], p. 205.

³⁸ DEVREESE, *La fin inédite* [see n. 1], p. 34.

³⁹ PG 91, 444, n. 1.

incursions, but dismissed them with a metaphor, comparing the wolves of Arabia, with the flesh.”⁴⁰ There are two things worth mentioning in Olster’s analysis. First, it is unclear if he associates the extended ending, which he refers to as “letter 8”, with the larger document, which he refers to as “the letter to John the Presbyter”.⁴¹ While the identity of the recipient of a letter by Maximus the Confessor is hardly the focus of his book, it may inform the way in which Olster analysed and interpreted the passages in question. Secondly, it does not appear, contrary to his assertion, that there is a direct reference to rumours of Arab incursions, which Maximus dismisses. Indeed, it is the lack of any direct reference to an Arab threat that makes the inclusion of this otherwise obscure prophetic text all the more puzzling.

Boudignon also addresses the identity of the “wolves of Arabia”, but interprets it as an allusion to Arab nomads who profited from the Persian wars, rather than a reference to the rise of Islam or the first major Arab incursions. He associates the passage with the broader metaphor of the shepherd, which Maximus develops for the recipient, whom Boudignon identifies as Sophronius.⁴² This argument is plausible, and contemporary accounts bear witness to the devastation caused at the monastery of St Sabbas.⁴³ However, nomadic raids were a common element of desert life and the population would have presumably been prepared for such incursions, which would have hardly demanded Maximus’s reassurances. Jankowiak and Booth, following Hoyland, dismiss any reference to real Arabs, considering the passage to be a coincidental metaphor.⁴⁴ This too is plausible if the date is accepted; however, it fails to account for the nature of the misfortune endured by his recipient, which would have been too late for the Persians, especially in Palestine, which would have recently hosted an imperial triumph.

7. Editions and Translations

What is interesting is that while scholars since Devreesse, including Speck who questions the letter’s authenticity, have accepted the letter as a unity, they have studied the ending at the expense of the letter as a whole.

⁴⁰ OLSTER, *Roman Defeat* [see n. 24], p. 88.

⁴¹ See n. 18 above.

⁴² BOUDIGNON, *Maxime le Confesseur* [see n. 7], pp. 20-21.

⁴³ Cf. Antiochus Monachus, *Epistula ad Eustathium*, PG 89, 1422-1429 (CPG 7842).

⁴⁴ R. G. HOYLAND, *Seeing Islam as Others Saw It: A Survey and Evaluation of Christian, Jewish, and Zoroastrian Writings on Early Islam*, Princeton, 1997, p. 77, n. 75. Hoyland credits a conversation with Cyril Mango for this realization. M. JANKOWIAK, *Essai d’histoire politique du monothéisme à partir de la correspondance entre les empereurs byzantins, les patriarches de Constantinople et les papes de Rome*, diss. Warsaw, 2009, p. 109, n. 355; BOOTH, *Crisis of Empire* [see n. 14], p. 231.

To date, there is no edition which unifies the two parts, though this will likely be remedied in the long anticipated edition of Maximus's letters, under preparation by Basile Markesinis for the *CCSG*. In the meantime, one is forced to insert the new ending into the *PG* edition. Likewise, while the ending has been translated into French and English by several different scholars, there is no single modern translation of the rest of the letter, let alone the letter as a unified whole.⁴⁵ Thus although scholars have considered *Epistula* 8 and the extended ending to be part of a single letter, in practice the ending has been treated as a separate document.

To demonstrate that *Epistula* 8 is in fact a composite of two documents, this study begins by approaching the letter as a unity. After a textual analysis, brought into conversation with contemporary events, it will be demonstrated that the difficulties posed by this document are easily addressed when the extended ending is considered as a misplaced fragment.

TEXTUAL ANALYSIS

1. *Tropes and Language of Address*

It is instructive at this point to discuss the structure of the text itself. The letter begins with an extended comparison of desire/love, *πόθος*, which is connected to the flesh, bound to a locality, and is thus fleeting; with that which is noetic and can stand the tests of time and distance. Maximus' purpose in this comparison is to argue that distance has strengthened the author's friendship with the recipient, and that their friendship endures even more than if they were in each other's presence.⁴⁶ While this should be considered primarily a trope, one that appears in other letters by Maximus, the comparison sets the tone for the letter, which is focused on distinguishing matters of the body and matters of the spirit. He continues to praise the recipient, referring to him in primarily the plural, including the vocative plural "O honoured fathers" (τίμιοι Πατέρες), the second person plural "your most holiness" (τοὺς ἀγιωτάτους ὑμᾶς), and occasionally in the vocative singular "O honoured father" (τίμιε Πάτερ).

This introduction is followed by a lament of the separation and an expression of longing. Maximus then proceeds to build a metaphor for his recipient, which he continues throughout the body of the letter, referring to him as the

⁴⁵ For modern translations see: DEVREESE, *La fin inédite* [see n. 1], STARR, *St. Maximus and the Forced Baptism* [see n. 22], and LAGA, *Judaism and Jews* [see n. 16]. Translations used here are mine.

⁴⁶ *PG* 91, 440-441.

Good Shepherd, using the language of Psalm 23 to describe the recipient's ability to lay him down in green pastures, that is to say, to redirect his mind toward godly things and away from the passions. He builds this metaphor by comparing the recipient with the Good Samaritan, again referring to spiritual guidance away from the passions as binding and cleansing his wounds.⁴⁷

Continuing the shepherd metaphor, Maximus refers to the first text which deserves closer attention. He urges the recipient to play his shepherd pipe, and to "bind, sympathetically, the one who has been torn by the many evil bites of the wolves of Arabia."⁴⁸ This passage is tantalizing, considering that it is contemporaneous with the increased Arab incursions into Palestine, and requires further investigation.

2. *The Wolves of Arabia and Earlier Associations*

As mentioned above, the phrase "the wolves of Arabia" appears twice in the Septuagint. Habakkuk 1:8 reads, regarding the army of the Chaldeans: "and his horses shall leap past leopards, even more swift than the wolves of Arabia."⁴⁹ Considering the fame of Arabian horses, it is tempting to associate the mention of horses with Maximus's context. However, it seems that this passage associates the wolves of Arabia with speed and ferocity, a standard metaphor. Three Greek commentaries on this passage survive from Theodoret of Cyrus, Theodore of Mopsuestia, and Cyril of Alexandria in the context of commentaries on the Minor Prophets.⁵⁰ Each of these commentaries simply remark on the ferocity of the Babylonian cavalry and do not appear to provide precedent for Maximus's own use of the phrase.

The second text, and perhaps most interesting for our purposes, is found in Zephaniah chapter 3. The context is the judgment of Jerusalem and the corruption of its officials, and the destruction that will come upon the city as a result. The verse in question reads: "Her rulers within her were as roaring lions, her judges as the wolves of Arabia; they did not remain until the morning."⁵¹ Unlike the Habakkuk passage, we find the wolves of Arabia

⁴⁷ PG 91, 441.

⁴⁸ PG 91, 444A, κατάδησον συμπαθῶς τὸν πολλοῖς διασπαραχθέντα δῆγμασι πονηροῖς τῶν λύκων τῆς Ἀραβίας. All translations, unless otherwise noted, are mine.

⁴⁹ καὶ ἐξαλοῦνται ὑπὲρ παρδάλεις οἱ ἵπποι αὐτοῦ καὶ ὀζυτέροι ὑπὲρ τοὺς λύκους τῆς Ἀραβίας.

⁵⁰ Theodoret of Cyrus, *Interpretatio in xii prophetas minores*, PG 81, 1813 (CPG 6208); H. N. SPRINGER (ed.), *Theodori Mopsuesteni commentarius in XII Prophetas*, Wiesbaden, 1977, proph. Hab. 1.8 (CPG 3834); P. E. PUSEY (ed.), *Sancti patris nostri Cyrilli archiepiscopi Alexandrini in xii prophetas*, Oxford, 1868, 2.79 (CPG 5204).

⁵¹ οἱ ἄρχοντες αὐτῆς ἐν αὐτῇ ὡς λέοντες ὠρυόμενοι οἱ κριταὶ αὐτῆς ὡς λύκοι τῆς Ἀραβίας, οὐχ ὑπελίποντο εἰς τὸ πρωί.

describe people, the corrupt judges of Jerusalem. Again we find commentary by Theodoret, Theodore, and Cyril, all of whom emphasize the cruelty of the rulers, and offer warning to those who take bribes or mistreat their subjects, none of which helps solve our mystery.⁵²

It is worth mentioning that, while not commenting on a particular text, Gregory of Nazianzus employs a cognate phrase in *Oratio* 28, describing those who do not approach theology in good faith. After comparing such a person to various beasts, Gregory compares such a person to “an Arabian or foreign wolf, or someone keener than these in rhetorical arguments”.⁵³ Here Gregory uses the “Arabian wolf”, a creature apparently known for its shrewd and deceptive qualities, as a metaphor for deceptive Christians who are not properly versed in theology. The term is used, among other animals, to refer to a human being, and is not immediately tied to a specific Septuagint reference.

Since neither Zephaniah nor Habakkuk mentions the “bites” of the wolves of Arabia, we cannot definitively say which passage Maximus is referencing. It is quite possible that he had both in mind, though considering Zephaniah’s personification of the “wolves of Arabia”, as well as reference to Jerusalem’s punishment, in context with the historical circumstances of the battle of Ajnadayn (634), it seems likely that this is the primary text that Maximus was addressing.

Maximus’s use of “the wolves of Arabia” and its association with non-Christian Arabs would not be without precedent. Writing in the middle of the sixth century, the Palestinian monastic writer Cyril of Scythopolis (d. 558) records the conversion of “a great number of Saracens, men, women and children”, in his *Life of Euthymius*. He narrates that after Euthymius catechized and baptized the converts, “these men, who had formerly been wolves of Arabia but had then joined the rational flock of Christ, begged to remain near him.”⁵⁴

As in *Epistula* 8, it is impossible to determine with certainty which verse Cyril is referencing. However, we see here a precedent for the application of the reference “wolves of Arabia” to non-Christian Arabs well before the Islamic period. No previous Greek commentator has connected these passages to the Saracens, preferring instead to refer to literal wolves to illustrate a larger point concerning either the Chaldean cavalry in Habakkuk or the

⁵² PG 81, 1853; SPRINGER (ed.), *commentarius in XII Prophetas*, Soph., 3.3b; PUSEY (ed.), *in xii prophetas*, 2.214.

⁵³ J. BARBEL (ed.), *Gregor von Nazianz. Die fünf theologischen Reden*, Düsseldorf, 1963, *De theologia* (Orat. 28) 28.2 (CPG 3020.28). εἴτε λύκος Ἀραβικὸς καὶ ἀλλόφυλος, ἢ καὶ τούτων ὀξύτερος τοῖς σοφίσμασιν.

⁵⁴ R.M. PRICE (trans.), *The Lives of the Monks of Palestine*, Kalamazoo, 1991, p. 20.

rapacity of the leaders of Jerusalem in Zephaniah. Even in the case of Gregory of Nazianzus, who uses a similar phrase to refer to humans, he does so by comparing such people to animals based on their actual qualities, rather than ethnicity. Moreover, considering Cyril's Palestinian context, this may be evidence of an established application of this epithet to non-Christian Arabs by the inhabitants of the Patriarchate of Jerusalem.

Returning now to the Confessor's own use of the phrase, Maximus provides an allegorical exegesis, as well as a rather complicated analogy to the Old Testament. First, he suggests that "Arabia" should be translated as "the West", and therefore "the flesh". Thus, he spiritualizes the biblical wolves as a moral threat, by which sin enters. He proceeds to explain that through the incarnation, Christ has overcome this enemy, and has "come in the flesh to save those who have perished in the flesh, and to destroy the wild beasts which have risen in it; and to make this a land of peace, and a pasture for his rational sheep."⁵⁵

Based on this information, we can make the following observations concerning the role of the "wolves of Arabia" in *Epistula* 8. First, Maximus's exegesis varies significantly from traditional patristic exegetes, spiritualizing where others have understood literal wolves to make a larger point. Maximus does so in reference to his own concerns, and although Maximus is known for repeating analogies, he only uses this phrase once, and goes to great lengths to explain the meaning, which is not apparent in itself. Perhaps Maximus here is attempting to address the concerns of his recipient that the "wolves of Arabia" of scripture and patristic tradition represent an actual human threat in light of the increasingly threatening posture of the advancing Arab armies. This seems to follow the Palestinian tradition witnessed in Cyril of Scythopolis of understanding the scriptural "wolves of Arabia" as an allegory for non-Christian Arabs. Maximus attempts to diffuse this understanding by offering an alternative, internal solution to external fears. By allegorizing the threat, and taking it upon himself while far removed from any physical Arab forces, he defuses an exegesis that would find biblical significance in the Arab advance.

The allegory is continued, comparing his own inability to reach this land of spiritual peace to the sons of Esau who dwell in Arabia, or the Israelites on the mountain of Sier, all of which are allegories of life in the flesh. He goes to note that through spiritual gnosis, God leads the true Israel into the land of Milk and Honey. This he suggests represents the patience of

⁵⁵ PG 91, 444. και ἐλθὼν ἐν σαρκὶ σῶσαι τοὺς ἀπολομένους, καὶ τοὺς ἐντρεφομένους αὐτῇ πονηροῦς ἀποκτεῖναι θῆρας, καὶ ποιῆσαι αὐτὴν χώραν εἰρήνης, καὶ λογικῶν προβάτων νομὴν ...

God, saying that “the Lord is nourishing to each of those who are as babes, and is cheerful with those who are becoming mature, as he rears up those who fear him in virtues through action, as with milk, and sweetens with mystical knowledge, just as honey, through spiritual contemplation, those who love him.”⁵⁶

After this, the conclusion, which includes the “new” ending, begins. He asks his recipient to continue to shepherd him, again spiritualizing the threat. He then proceeds to lay out his desire to return from exile, presumably from North Africa. He expresses a desire for a safe return, qualifying “if indeed all fear of physical barbarians departs, on account of whom I travelled so great a distance by sea, as one who loves life; for this reason, I beseech your most holy self, with a prayerful indication of your encouragement which radiates from God, to demonstrate this more clearly.” He proceeds to decry his own cowardice and lack of knowledge of divine providence, all of which prevent him from returning, fearing that if he is caught he will become like a “deserter” (λειποτάκτης).⁵⁷

It is immediately after this that the new ending is inserted, which relates the forced baptism as carried out by the Eparch of North Africa on Pentecost, during “this present fifth indiction” (τῆς ἐνεστώσης πέμπτης ἐπινεμήσεως).⁵⁸ As this has been discussed thoroughly elsewhere, I will only draw attention again to the response of Maximus, found as follows:

I am concerned first lest this great and truly divine mystery be desecrated by being presented to those who have not been proven in faith as an agreeable doctrine. Secondly, I am anxious lest danger somehow come upon their soul – for from their depths they retain the bitter root of their ancestral faithlessness and thus cut themselves off from the light of grace – and lest having sunk more deeply into the darkness of unbelief they become subject to a condemnation many times greater. Thirdly, I suspect the apostasy predicted by the Apostle (cf. 2 Thessalonians 2:3), and I am fearful lest it begin through intermingling of these and the faithful people, through which they will be able to spread the evil seed of the stumbling-blocks against our holy faith among those who are most simple, and there appear that manifest and undisputed sign of the end, discussed by all; according to this, they expect great temptations and struggles for the sake of the truth, for which they prepare themselves by prayers, entreaties, by many tears, and by seeking paths toward righteousness.⁵⁹

⁵⁶ PG 91, 444C. Θρεπτικός γὰρ τῶν κατ’αὐτῶν νηπιαζόντων, καὶ εὐφραντικός ὑπάρχει τῶν κατ’ αὐτὸν ἀνδριζομένων ὁ Κύριος, ὡς ἀρεταῖς ἐκτρέφων διὰ πράξεως, καθάπερ γάλακτι, τοὺς φοβουμένους αὐτὸν, καὶ γνώσεσι καταγλυκσίτων μυστικαῖς, καθάπερ μέλιτι διὰ θεωρίας πνευματικῆς, τοὺς ἀγαπῶντας αὐτόν.

⁵⁷ PG 91, 445D.

⁵⁸ DEVREESSE, *La fin inédite* [see n. 1], p. 34.

⁵⁹ *Ibidem*, p. 34. Δέδοικα γὰρ πρῶτον μὲν μή πως καθυβρισθῆ τὸ μέγα τοῦτο καὶ θεῖον ὄντως μυστήριον δοθὲν τοῖς μὴ προεπιδειξαμένοις τῇ πίστει γνώμην ἀρμόδιον. Δεύτερον δὲ καὶ αὐτῶν ἐκείνων ἐννοῶ τὸν εἰς ψυχὴν κίνδυνον μή πως – τὴν πικρὰν

There are a few observations worth noting here, some of which have been mentioned before. First, Maximus' concerns for the mingling of weak, newly converted Christians with the rest seems out of line with his previous discussion of the patience of God, who nourishes the weak with milk and feeds the strong with honey. Such a God seems prepared to adapt to a sudden influx of unprepared converts, likewise the desecration of the sacraments.

The apocalyptic fears regarding 2 Thessalonians and the mass revolt or apostasy which would indicate the end times is in line with apocalyptic trends in Byzantine literature at the time. However, it seems strange that in one part of his letter Maximus would attempt to blunt apocalyptic fears in the case of Palestine and the "wolves of Arabia", while simultaneously promoting an apocalyptic vision of his own. Even if we dismiss any apocalyptic significance to the wolves, the "ending" enters the scene abruptly. If, for a moment, we accept the ending as original, Maximus passes from expressing his longing to return after the threat of barbarians has passed, to a sudden news report about the forced baptism. He then proceeds with a request for prayers from the recipient, all of which are in line with the body of the letter.

3. Relationship to Maximus's Epistolary Corpus

Jankowiak and Booth have recently noted that *Epistula* 8 bears stylistic similarities to several letters by Maximus. Similarities include the recurring theme of presence and absence in many of his letters written in exile, and the use of pastoral language in *Epistulae* 28 and 29 to the bishop Curisicius and *Epistulae* 30 and 31 to the bishop John.⁶⁰ In fact, in *Epistula* 20 Maximus mentions wolves, though not the wolves of Arabia, and urges his recipient to take up his shepherd's pipe of teaching (*διδασκαλίας τὸν δόνακα*),

ρίζαν τῆς πατρικῆς αὐτῶν ἀπιστίας κατὰ τὸ βάθος διέμειναν ἔχοντες, καὶ τὸ [μὲν] τῆς χάριτος φῶς ἑαυτοῖς ὑποτέμνουσι – τὴν [δὲ] κατάκρισιν πολλαπλασίουνα καταστήσωσι τῷ ζῴῳ συναυξηθεῖσαν τῆς ἀπιστίας. Καὶ τρίτον τὴν κατὰ τὸν ἅγιον ἀπόστολον προσδοκωμένην ἀποστασίαν ὑφορᾶμαι μὴ πως ἀρχὴν λάβη τὴν τούτων πρὸς πιστοὺς λαοὺς ἐπιμιξίαν, δι' ἧς ἀνύποπτον ἐν τοῖς ἀφελεστέροις ποιῆσθαι δυνήσονται τὴν κατὰ τῆς ἀγίας ἡμῶν πίστεως πονηρὰν τῶν σκανδάλων σποράν, καὶ εὖρεθῆ τοῦτο σημεῖον φανερόν καὶ ἀναμφήριστον τῆς θρυλλουμένης τοῦ παντὸς συντελείας καθ' ἣν τοὺς ὑπερ τῆς ἀληθείας μεγάλους πειρασμοὺς καὶ ἀγῶνας προσδοκῶσιν οἱ δι' εὐχῶν καὶ δεήσεως καὶ δακρύων πολλῶν καὶ τῶν πρὸς δικαιοσύνην ἐξευρημένων τρόπων ἑαυτοὺς ἐτοιμάζοντες.

⁶⁰ JANKOWIAK – BOOTH, *A New Date-List* [see n. 26], pp. 40-42. *Epistula* 28 = PG 91 (CPG 7699.28), 620C-621B; *Epistula* 29 = PG 91, 621C-624A (CPG 7699.29); *Epistula* 30 = PG 91, 624A-D (CPG 7699.30); *Epistula* 31 = PG 91, 624D-625D (CPG 7699.31).

a rare phrase that to my knowledge only occurs again in *Epistula* 8.⁶¹ What is more, these four letters also speak of displacement and threats of unnamed enemies. These similarities have led Jankowiak and Booth to use the date provided by *Epistula* 8 to establish a chronology for the remaining letters, namely between 626-632.

The corpus of Maximus the Confessor, in many ways, is replete with clichés, many of which are unique to Maximus. Therefore, it is no surprise to find that several personal letters share common features. Indeed, the fact that we know with some certainty that *Epistulae* 29-31 were written to bishops lends credence to idea that the intended recipient of *Epistula* 8 was also a bishop. However, any argument based on similarity, which asserts that *Epistula* 8 is too early to refer to the Arab invasions based on the chronology of these letters is a circular one. In fact, if the ending of *Epistula* 8 is removed from consideration, all subsequent dating of the remaining letters, none of which contains its own date, becomes open to question.

ANALYSIS

1. *Summary of the Evidence*

Having evaluated the structure of the text, the manuscript tradition, and the place of *Epistula* 8 in the epistolary corpus of Maximus the Confessor, we can now evaluate the evidence and attempt to answer both questions posed at the beginning, namely the identity of the recipient and whether the text is a single or composite document. The letter gives only a few clues as to the recipient's identity. Critical information, such as topographical references, is missing. Maximus refers to the recipient as his spiritual patron, and though the first half of the letter expounds on the benefits of a "spiritual" bond that transcends location, he expresses a longing to be reunited once the danger from which he has fled has passed. Moreover, he describes the recipient as a good shepherd, metaphorically using the language of Psalm 23 to praise him, and addresses the recipient as "most holy" or "most honourable father(s)". These titles, coupled with pastoral imagery indicate that the recipient was most likely a bishop. This is corroborated by similar language used in other letters, whose recipients are known to be bishops. The forced

⁶¹ PG 91, 621C5-D1. JANKOWIAK – BOOTH, *A New Date-List* [see n. 26], p. 42 translate διδασκαλίας τὸν δόνακα as "rod of teaching". However, I prefer the definition given in *LSJ*, s.v. "δόναξ" II.2, "shepherd's pipe", considering Maximus's use of pastoral language. Moreover, Maximus says elsewhere in *Epistula* 8 that his recipient calls "wisely with rod and staff" (ῥάβδῳ καὶ βακτηρίᾳ).

baptism dates to “Pentecost of this *current* fifth indiction”, which can be calculated to 31 May 632, meaning that the ending of the letter was composed before September 632. Thus, if we accept that the letter was addressed to a bishop and that the ending belongs to the letter, Sophronius, who was not elevated to the Patriarchate until 634, could not be the recipient.

As if two enigmas were not enough, Maximus begs his shepherd to bring back and bind him who had been “torn apart by the many bites of the wolves of Arabia”. Giving no indication as to what provoked him to make this reference, one that to my knowledge receives no Byzantine commentary elsewhere in the seventh century, Maximus offers a spiritual exegesis, suggesting that Arabia refers to the West, and that the West refers to temptations of the flesh.

Leaving aside questions of the recipient, this passage raises several questions of its own. The chronological proximity of this text to the rise of Islam is startling. If we accept the date given by the ending (i.e. May to August 632), it precedes the battle of Ajnadayn, the first Byzantine defeat at the hands of Arab invaders, by two years. If this is a coincidence, it would be uncanny indeed, and would raise the question as to why Maximus chose this odd phrase and felt the need to offer a spiritual exegesis. Moreover, Maximus offers assurance that God has “seen our danger”, “has aroused his power”, and has come to “save those who have perished and destroy the wicked beasts which have been raised in this land, and make this a land of peace and a pasture for his rational sheep.” Evoking divine deliverance is something that is done in the face of peril, and it seems unlikely that Arab raids, which had been occurring well before Muhammad, would be enough to trigger this response.

Based on this information the presence of the long ending in the best manuscript tradition is not conclusive in light of other factors to determine the ending’s relationship to the larger letter. Moreover, considering the confused nature of the inscription, scribal error cannot be dismissed outright. As we have seen above, Bart Janssens has suggested that half of the manuscript tradition contains a contaminated text.⁶²

It has been argued, based on precedent and the multiple inscriptions that Maximus customized the letter for two different recipients, composing a version intended for Sophronius, and another for Jordanes.⁶³ However, as was observed above, internal evidence suggests that the ending is out of place. It appears as a jarring report after an otherwise seamless discussion of a desire to return from North Africa once the danger of barbarians has

⁶² See n. 20 above.

⁶³ JANKOWIAK – BOOTH, *A New Date-List* [see n. 26], p. 41.

passed, and is followed by a prayer request without any transition. This request would, however, follow logically after sentiments of praise and longing. Moreover, this double recipient theory would require, considering the pastoral imagery and episcopal address, Jordanes to be a previously unknown bishop. Finally, the reference to conflict and the "wolves of Arabia" would require him to be of Palestinian extraction, and if the date of the ending is accepted, the episcopal language would not be compatible with Sophronius, as it would predate his elevation to the patriarchate.

2. *A Two-Document Solution*

So what are we to do? If the date given is accepted, we could conclude that Maximus wrote a letter to an unknown bishop, who was not Sophronius, which, by a prophetic coincidence, includes a reference to "wolves of Arabia" having nothing to do with the rising followers of Islam; or we can argue that between May and September 632, an Arab raid of significance happened in the land of this unknown bishop that is not attested elsewhere. Or perhaps there is a third answer.

Perhaps instead of solving the mystery by the date given, we should dismiss the date altogether. Every trouble with the letter can be explained if we treat the new ending as a separate document. While this may seem on the surface to be an exercise of convenience or destroying difficult evidence for the sake of problem resolution, manuscript and internal evidence suggest that this is a reasonable solution.

The question remains as to the implications of this conclusion. We argue that what has hitherto been accepted as a single document is, in fact, a composite of two separate documents. These can be divided into "Document A", the letter with the short ending, and "Document B", the fragment which was interposed as a longer ending to Document A. Document B is likely a fragment of an otherwise lost letter of Maximus, perhaps even originally addressed to Jordanes or John, thus accounting for the confused inscriptions, though this cannot be established for certain with currently known evidence.

Having removed the ending from consideration, we can create a better picture of circumstances of *Epistula* 8, or Document A. First, I would suggest that the recipient is indeed Sophronius, and that it was written shortly after his elevation to the patriarchate. Removing the ending from consideration eliminates Sherwood's concern that Sophronius would have been travelling in Africa at the time. This would also explain the episcopal language, and the close friendship apparent in the letter. Moreover, it was written perhaps in wake of Ajnadayn, in July 634, the battle which saw the tides of

war shift in favour of the Arabs, or shortly thereafter.⁶⁴ Eliminating the ending neutralizes Laga's protest that the letter was written too soon to refer to any Arab threat. The Arab victory at Ajnadayn signalled the beginning of the end of Byzantine Palestine and Sophronius would lament loss of Bethlehem on Christmas that same year.

Considering the letter in the wake of Sophronius' elevation and the battle of Ajnadayn illuminates the fears expressed in the letter, as well as Maximus' optimistic tone. It explains why he would urge the Shepherd to bind the wounds inflicted by the "wolves of Arabia", an idiomatic epithet current in Palestine, and Maximus's longing for the removal of the "barbarian threat", which would not make sense in 632 when the Persians had been soundly defeated and the Arabs were merely a nuisance. Moreover, Maximus's optimism over God's deliverance, which would disappear only a few years later, makes sense in light of a defeat that, while major, had not yet resulted in the loss of Jerusalem.

CONCLUSION

As has been demonstrated, *Epistula* 8 presents a number of difficulties, which are exacerbated if the fragment of 632 is a formerly lost ending. However, these problems disappear if *Epistula* 8 as preserved in Document A, and Document B, which has been considered to be a recovered ending, is understood to be two different documents whose association in two manuscripts is the result of a scribal error. Both documents remain critical pieces of evidence for the interpretation of seventh-century Byzantine history. Document A provides an early example of early Byzantine reactions to the rising threat of Arab invasion, and considered as such will further illuminate the way in which historians understand early encounters between Byzantines and the Arab invaders. Document B remains an important witness to the forced baptism of the Jews by Heraclius.

Furthermore, this conclusion bears significant implications for our present chronology of Maximus's epistolary corpus. Hitherto, the assumption of a unified *Epistula* 8 and the date provided by Document B has provided the foundation for dating several letters that share common features with Document A. Removing this date from consideration will require a reconsideration of this chronology, and perhaps the currently held timeline of Maximus's life, which is already difficult to establish. Moreover, the numerous mentions of conflicts and enemy invasions mentioned in these letters,

⁶⁴ KAEGI, *Byzantium* [see n. 4], p. 67.

which have so far confused scholars considering their dating after the Persians and Avars posed any threat, may warrant consideration in light of the earliest stages of the Islamic conquest.

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SUMMARY

This article argues, based on internal evidence, that *Epistula* 8 by Maximus the Confessor, traditionally understood as a unified letter, is best understood as a composite of two documents, a longer letter and a shorter fragment. As a result, questions of dating and historical context, including the relationship between Maximus’s reference to the Septuagint phrase “wolves of Arabia” and the nascent Islamic invasions, are reconsidered.

ON THE ALLEGED ARAB DESTRUCTION OF THE COLOSSUS OF RHODES C. 653

Theophilus of Edessa composed a chronicle covering the period c. 590-754, and while his work does not itself survive, it is generally agreed that Theophanes the Confessor (d. 818), Agapius of Hierapolis (wr. 940s), Michael the Syrian (d. 1199), and the so-called anonymous chronicler of 1234 derive much of their information about this period from his work ultimately.¹ It ought to prove possible, therefore, to recover much of what Theophilus originally wrote by comparing and contrasting what these four sources have to say about any particular event. However, the fact that Theophilus preserved a certain story or allegation does not necessarily make it true, particularly when it relates to an event that had occurred long before he was writing in the 750s or later. Conrad analysed the various witnesses to Theophilus' account of the Arab capture of Rhodes in c. 653 to conclude that the Arabs did not in fact destroy the famous Colossus then, despite Theophilus' apparent allegation that they did, and proceeded to explain Theophilus' error on the basis that he misunderstood an apocalyptic metaphor, based on the biblical account of the dream of King Nebuchadnezzar of Babylon, which he took literally in reference to the famous Colossus of Rhodes.² The purpose of this note is to advance an alternative

¹ See e.g. R. G. HOYLAND, *Theophilus of Edessa's Chronicle and the Circulation of Historical Knowledge in Late Antiquity and Early Islam (Translated Texts for Historians, 57)*, Liverpool, 2011, pp. 7-19; J. HOWARD-JOHNSTON, *Witnesses to a World Crisis: Historians and Histories of the Middle East in the Seventh Century*, Oxford, 2010, pp. 194-99.

² L. I. CONRAD, *The Arabs and the Colossus*, in *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, series 3, 6 (1996), pp. 165-87. For King Nebuchadnezzar's dream, see Daniel 2. Some have accepted Conrad's explanation. See e.g. M. GREENHALGH, *Marble Past, Monumental Present: Building with Antiquities in the Mediaeval Mediterranean (The Medieval Mediterranean, 80)*, Leiden, 2009, p. 21. Others have signified disagreement, but have not argued the case. See e.g. M. McCORMICK, *Origins of the European Economy: Communications and Commerce AD300-900*, Cambridge, 2001, p. 52; W. E. KAEGI, in *BZ*, 90 (1997), p. 568, arguing that Conrad's "conclusions will still need rigorous testing before any final and conclusive acceptance of them in their present form", and that they are "important but not definitive". Others accept his arguments that the Arabs cannot have destroyed the Colossus, but remain silent as to where they stand on his explanation of the origin of this story. See e.g. C. E. BOSWORTH, *Arab Attacks on Rhodes in the pre-Ottoman Period*, in Y. Y. AL-HIJJJI – V. CHRISTIDES (eds), *Aspects of Arab Seafaring: An Attempt to Fill-In the Gaps of Maritime History*, Athens, 2002, pp. 63-74, at 67-68. HOWARD-JOHNSTON, *Witnesses to a World Crisis*, refers at one point to "the supposed melting down of the Colossus of Rhodes" (pp. 221), but does not otherwise acknowledge Conrad's argument for the origin of this story.

explanation of the origin of Theophilus' claim that the Arabs destroyed the Colossus on Rhodes.

One must begin by comparing the key sources once more in order to establish what Theophilus probably said. Theophanes preserves a brief report as follows:

In this year Mavias took Rhodes and cast down the Colossus of Rhodes 1,360 years after its erection. It was bought by a Jewish merchant of Edessa, who loaded the bronze on 900 camels.³

Agapius preserves a somewhat longer account:

Then Mu'awiya sent forces to the island of Rhodes. They captured it, organized administrative affairs there, and made it an observation post for the Arabs. On [the island] there was an idol (ṣanam), 360 years having passed since it had been erected. It was 50 cubits tall. The Arabs removed it and threw it into the sea. This was in year eight of 'Uthman.⁴

Michael the Syrian preserves a longer account again:

[The Saracens] went to Rhodes and devastated it. The bronze Colossus – a fine monument and a work considered one of the great wonders of the world – this they set out to demolish in order to take the bronze. It was made of Corinthian bronze and was posed as a standing man. When they set fire [to it] from below, they saw that it was fastened with huge bolts of iron to stones set in the ground. Many men pulled on it with great cables, and all of a sudden it tipped over and fell to the ground. Its height, they say, was 107 feet: it came to 3000 loads of bronze, and this bronze was purchased by a Jew from the town of Emesa.⁵

Finally, although the chronicler of 1234 does not record the Arab capture of Rhodes c. 653 as such, there is a fourth witness in this case also. Constantine Porphyrogenitus (wr. c. 952) preserves an account of the alleged Arab destruction of the Colossus which he attributes to Theophanes, but which clearly does not depend directly on Theophanes' account alone, because it contains a great deal of other information also:

When he came to Rhodes he pulled down the Colossus that stood in it. It was a brazen statue of the sun, gilded from head to foot, 80 cubits in height and broad in proportion, as witness the inscription written on the base of its feet, running like this:

The Rhodian Colossus, eight times ten
Cubits in height, Laches of Lindos made.

³ Translation from C. MANGO – R. SCOTT, *The Chronicle of Theophanes Confessor: Byzantine and Near Eastern History AD284-813*, Oxford, 1997, p. 481.

⁴ Translation from CONRAD, *The Arabs and the Colossus*, p. 169.

⁵ *Ibidem*, p. 167.

He took the bronze of it and carried it over into Syria, and put it up for sale to any who wanted it; and a Hebrew of Edessa bought it and brought it up from the sea laden on 980 camels.⁶

As Conrad recognises, Porphyrogenitus probably derived the alleged inscription from an anthology of Greek poetry wherein it was falsely ascribed to the famous Greek poet Simonides.⁷ He then draws attention to the consistency between Porphyrogenitus's allegation that the statue was gilded from head to foot and the claim by Michael the Syrian that it was made of Corinthian bronze, an alloy of copper with silver and gold, to argue that Porphyrogenitus must have used the same extended Greek version of Theophilus of Edessa that Theophanes had used as his main source for this event, mistakenly ascribing it to Theophanes also because of the similarity between the two texts.⁸

Conrad compares and contrasts these sources to conclude that Agapius replaced nearly everything that he had learned from Theophilus concerning the alleged Arab destruction of the Colossus with a historically unreliable Arab-Muslim tradition instead.⁹ Unfortunately, however, his arguments here contain several errors or false assumptions that cannot be allowed to stand. For example, he assumes that Agapius refers to a long-term Arab occupation of Rhodes, and then points to the evidence against such an occupation, the facts that it was still an important Byzantine military staging point in 715, and was able to repel an Arab fleet in 808, to prove the error of such a claim.¹⁰ Yet Agapius does not actually say anything that requires a long-term Arab occupation of Rhodes. One may still need to "organize administrative affairs", whatever exactly is meant by this, even for a relatively brief occupation of several months or thereabouts. Again, he objects to Agapius' claim that the Arabs used Rhodes as an observation post because this is a recurrent and baseless theme among Islamic conquest narratives, and argues that its possession of such material proves that Agapius' account must derive

⁶ Constantinus Porphyrogenitus, *De administrando imperio* 21.56-65. Translation from G. MORAVCSIK and R. J. H. JENKINS, *Constantine Porphyrogenitus: De Administrando Imperio* (CFHB, 1), Washington, D.C., 1967, p. 89. Porphyrogenitus also preserves a much shorter account of the alleged destruction of the Colossus at *De administrando imperio* 20.7-10, which does directly copy Theophanes' account.

⁷ *Anthologia Palatina* 16.82, W. R. PATON, *The Greek Anthology, V: Books XIII-XVI* (Loeb Classical Library, 86), Cambridge, Mass., 1918, pp. 202-203.

⁸ CONRAD, *The Arabs and the Colossus*, pp. 171-72. In agreement, see also HOWARD-JOHNSTON, *Witnesses to a World Crisis*, pp. 218, 222, 230.

⁹ CONRAD, *The Arabs and the Colossus*, p. 173.

¹⁰ Nicephorus, *Breviarium Historicum* 50 (ed. C. MANGO, *Nikephoros, Patriarch of Constantinople, Short History: Text, Translation and Commentary* [CFHB, 13], Washington, D.C., 1990); Theophanes, *Anni mundi 6095-6305, 6300* (ed. C. DE BOOR, *Theophanis Chronographia*, 2 v., Leipzig, 1883-1885).

from a similar Arab-Muslim tradition. However, the fact that Islamic conquest narratives contain many baseless claims about the establishment of Arab observation posts does not mean that they never actually established such posts. What matters here is the consistency of the allegation within Agapius', or rather Theophilus' broader account of events, rather than any superficial similarity with baseless tales within the wider Arab-Muslim historical tradition. The key point here, therefore, is that it is entirely consistent with what is known about the wider course of events at the time that the Arabs should have occupied Rhodes for several months at least in support of their wide-ranging attacks upon the southern and south-western coasts of Asia Minor culminating in the battle of Phoenix c. 655.¹¹ Next, Conrad argues that the fact that Agapius refers to the colossus as an "idol" (*ḡanam*) proves that he must have been using an Arab-Muslim tradition because, as he claims, Greek and Syriac accounts never use such "judgemental terminology". However, one may argue against this that Agapius may have been expressing his own disgust here at the nature of the Colossus. After all, he was a Christian and, as such, may have been as equally disgusted as any Muslim at the thought of a huge statue of a pagan god. Alternatively, he may simply have been trying to explain the extraordinary action of the Arabs in casting the valuable metal from this statue into the sea rather than keeping it as war-booty to be sold at a profit later, the implication being that they did this in disgust at its idolatrous nature.

Finally, Conrad also argues that the claim that the Arabs threw the statue into the sea is "totally irreconcilable" with what all the other witnesses to Theophilus have to say about what happened, that its metal was sold to a Jewish merchant, so proving that this material must have derived from some other source. On the contrary, however, it is arguable that this statement actually provides the main proof that Agapius derived this material from the same ultimate source as did Porphyrogenitus, Theophilus of Edessa as Conrad himself accepts. The key point here is that Porphyrogenitus says of the Jewish merchant's acquisition of this metal that he loaded it upon his camels "from the sea" (*ἐπιφορτώσας αὐτὸν ἀπὸ θαλάσσης καμήλους*). What

¹¹ If one believes that the Arabs managed to attack Constantinople itself in 654, then it makes excellent sense that they should have established a support base on Rhodes. See e.g. S. O'SULLIVAN, *Sebeos' account of an Arab attack on Constantinople in 654*, in *BMGS*, 28 (2004), pp. 67-88. However, it still makes good sense in the context of the wider events leading to the battle of Phoenix, not least the attacks upon Cos and Crete as described by Michael the Syrian, even if one does not accept the historicity of an Arab attack upon Constantinople in 654 (and I do not, for reasons which are too complex to explain here). On the traditional understanding of the battle of Phoenix, see A. N. STRATOS, *The Naval Engagement at Phoenix*, in A. E. LAIOU-THOMADAKIS (ed), *Charanis Studies: Essays in Honor of Peter Charanis*, New Brunswick, 1980, pp. 229-47.

Porphyrogenitus surely intended to be understood here is that the merchant transferred the metal from the ships floating at dock to his camels. However, the same phrase could easily be misunderstood to mean that he had brought it up from within the sea itself. This then raises the question as to how it had ended up in the sea in the first place, the obvious assumption being that the Arabs must have thrown it in there. It is arguable, therefore, that Agapius' statement that the Arabs threw the statue into the sea represents a careless reading of a statement, much as preserved by Porphyrogenitus, that the Jewish merchant had loaded his camels with bronze "from the sea", proving thereby that they derive their material from the same ultimate source.

For these reasons, therefore, it better fits the evidence as a whole in this case, and is more consistent with Agapius' general methodology also, according to which he preserves "very little information for the years 630-750s that is not drawn from Theophilus of Edessa", that he should have derived his material on the Arab capture of Rhodes from Theophilus of Edessa rather than some Muslim-Arab tradition.¹² While the acceptance of this fact does not substantially change one's understanding of what Theophilus seems to have written on this matter, it does raise important methodological issues as to how one proceeds to reconstruct his original account in more detail. Clearly, if all or most of the witnesses to his text agree on a certain detail, then the probability is that his text originally contained such a detail. So, if three of the four key witnesses above agree that a Jewish merchant bought the scrap-metal from the Colossus, it is probable that Theophilus' original text did contain some statement to this effect. However, the matter is much more problematic when only one of the key witnesses preserves a particular detail, as in the claim by Agapius that the Arabs turned Rhodes into an observation post. Tempting as it may be to dismiss such a detail, such hyper-caution may prove seriously misleading. No two authors need abbreviate their common source in the same way, and the greater the abbreviation displayed by any group of witnesses to a source, the less likely they are to preserve common elements of this source. In this case, therefore, two basic tests should apply. First, does the detail preserved by one witness alone contradict information preserved by any of the other witnesses? Second, if this detail does not contradict information preserved by the other witnesses, is it plausible and consistent with the overall narrative and not just the immediate event being discussed? In this particular case, Agapius' claim that the Arabs turned Rhodes into an observation post does

¹² HOYLAND, *Theophilus of Edessa's Chronicle*, p. 14, n. 50, although, following Conrad, he includes Agapius' account of the capture of Rhodes among this "very little information" that Agapius may have derived from a Muslim source rather than from Theophilus.

not contradict the evidence of any of the other three witnesses – Theophanes, Porphyrogenitus, and Michael the Syrian – and it is plausible and consistent with the overall narrative, so there is no good reason to reject it.

If one may now attempt to reconstruct Theophilus' account of the Arab capture of Rhodes, it seems to have run something like as follows: the Arabs captured Rhodes, turned it into an observation post, and pulled down and destroyed the Colossus there either 1360 or 360 years after its erection. They then sailed back to Arab territory, and sold the scrap bronze at their port of landing to a Jewish merchant from either Edessa or Emesa who removed it upon either 900 or 980 camels. There is still much room for uncertainty about certain details because of the potential for corruption particularly when numerals are involved. However, the real problem here lies not so much in these individual details as in the larger claim that the Arabs were able to destroy the Colossus. In reality, as Conrad has ably highlighted, the Colossus ought to have been destroyed long before the seventh century, and every portion of its bronze frame removed for other purposes. The most that may have remained of it were the foundations and portions of the stone pylons that had supported it from within. Therefore, Theophilus' claim that the Arabs destroyed the Colossus is almost certainly false. The question next becomes who invented this tale and why. Conrad does not even entertain the possibility that Theophilus himself had invented this tale, and one can understand why. The witnesses to Theophilus' text do not provide any hint that he placed any more importance on this event than any other event in his description of the Arab conquests at this period. There was no obvious attempt to moralise about the potential symbolism of this destruction of one of the former wonders of the Greco-Roman world, and no sign that he understood this destruction other than in an entirely literal fashion. This leaves two possibilities, therefore, either that he seriously misunderstood some source to refer to an alleged Arab destruction of the Colossus, or that he correctly understood a very poor source. Conrad only considers the first possibility.

Conrad's argument that Theophilus has misunderstood some source containing an apocalyptic metaphor based on the biblical account of the dream of King Nebuchadnezzar of Babylon suffers from several serious weaknesses. The first, and most obvious, weakness is that it is difficult to understand how a man of Theophilus' obvious sophistication and intelligence could have made such a mistake. The second major weakness is that there is very little real similarity between the statue as dreamed of by King Nebuchadnezzar and the statue, or Colossus, as apparently described by Theophilus. The statue as dreamed of by Nebuchadnezzar had a head of gold, chest and arms of silver, waist and hips of bronze, legs of iron, and feet of iron

mixed with clay, all of which Conrad glosses over in a vague reference to a “brilliantly shining statue”.¹³ In contrast, Theophilus seems to have described a statue formed of the same metal throughout, bronze. Next, in Nebuchadnezzar’s dream the statue was destroyed by single great stone that launched itself against it without being touched by hand, whereas Theophilus clearly described the involvement of numerous men in the destruction of the Colossus. In fact, the only similarity between the dream of Nebuchadnezzar and the destruction of the Colossus as described by Theophilus is that they both involve the destruction of a giant statue, but this is very little evidence upon which to try and connect these events. Finally, one should note that while the book of Daniel certainly played an important role in apocalyptic fictions of the seventh century, relatively little attention was paid to the statue within Nebuchadnezzar’s dream as such, although Daniel’s explanation that the sections of metals of descending value symbolised a succession of four empires remained important, and it is difficult to imagine how or why anyone should have developed upon the statue itself in the way that Conrad’s thesis seems to require.¹⁴

The second possibility, that Theophilus has correctly understood a very poor source does not seem to have received any serious attention at all. One may start with the specific allegation that the bronze from the Colossus was bought by a merchant from either Edessa or Emesa. This suggests that the story of the Arab destruction of the Colossus may have originated in one of these towns. Certainly, there is no good reason why a merchant from either may not have bought scrap bronze from the booty of a returning Arab fleet in the hope of re-selling it at a profit in his native town. Conrad argues that the name of the town should actually read Emesa, that Michael the Syrian is more likely than either Theophanes or Porphyrogenitus to have preserved the correct form of the name because it is difficult to confuse them in Syriac, while this is a relatively simple error in Greek.¹⁵ To this one may add that Emesa is actually far nearer to the coast than Edessa, and far nearer that section of coast to which most of the Syrian Arab fleet would presumably have returned, that containing ports such as Tripolis, Sidon, and Tyre. As to what this metal may have been used for subsequently, much of it could have

¹³ Daniel 2: 32; CONRAD, *The Arabs and the Colossus*, p. 182.

¹⁴ One notes that the author of the most popular of all apocalypses, the so-called *Apocalypse of Pseudo-Methodius*, whose composition is usually dated c. 690, does not mention the statue at all. See B. GARSTAD, *Apocalypse Pseudo-Methodius; An Alexandrian World Chronicle (Dumbarton Oaks Medieval Library, 14)*, Cambridge, Mass., 2012, pp. 1-140. An earlier text, the Syriac Apocalypse of Daniel, mentions it only in passing. See M. HENZE, *The Syriac Apocalypse of Daniel: Introduction, Text, and Commentary (Studien und Texte zu Antike und Christentum, 11)*, Tübingen, 2001, p. 67.

¹⁵ CONRAD, *The Arabs and the Colossus*, p. 172.

been used to refurbish churches whose railings, lamps, doors and other equipment may have been plundered either during the Persian invasion and occupation or the subsequent Muslim invasion and occupation.¹⁶ Some of it could also have been used in mosques, Umayyad palaces, or official buildings, or, indeed, in the production of coinage.¹⁷ The important point is that, given its high value and the nature of its traditional use, much of this bronze was probably used in major public buildings where it would have remained untouched for decades, if not centuries even. As time passed, the better pieces of bronze workmanship may have attracted speculation concerning their origin. The knowledge that the bronze had been bought by a merchant who had himself purchased it from an Arab fleet returning from afar afield as Rhodes may then have encouraged speculation that this bronze was from the famous Colossus of Rhodes. Alternatively, the merchant may even have made this claim himself as he tried to stir up interest in his product and hawk it for the best possible price.

This raises the question as to where this bronze may have come from in the first place, if not the Colossus on Rhodes, and the answer is from the various urban centres plundered by the Arabs as they struck the islands and coasts of southern Asia Minor, from the churches and other civic-buildings, their statues, crosses, doors and other adornments. Since Constans II did not hesitate to strip Rome of its bronze adornments upon his visit there in 663, including the roof-tiles of the Pantheon even, presumably to adorn his intended new capital in Syracuse rather than Constantinople itself, despite what the sources say, one does not doubt that the Arab raiders proved equally greedy as they struck across southern Asia Minor.¹⁸ A key point to remember here is that the introduction of naval raiding by the Arabs from

¹⁶ See e.g. Adomnán, *De locis sanctis* 1.23.6 (ed. D. MEEHAN, *Adamnan's De Locis Sanctis* [*Scriptores Latini Hiberniae*, 3], Dublin, 1983) and Hugeburc, *Vita Willibaldi* 98.14 (ed. O. HOLDER-EGGER, in *Monumenta Germaniae Historica: Scriptores [in Folio]*, 15.1, Hanover, 1887, pp. 86-117) on the bronze railings in the Church of the Ascension on the Mount of Olives outside Jerusalem as refurbished by the mid-seventh century.

¹⁷ One notes that Byzantine coinage in bronze continued to be imported into Umayyad Syria in large quantities until c. 650, after which the quantities imported declined to almost nothing by c. 658. See M. PHILLIPS, *The Import of Byzantine Coins to Syria Revisited*, in T. GOODWIN (ed.), *Arab-Byzantine Coins and History*, London, 2012, pp. 39-72. It is possible that a sudden influx of scrap bronze into Syria c. 654 may have played some part in kick-starting the local production of so-called Arab-Byzantine coinage of the Pseudo-Byzantine phase, so reducing the need to import official Byzantine coinage, however that had been managed. In general, see S. ALBUM – T. GOODWIN, *Sylloge of Islamic Coins in the Ashmolean, 1: The Pre-Reform Coinage of the Early Islamic Period*, Oxford, 2002, esp. pp. 105-07.

¹⁸ Paulus Diaconus, *Historia Langobardorum* 5.11 (ed. L. K. BETHMANN – G. Waitz, in *Monumenta Germaniae Historica: Scriptores rerum Langobardicarum et Italicarum saec. vi-ix*, Hanover, 1878, pp. 45-192). In general, see P. CORSI, *La politica italiana di Costante II*, in *Settimane*, 34, 1986, pp. 751-96.

649 onwards represented an important change in what they could now plunder, since ships could hold far greater and heavier loads than horses or camels without having to sacrifice much speed or manoeuvrability. The economics of plunder had changed as a result, and bronze items became much more attractive targets than they had been previously.

It is possible, therefore, that the claim that the Arabs destroyed the Colossus at Rhodes derives from local folklore at Emesa where the furnishings of certain monuments or buildings were believed to preserve some of the scrap bronze recovered from it. One may compare such a belief to the many strange stories concerning the monuments of Constantinople preserved by the *Parastaseis Syntomoi Chronikai*, dating probably to the first quarter of the eighth century, and so of comparable date.¹⁹ Theophilus could have learned of this claim during some visit to the relevant monument or building, or from some literary description of the same, before then deciding to include this material in his history. It would have been an easy enough matter for him next to insert some account of the alleged Arab destruction of the Colossus in the relevant section of his main source where it seemed to describe the first Arab capture of Rhodes. One of the advantages of this interpretation is that it helps explain why his story of the Arab destruction of the Colossus reveals such a poor knowledge of the historical Colossus, because it depends upon urban folklore, whether written or oral, rather than some reliable classical account of this monument. Here one notes that the claim that the Colossus was erected either 1360 or 360 years before it was destroyed is particularly puzzling. In the first case, this would seem to date its erection to 707 BC, or thereabouts, a little over 400 years before it really was erected, whereas in the second case, this would seem to date its erection to AD 293, or thereabouts, almost 600 years after it really had been erected, all assuming that Theophilus correctly follows his source in dating this tale to the first Arab seizure of Rhodes in 653. In reality, Rhodes probably suffered some form of Arab attack and occupation during both of the great Arab expeditions against Constantinople, the first in 667/68 and the second in 717/18, and it is just as possible that this folktale relates to the bronze booty recovered during one of these great expeditions as to that recovered in 653.²⁰ Whatever the case, it is more likely that the bronze, and other booty, was temporarily stored on Rhodes as Arab ships disgorged the proceeds of one raid in order to free themselves for the next than that it was

¹⁹ See A. CAMERON – J. HERRIN (eds), *Constantinople in the Early Eighth Century: The Parastaseis Syntomoi Chronikai* (Columbia Studies in the Classical Tradition, 10), Leiden, 1984.

²⁰ On the date of the first Arab siege of Constantinople, see now M. JANKOWIAK, *The First Arab Siege of Constantinople*, in *TM*, 17 (2013), pp. 1-80.

recovered from Rhodes itself. However, the fact remains that Theophilus seems to have dated the alleged destruction of the Colossus to the period of the first Arab seizure of Rhodes in 653, and that must form the starting point of any investigation into the significance of the numbers 1360 or 360. Here one notes that the difference between 304 BC, when the construction of the Colossus began following the departure of Demetrius Poliorcetes from Rhodes, and AD 653, is 957 years, most conveniently rounded to 960 years, where the Greek numeral 960 (Ϡξ') is relatively easily misread as 360 (τξ') instead. Hence it is possible that Theophilus derives his account of the destruction of the Colossus from a Greek source where he misread a key figure within this source for the duration of the Colossus on Rhodes as 360 rather than 960 years.²¹

As far as reconstructing Theophilus' original account is concerned, a last problem remains, that of reconciling Michael the Syrian's claim that the destruction of the Colossus produced 3000 loads of bronze and that of Theophanes and Porphyrogenitus that the Jewish merchant used 900 or 980 camels to remove his bronze. Conrad solved this problem by positing that the author of the Greek source common to Theophanes and Porphyrogenitus had attempted "to gloss a garbled or indistinct passage" in the Syriac original, that is, that both figures relate to the same object, but that one must be a corruption of the other.²² There is, however, an alternative possibility, that the Syriac source had included both figures originally, alleging that 3000 loads of bronze in total were recovered from the Colossus, of which the Jewish merchant then bought only 900 or 980 or whatever figure lies at the root of these numbers. Here one must beware of assuming that one of the figures 900 or 980 must be correct, when neither may be. The figure might well have been 80 loads originally, which would seem a much more realistic figure on the whole. Hence the urban legend preserved by Theophilus may have claimed that the destruction of the Colossus had produced 3000 loads of bronze, of which the Jewish merchant from Emesa had bought 80. If there is any truth at all to the figure 3000, it may represent some vague memory of the size of the shipment with which the Arab raiders had landed, and from which the merchant had bought his 80 loads. However, it may also have been a complete fiction.

In conclusion, there is no easy explanation as to why Theophilus of Edessa should have believed that the Arabs had destroyed the Colossus at Rhodes upon their capture of that island c. 653. The only suggestion made to date, that he misunderstood an apocalyptic metaphor based on the biblical

²¹ I thank an anonymous referee for this suggestion.

²² CONRAD, *The Arabs and the Colossus*, p. 170.

account of the dream of King Nebuchanezzar of Babylon, does not convince, and alternative explanations need to be explored. One alternative possibility is that he may have tried to bulk out his main source for this period by incorporating whatever other sources he could, including an urban folktale from Emesa that one or more bronze adornments of that city had been created using metal from the war-booty with which Arab raiders had returned following their capture of Rhodes. This would at least explain the nonsensical character of this story as a whole, and why its originators do not seem to have known very much about the Colossus except that it was a very large bronze statue erected long ago.

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SUMMARY

This paper offers a new explanation of the origin of the story as apparently recorded by Theophilus of Edessa that the Arabs had destroyed the Colossus when they had captured Rhodes c. 653. It is argued that this may preserve an urban legend from Emesa concerning the origin of the bronze used in some adornment of the city, where this bronze may well have been imported into Syria by Arab raiders who had plundered as far as Rhodes c. 653. However, the scrap bronze with which they had returned had probably been gathered upon Rhodes as a result of raids upon a number of different targets rather than discovered there initially.

CONSTANTIN LE DESPOTE ET LE MONNAYAGE DE THÉOPHILE

Les sources écrites font souvent référence au contexte familial de l'empereur Théophile donnant l'impression qu'il ne reste plus rien à savoir sur le sujet. C'est une impression surfaite, et cela pour plusieurs raisons. D'abord, nous ne disposons pratiquement pas de sources rédigées à l'époque de Théophile ; nos connaissances ont pour fondement les écrits de la période macédonienne. Puisque la dynastie macédonienne s'accapara du pouvoir après l'assassinat de Michel III par Basile Ier, les auteurs proches de la dynastie macédonienne s'efforcent de prouver que la dynastie d'Amorion ne comptait que des hérétiques (Michel II et Théophile) ou des ivrognes (Michel III) ; ils sont donc engagés et tendancieux. Les auteurs plus récents, n'ayant pas d'autres sources d'information, copient les auteurs plus anciens. Ainsi, nous ignorons maintes données : le lieu et la date de naissance de Théophile, la date de son couronnement, la date de son mariage, le nombre de ses enfants, et j'en passe.¹ L'une de ces questions, à savoir la présence d'un fils de Théophile, nommé Constantin, fait l'objet de cet article. Afin de recentrer la question, résumons les informations des chroniqueurs au sujet de la famille de Théophile.

Théophile semble être le fils unique de l'empereur Michel II,² né avant l'accès de ce dernier au pouvoir le 25 décembre 820. Il fut désigné comme coempereur de son père le 12 mai 821, mais cela n'a rien à voir avec sa date de naissance, comme la *PmbZ* le laisse croire.³ Durant la révolte de Thomas le Slave, entre 821 et 824, Théophile dirigeait un détachement militaire, qui fut vainqueur contre les troupes de Thomas ; donc sa naissance doit être placée avant 810. Après la victoire finale de Michel II contre Thomas mourut l'impératrice Thècle. Le sénat, les hauts fonctionnaires de l'empire et des aristocrates exigèrent que Michel se remariât. L'empereur a cédé à cette exigence ; il a porté son choix sur Euphrosyne, fille de Constantin VI, enfermée

¹ Les notices de la *PmbZ* 8167 au sujet de Théophile et de membres de sa famille (Théodora, 7286 ; Constantin, 3931 ; Thècle, 7261 ; Anne, 460 ; Anastasie, 231 ; Pulchérie, 6384 ; Maria, 4735), donnent un aperçu de la famille impériale et réunissent la bibliographie la plus récente. Toutefois ces notices ne sont pas toujours concordantes.

² Jean Zonaras, éd. L. DINDORF, Leipzig, 1868-1871, III, p. 411, laisse comprendre que Michel II avait aussi une fille, dont on ne sait rien ; selon *PmbZ* 2547, elle portait le nom d'Hélène.

³ Sans doute s'agit-il d'une faute banale de la *PmbZ* 8167, qui place la naissance de Théophile « *am* » 12 mai 821 et, un peu plus loin, elle place son couronnement à cette même date.

au monastère de l'île du Prince depuis la fin tragique de son père. Nous ignorons si des enfants sont issus de cette union. Le 2 octobre 829, après la mort de son père, Théophile devint empereur. Le 5 juin 830, Théophile épousa Théodora, une Paphlagonienne d'origine arménienne.⁴ Cette date est contestée par W. T. Treadgold, qui situe ce mariage en 821.⁵ Théodora donna naissance à cinq filles, à savoir Thècle, Anne, Anastasie, Pulchérie et Maria, et à deux garçons, dont l'un, nommé Michel et né le 9 janvier 840, succéda à son père. Pour l'autre, le *Continueur de Théophane* signale, sans citer son nom, qu'il s'est noyé dans une citerne du palais.⁶ Le silence des chroniques byzantines est remis en question par le *Chronicon Vulturense*, qui dans une liste des empereurs byzantins, cite, après Michel II, « *Theophilus ... cum filiis* », et à la ligne « *Michahel et Constancius* ». ⁷ Il est tout de même frappant qu'un texte rédigé en 936, loin de Constantinople, traite d'un enfant de Théophile nommé Constantin. Il faut toutefois noter que ce témoignage pose plus de questions que le silence des sources byzantines, car cette source parle de Constantin et de Michel comme si les deux avaient régné conjointement comme coempereurs. De plus, elle cite le nom de Michel avant celui de Constantin, comme si Michel était l'ainé. Cependant, comme nous le verrons par la suite, Constantin était non seulement l'ainé, mais en plus il était mort avant la naissance de Michel.

Les sources permettent de savoir que Michel, né le 9 janvier 840 – comme déjà dit –, fut le dernier enfant du couple Théophile-Théodora. En outre, elles laissent sous-entendre que Maria fut l'avant-dernier enfant ; pour les autres enfants, les sources ne sont pas claires. À une exception près, celle de Treadgold, les historiens pensent que Constantin était l'ainé, après lequel naquirent successivement Thècle, Anne, Anastasie, Pulchérie et Maria. Pour Treadgold les enfants seraient nés dans l'ordre suivant : Thècle, Anne, Anastasie, Constantin, Pulchérie, Maria, Michel.⁸

⁴ Les sources sont assez imprécises au sujet de la date du mariage de Théophile ; elles disent que, le 5 juin 830, Théodora « ἐστέφθη », terme assez vague qui peut signifier qu'elle a reçu la couronne du mariage, mais aussi la couronne impériale. E. W. BROOKS, *The Marriage of the Emperor Theophilus*, dans *BZ*, 10 (1901), pp. 540-545, avait déjà envisagé la question et il a avancé le 30 juin 830 comme date du mariage de Théophile avec Théodora.

⁵ W. T. TREADGOLD, *The Problem of the Marriage of the Emperor Theophilus*, dans *GRBS*, 16 (1975), pp. 325-341, et IDEM, *The Byzantine Revival, 780-842*, Stanford, 1988, p. 284.

⁶ *Continueur de Théophane*, éd. I. BEKKER, dans *CSHB*, Bonn, 1838, p. 88, signale l'événement en parlant de travaux réalisés par Théophile ; la citerne, qui se situait au sud du palais où « συνέβη βασιλικὸν ἀποπνηγῆναι υἱόν », a laissé sa place à un jardin.

⁷ *Chronicon Vulturense del Monaco Giovanni*, éd. V. FEDERICI, vol. I, Rome, 1925, p. 62, 22-23. Ensuite le *Chronicon*, p. 62, 24-25, place le règne de Michel III avec sa mère et puis le règne de Michel III seul.

⁸ TREADGOLD, *Byzantine Revival* [voir n. 5], pp. 286-290.

Hormis les chroniqueurs, Constantin Porphyrogénète signale dans son *Livre des cérémonies*, en parlant des tombeaux des empereurs dans l'église des Saints-Apôtres, la présence d'un λαρνάκιον (petit sarcophage) dans lequel reposaient les restes de Constantin, fils de Théophile.⁹ Puisque le Porphyrogénète utilise le terme λάρναξ (sarcophage) pour les ensevelissements ordinaires, il faut admettre que ce Constantin mourut encore enfant, raison pour laquelle il n'a fallu qu'un λαρνάκιον pour recevoir sa dépouille mortelle.¹⁰ Nous nous permettons de supposer, comme le fait d'ailleurs la *PmbZ*, que ce Constantin n'est autre que le prince noyé, dont parle le *Continuateur de Théophane*. Avant d'aller plus loin, résumons les données des sources littéraires. Selon le *Livre des cérémonies* et le *Chronicon Vulturnense*, Théophile avait un fils nommé Constantin ; le *Livre des cérémonies* signale que Constantin mourut en bas âge. D'après la *Continuation de Théophane*, un enfant de Théophile est mort noyé dans un bassin du palais ; selon toute vraisemblance il s'agit du même Constantin. D'après le *Chronicon Vulturnense*, Constantin a régné avec son père comme coempereur, au même titre que son frère Michel.

Déjà avant l'édition du *Livre des cérémonies* par I. Reiske en 1829-1834, l'existence de Constantin troublait le sommeil des numismates, car sur le revers d'une émission de Théophile apparaît le buste d'un enfant, pris de face, vêtu du *loros* et tenant dans sa main droite le globe crucifère et dans sa main gauche une croix ; il est entouré par la légende *CONSTANTINOS DESPOTIS*.¹¹ Sur une autre émission, le droit est occupé par le buste de Théophile en costume civil, entouré de la légende *ΘΕΟΦΙΛΟΣ ΒΑΣΙΛΕ* ; le revers est occupé par les effigies de deux personnages en costume civil, pris de face, ne tenant aucun symbole de pouvoir dans leurs mains. Celui situé à droite, la place d'honneur, est barbu et deux fois plus grand que le second. La légende se lit *MIXAHL S CONSTANTINOS*.¹² Signalons au passage que ces monnaies, encore rares aux XVIII^e et XIX^e s., sont actuellement bien présentes dans les collections numismatiques de plusieurs musées, comme d'ailleurs dans des collections privées.

La présence de ces monnaies, combinée au silence des sources narratives, gênait C. Du Cange, qui n'arrivait pas à trouver d'information au sujet de

⁹ Constantin Porphyrogénète, *De cerimoniis aulae byzantinae*, éd. I. REISKE, dans *CSHB*, Bonn, 1829-1834, livre II, ch. 42, p. 645.

¹⁰ F. HIRSCH, *Byzantinische Studien*, Leipzig, 1876, p. 27.

¹¹ Ph. GRIERSON, *Byzantine Coins*, Berkley – Los Angeles, 1982, p. 173-175, pense même qu'il s'agit d'une émission commémorative à l'occasion du couronnement de ce Constantin comme coempereur.

¹² J. SABATIER, *Description générale des monnaies byzantines*, I-II, Paris, 1862, II, pp. 88-89, décrit pour la première fois ces monnaies.

Constantin.¹³ Ce prince a en outre attiré l'attention des numismates du XVIII^e s., comme, par exemple, d'A. Banduri dans sa mémorable édition en deux volumes des *Numismata imperatorum Romanorum*, Paris, 1718. En outre, comme l'indique L. Moréri dans son *Dictionnaire*, selon les notes de G. Budé et d'A. Banduri, ce Constantin était le fils de Théophile et de Théodora qui, après la mort de Théophile, se retira au profit de son frère Michel.¹⁴

Les monnaies, en général explicites quand il s'agit des souverains, sont plutôt sources de complications dans ce cas. Car, dans les émissions postérieures, Constantin disparaît de la monnaie, tandis que Théophile y fait graver les portraits de son épouse Théodora et de ses filles, et ensuite de son fils Michel III. Ces émissions sont cataloguées un peu plus loin dans le présent article.

Comme déjà signalé, le 9 janvier 840, Théodora mit au monde un autre garçon nommé Michel. Théophile a émis un sou d'or commémoratif pour célébrer la naissance du prince et son couronnement. Cette monnaie contient sur le droit le buste de Théophile, vêtu d'un costume civil, coiffant la couronne impériale et tenant dans la main droite la croix, dans la main gauche l'*akakia*. Sur le revers, son fils Michel porte le *loros* et la couronne impériale ; il tient dans sa main droite le globe crucifère, tandis que sa main gauche n'est pas visible ; la légende se lit *MIXAHL DESPOTIS*. Cette monnaie est en réalité la réplique de la monnaie analogue frappée auparavant pour commémorer la naissance et le couronnement de Constantin, dont il a été question. Si l'émission de ces deux monnaies commémoratives est explicable et admissible, reste toujours le mystère de l'émission portant au revers les effigies de Constantin et de Michel.

Les hypothèses formulées au sujet de Michel et de Constantin représentés conjointement sur la monnaie de Théophile ne manquent pas. Comme nous l'avons noté, l'explication la plus ancienne est celle avancée par Budé et Banduri, rapportée par L. Moréri dans son *Dictionnaire*, selon laquelle Constantin était un fils de Théophile et de Théodora qui, après la mort de Théophile, s'était retiré au profit de son frère Michel. L'hypothèse semblait vraie à ce moment car le *De cerimoniis*, qui parle de Constantin, n'était pas encore édité, ainsi que la *Continuation de Théophane*, parue en 1838, selon laquelle un fils de Théophile s'était noyé.

J. Sabatier, quoiqu'il eût rédigé sa *Description générale des monnaies byzantines* après l'édition du *Livre des cérémonies* et de la *Continuation de Théophane*, ne consulta apparemment pas ces sources, mais rejeta tout de

¹³ C. DU CANGE, *Historia byzantina. Familiae augustae byzantinae*, Paris, 1680, p. 133.

¹⁴ L. MORÉRI, *Le grand dictionnaire historique ou Le mélange curieux de l'Histoire sacrée et profane*, vol. IV, Paris, 1759, p. 87.

même l'hypothèse de Budé et de Banduri, car Michel est barbu au revers de la seconde des monnaies précitées. Il ne pouvait donc pas s'agir de Michel III qui n'était qu'un bébé à la mort de son père. Pour Sabatier « malgré le silence des historiens, Théophile pendant son règne, s'est adjoint deux collègues qui ont joui des honneurs monétaires et qui tous deux, Constantin comme Michel, étaient ses fils aînés, ou peut-être ses frères, ou enfin des membres de sa famille ». Il parle alors d'un « Michel inconnu et âgé ».¹⁵ J. F. W. De Salis, à qui Sabatier s'était adressé déjà avant la parution de son livre, dans un article paru dans la *Revue Numismatique*, se déclare partisan de l'hypothèse d'un « Michel inconnu et âgé ».¹⁶ Dans un article publié en 1891, G. Schlumberger admet l'hypothèse de Sabatier sans s'en préoccuper davantage.¹⁷ Donc personne ne contestait l'hypothèse de Sabatier, qui toutefois ne donne aucune réponse à la question : qui sont les deux personnages qui figurent sur la monnaie de Théophile ?

En 1878, C. Paparrigopoulos, tenant compte cette fois du *Livre des Cérémonies* mais ignorant la *Continuation de Théophane*, a formulé une hypothèse pour le moins originale. Selon lui, Constantin qui figure avec Michel au revers du sou d'or dont Théophile occupe tout seul l'autre face, était un fils de Michel II, né de son second mariage avec Euphrosyne et qui avait reçu le prénom de son grand-père, Constantin VI. Ce prince a été promu au rang de coempereur et est représenté avec son père sur l'une des faces de la monnaie ; son demi-frère Théophile, promu aussi au rang de coempereur, est représenté sur l'autre face de la pièce. Donc la monnaie en question aurait été frappée sous Michel II et représentait les trois empereurs. On ignore le sort de ce Constantin. Ensuite, Théodora a donné naissance à cinq filles et, avant 839, date de la naissance de Michel III selon Paparrigopoulos, Théodora avait mis au monde un garçon nommé lui aussi Constantin. En son honneur, Théophile frappa la monnaie portant son effigie personnelle sur le droit et celle de son fils Constantin sur le revers. Cet autre Constantin mourut à un âge précoce ; ses restes reposaient dans le petit sarcophage, dont parle le Porphyrogénète.¹⁸

¹⁵ SABATIER, *Description générale des monnaies byzantines*, II [voir n. 12], pp. 88-89.

¹⁶ J. F. W. DE SALIS, *Lettre à M. Sabatier sur le classement des monnaies des empereurs iconoclastes*, dans *Revue Numismatique*, 4 (1859), p. 446.

¹⁷ G. SCHLUMBERGER, *Une monnaie byzantine inédite portant les effigies de l'empereur iconoclaste Théophile, de sa femme Théodora, de ses trois premières filles, Thécla, Anna, Anastasie*, dans *Comptes-rendus de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres*, 35 (1891), pp. 374-378.

¹⁸ C. PAPARRIGOPOULOS, *Sur quelques monnaies byzantines du IX^{ème} siècle*, dans *Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique*, 2 (1878), pp. 622-625. L'auteur ne met pas en relation ce Constantin avec le prince noyé et ne fait pas référence à la *Continuation de Théophane*. SCHLUMBERGER, *Une monnaie byzantine inédite* [voir n. 17], pp. 374-378, ignore l'article de Paparrigopoulos publié trois ans auparavant.

Son originalité mise à part, l'hypothèse de Paparrigopoulos contient un point faible : il est impensable que l'empereur effectif, à savoir Michel II, soit représenté sur la monnaie d'or avec les trois figures, sans aucun insigne de pouvoir et sans aucun titre impérial, partageant le champ monétaire avec un coempereur, tandis que l'autre coempereur, à savoir Théophile, appelé *basileus*, occupe tout seul l'autre champ monétaire et porte les insignes du pouvoir. Une telle émission ne respecterait aucune règle de l'iconographie monétaire byzantine. Il n'est pas douteux, donc, que la monnaie en question fût frappée sous Théophile, empereur effectif, tandis que Michel et Constantin, représentés sur le revers, n'étaient pas des empereurs effectifs.

En 1908, W. Wroth, dans le catalogue des monnaies byzantines du British Museum, propose une nouvelle explication : Constantin, dont l'effigie est frappée sur la monnaie portant au droit Théophile, n'est autre que le fils de ce dernier, mort très jeune, et dont les restes reposeraient dans un petit sarcophage selon Constantin Porphyrogénète.¹⁹ Michel et Constantin qui figurent au revers de l'autre monnaie portant au droit Théophile, seraient respectivement Michel II, père de Théophile, et Constantin, fils de Théophile.²⁰ L'émission de ces monnaies est placée entre 832 et 839 par Wroth.²¹ Selon cette hypothèse, Théophile aurait repris la tradition monétaire iconoclaste, introduite par Constantin V au VIII^e s., connue sous l'appellation *galerie des portraits*. Il s'agit notamment des monnaies au revers desquelles figurent les portraits des empereurs déjà morts de la dynastie dite isaurienne. Ainsi Constantin V a frappé des monnaies avec le portrait de Léon III au revers, Léon IV a frappé les monnaies avec les portraits de Léon III et de Constantin V au revers, et Constantin VI a frappé des monnaies avec les portraits de Léon IV, de Constantin V et de Léon III au revers. Théophile, imitant ses prédécesseurs iconoclastes, aurait frappé, entre 832 et 835, une monnaie commémorative en l'honneur de deux empereurs déjà morts de la dynastie amorienne. Quant à la date de naissance de Constantin, fils de Théophile, W. Wroth la place après 831, sans faire aucune hypothèse quant à la date de sa mort.²²

¹⁹ L'auteur ne fait pas référence à la *Continuation de Théophane* et ne met pas en relation ce Constantin avec le prince noyé.

²⁰ W. WROTH, *Imperial Byzantine Coins in the British Museum*, Londres, 1908, II, pp. 418-420. Il semble toutefois que cette idée ait déjà avancée avant la publication du catalogue de Wroth, comme le montrent les fiches préparées par le numismate Français Paul Soular, dont parle É. LIMOUSIN, *Le médailler byzantin du Musée départemental Dobrée*, dans *Annales de Bretagne et des Pays de l'ouest*, 115 (2008) (= *Archéologie méditerranéenne et proche et proche-orientale dans l'ouest de la France. La constitution des collections méditerranéennes*), pp. 153-155.

²¹ WROTH, *Imperial Byzantine Coins*, II [voir n. 20], pp. 418-420, et planche XLVIII.

²² Il faut signaler que sur les fiches des spécimens exposés au British Museum, quand le portrait de Constantin figure sur la monnaie, il est noté « Constantine. Byzantine Emperor. 830-835 ». Cette datation n'est pas due à Wroth mais à Bury.

Pour une certaine période, les numismates, considérant la question de ces monnaies comme résolue, ont laissé la place aux historiens qui essayaient de déterminer la date de la naissance et de la mort de Constantin. En 1912, J. B. Bury a mis en relation la mort de Constantin avec la politique dynastique de Théophile. Pour Bury, Constantin est né en 830 au plus tard et il est mort vers 832.²³ Après sa mort, Théophile, pour écarter l'icônophile Petronas de la succession, unit sa dernière fille Maria avec Alexios Mouzelé, un militaire d'origine arménienne. Alexios, qui avait déjà gravi tous les échelons de la noblesse byzantine, a reçu le titre princier de *césar*. Maria mourut peu après, vers 836 selon Bury ; Alexios a dû se retirer dans un monastère.²⁴

La question a rebondi en 1932, quand G. Ostrogorsky et E. Stein ont signé un article, paru dans *Byzantion*, sur le cérémonial du couronnement à Byzance. Pour eux, la cérémonie de couronnement du coempereur transmise par Constantin Porphyrogénète dans le *Livre des Cérémonies*²⁵ décrit le couronnement de Constantin par son père Théophile.²⁶ Cette interprétation a provoqué la réaction d'A. Vogt qui, dans l'introduction de sa traduction française du premier livre du *Livre des Cérémonies*, a rejeté l'hypothèse d'Ostrogorsky et de Stein.²⁷ Cécile Morrisson ne se prononce pas.²⁸ Par contre, A. I. Dikigoropoulos non seulement accepte l'hypothèse d'Ostrogorsky et de Stein, sans aucune preuve complémentaire, mais il va encore beaucoup plus loin : il note que le couronnement en question eut lieu le jour de la Pentecôte, le 5 juin 830, quand les chroniqueurs placent – mal, à son avis – le couronnement de Théodora.²⁹ Ainsi, pour lui, Constantin est né avant le 5 juin 830.

²³ J. B. BURY, *A History of the Eastern Roman Empire from the Fall of Irene to the Accession of Basil I, 802-876*, Londres, 1912, I, p. 126, note 2, évite de proposer la date de 832 dans son texte ; il l'ajoute dans une note infrapaginale.

²⁴ IDEM, p. 126. Il semble toutefois qu'Alexios a retrouvé sa place car, lors des festivités triomphales organisées par Théophile à Constantinople en 838, après la victoire des armées byzantines à Sozopetra et dont parle en détail Constantin Porphyrogénète dans *De cerimoniis* [voir n. 9], pp. 503-508, un *césar* qui montait un cheval blanc, suivait l'empereur. A. I. DIKIGOROUPOULOS, *The Constantinopolitan Solidi of Theophilus*, dans *DOP*, 18 (1964), pp. 357-359, explique que ce *césar* ne pouvait pas être autre qu'Alexios Mouselé.

²⁵ *De cerimoniis* [voir n. 9], p. 191-196. Cf., en outre, P. YANNOPOULOS, *Le couronnement de l'empereur à Byzance : Rituel et fond institutionnel*, dans *Byz*, 61 (1991), pp. 77-79.

²⁶ G. OSTROGORSKY et E. STEIN, *Die Krönungsordnungen des Zeremonienbuches*, dans *Byz*, 7 (1932), pp. 224-233.

²⁷ A. VOGT, *Constantin Porphyrogénète. Le Livre des Cérémonies*, Paris, 1935-1940, I, p. 2ss et p. 13.

²⁸ Cécile MORRISSON, *Catalogue des monnaies byzantines de la Bibliothèque nationale*, Paris, 1970, II, 1, p. 514.

²⁹ DIKIGOROUPOULOS, *Constantinopolitan Solidi of Theophilus* [voir n. 24], p. 360, note 55.

La dernière pièce du puzzle est fournie par A. R. Bellinger qui, en 1944, a étudié les monnaies de Théophile contenues dans le trésor Lagbe.³⁰ Ce trésor découvert en Anatolie était composé de 102 pièces byzantines en or dont les plus anciens spécimens remontaient au règne de Léon III et les plus récents au règne de Théophile.³¹ Bellinger conteste la datation du monnayage de Théophile proposée par Wroth, qui place la naissance de Constantin en 831 – pour lui, Constantin est né en 832.³² Bellinger pense que ce trésor aurait été enfoui en 832 et il le met en relation avec la prise de la forteresse cappadocienne de Loulon par les troupes de Mamun. Cependant, comme le signale déjà Dikigoropoulos, Bellinger n'est pas conséquent avec lui-même puisqu'il signale qu'un *solidus* du trésor doit être placé entre 833 et 837.³³ Cette remarque judicieuse ne remet toutefois pas en cause la valeur de l'analyse de Bellinger. À notre avis, elle est indicative de la complexité de la question et de la presque impossibilité d'aboutir à une conclusion incontestable quand les sources littéraires font défaut.

La question, déjà compliquée, a connu un nouveau rebondissement en 1972, lorsque G. Zacos et A. Veglery ont publié un sceau du *commerkion* impérial de Delvetos contenant le portrait de Théophile ; il est daté de la deuxième indiction (31 août 832 – 1^{er} septembre 833).³⁴ Le portrait de Constantin n'y figure pas, raison pour laquelle les éditeurs pensent que Constantin était mort avant le 31 août 832. Cette idée est acceptée par H. Hunger dans un compte rendu paru dans *Byzantinische Zeitschrift* en 1975.³⁵ N. Oikonomidès a publié en 1986 un autre sceau du *commerkion* impérial de Thrace et de Macédoine, daté aussi de la deuxième indiction ; Théophile y figure seul.³⁶ Cet objet confirme, selon Oikonomidès, les conclusions de Zacos et de Veglery selon lesquelles Constantin était mort avant le 31 août 832. Les spécialistes en sigillographie proposent donc une date qui fait penser à celle proposée par Wroth. Nous devons prendre en

³⁰ A. R. BELLINGER, *The Emperor Theophilus and the Lagbe Hoard*, dans *Berytus*, 8 (1944), pp. 102-106.

³¹ Le trésor est publié et étudié par E. T. NEWEL, *The Byzantine Hoard of Lagbe* (= *Numismatics Notes and Monographs*, 107), New York, 1945.

³² BELLINGER, *Emperor Theophilus* [voir n. 30], p. 105. La proposition de Bellinger est retenue par les rédacteurs de fiches du cabinet des médailles du Yale University, Art Gallery, Coins and Medals. Sur la fiche de la monnaie n° 2001.87.20159, qui porte au droit l'effigie de Théophile et au revers les portraits de Constantin et de Michel II, est inscrit : *Constantine, Theophilus' son : 833-835*.

³³ DIKIGOROPOULOS, *Constantinopolitan Solidi of Theophilus* [voir n. 24], p. 358, note 48.

³⁴ G. ZACOS et A. VEGLERY, *Byzantine Lead Seals*, vol. I, Basel, 1972, n° 285, p. 363.

³⁵ *BZ*, 68 (1975), pp. 133-138.

³⁶ N. OIKONOMIDES, *A Collection of Dated Byzantine Lead Seals*, Washington, 1986, n° 46, p. 55 : plomb inédit de la collection du Dumbarton Oaks Institute, n° 77.34.95.

considération ce témoignage, puisque ces sceaux revêtaient un caractère officiel et, de ce fait, leur fabrication était réglementée. Un article de C. Foss, paru en 2005, va d'ailleurs dans ce sens : pour lui, Constantin a régné brièvement en 830 ou en 831.³⁷

Les historiens n'ont toutefois pas dit leur dernier mot. En 1988, Treadgold a repris la proposition de Bury, selon laquelle il faut mettre en relation la mort de Constantin avec la promotion d'Alexios Mouselé au rang du César, mais l'auteur va beaucoup plus loin que Bury. Pour lui, Théodora a d'abord mis au monde trois filles : Thècle, Anne et Anastasie. Puis, vers 834, elle a donné naissance à un fils. Théophile donna à ce garçon le nom de Constantin et non celui de son grand-père Michel, comme c'était l'habitude. Pour Treadgold, Théophile a voulu, par cet acte, honorer Constantin V, le véritable fondateur de l'iconoclasme.³⁸ Lors du retour triomphal de Théophile après sa victoire contre les Arabes en à Melitène en 835, Constantin n'est pas mentionné ; il était alors mort.³⁹ Ainsi, en 836, Théophile célébra les fiançailles ou le mariage de sa fille Maria avec Alexios Mouselé, qui a reçu le titre de César afin d'assurer l'avenir de la dynastie.⁴⁰ Après cette date, le scénario suit celui de Bury : Maria mourut vers 839, et Alexios tomba en disgrâce.⁴¹ Donc, pour Treadgold, Constantin a vécu entre 834 et 835. Cet auteur, en formulant cette hypothèse, néglige les deux plombs datés, dont il a été question, sans que l'on puisse savoir s'il les connaissait. Il reste toutefois cohérent avec lui-même, puisqu'il soutient que le mariage de Théophile avec Théodora eut lieu en 821 et non en 830, comme on l'accepte généralement. Cela lui permet de placer la naissance des trois filles avant celle de Constantin. L'hypothèse d'un mariage en 821 n'est acceptée par personne. Partant d'une telle hypothèse, l'auteur reclasse les émissions monétaires de Théophile dans un sens qu'aucun numismate n'a jamais proposé auparavant.

Entre-temps, les numismates ont conclu que tous les types monétaires frappés sous Théophile sont connus, sans que tous n'envisagent la datation et l'ordre de succession de la même manière. Sous Théophile quatre ateliers monétaires restaient en activité : ceux de Constantinople, de Syracuse, de Naples et de Cherson. La production monétaire de ce dernier atelier présente,

³⁷ C. FOSS, *Emperors named Constantine*, dans *Revue Numismatique*, 161 (2005), p. 97.

³⁸ TREADGOLD, *Byzantine Revival* [voir n. 5], p. 283.

³⁹ W. TREADGOLD, *A History of the Byzantine State and Society*, Stanford, 1997, p. 942, note 10, cite l'année 835 comme celle de la mort de Constantin, sans exprimer aucun doute.

⁴⁰ TREADGOLD, *Byzantine Revival* [voir n. 5], pp. 286-290.

⁴¹ Cette version est adoptée aussi par la *PmbZ* 4735. Les chroniqueurs signalent que Théophile a placé la dépouille mortelle de Maria dans un sarcophage en argent. Selon le *De ceremoniis* [voir n. 9], p. 645, Léon VI a transféré ses restes dans un petit sarcophage (λαρνάκιον) en marbre, placé aux Saints-Apôtres.

comme dans le passé, des caractéristiques très particulières ; en outre, il n'émettait pas de monnaies en or. Pour ces raisons, il est traité à part par les numismates. L'atelier de Constantinople, qui couvrait à lui seul les besoins de presque tout l'empire, a émis cinq types de pièces en or, cinq types de monnaies en argent et trois types de monnaies en bronze. Les ateliers italiens n'ont pas frappé tous les types et présentent aussi des particularités iconographiques et épigraphiques, raisons pour lesquelles nous les verrons à part. Puisque seules les monnaies en or peuvent nous mener vers une conclusion concernant Constantin, nous pouvons donner une liste des cinq types de monnayage en or de Théophile.

Le premier type présente :

au droit, Théophile vêtu du *loros*, portant la couronne impériale et tenant dans sa main droite le globe crucifère et dans sa main gauche une croix ;
au revers, Une croix patriarcale entourée de la légende *CYRIE BOHΘHTOSODOULO*.

Le deuxième type présente :

au droit, Théophile en costume civil tenant dans sa main droite une croix patriarcale et dans sa main gauche l'*akakia* ; il porte la couronne impériale. La légende se lit : *ΘΕΟΦΙΛΟΣ ΒΑΣΙΛΕ* ;
au revers, Constantin le *despote* vêtu du *loros*, portant la couronne impériale et tenant dans sa main droite le globe crucifère et dans sa main gauche une croix. La légende se lit : *CONSTANTINOS DESPOTIS*.

Le troisième type présente :

au droit, les mêmes caractéristiques que le type précédent ;
au revers, Michel II et Constantin en costume civil, sans insignes de pouvoir, sauf la couronne impériale qui décore leur tête. La légende se lit : *MIXAHL S CONSTANTINOS*.

Le quatrième type présente :

au droit, Théophile en costume civil. À son droit, l'impératrice Théodora vêtue du *loros* et, à son gauche, Thècle, la fille aînée de Théophile vêtue du *loros* ;
au revers, Anne et Anastasie, filles de Théophile, vêtues du *loros*.

Le cinquième type présente :

au droit, les mêmes caractéristiques que le deuxième type ;
au revers, Michel III le *despote*, vêtu du *loros*, portant la couronne impériale et tenant dans sa main droite le globe crucifère et dans sa main gauche une croix.

La base de cette classification reste le catalogue de Ph. Grierson,⁴² qui suit, dans ce domaine, la classification proposée par Wroth⁴³ et qui est aussi suivie par Bellinger⁴⁴ ; elle n'est toutefois pas acceptée par tous. Sabatier, qui ignorait à l'époque le quatrième type ci-dessus, classe les quatre autres types dans l'ordre 1, 3, 2, 5.⁴⁵ Morriison propose un ordre 3, 2, 1, 4, 5.⁴⁶ Dikigoropoulos propose l'ordre 2, 3, 1, 4, 5,⁴⁷ en suivant l'ordre proposé par Bury,⁴⁸ sans toutefois admettre aussi la datation proposée par Bury. Cependant, la classification la plus originale est celle d'un non-numismate, à savoir Treadgold qui propose l'ordre 1, 4, 2, 3, 5 et place l'émission avec Théophile, Théodora, Thècle, Anne et Anastasie en 833, après celle avec Théophile seul, qu'il place entre 829 et 833 et avant celle avec le portrait de Constantin au revers, qu'il place entre 834 et 835. Treadgold part de son hypothèse, dont il a été question, selon laquelle Constantin est né en 834. C'est une méthode un peu particulière de reclasser toute la production monétaire de Théophile en partant d'une hypothèse.

Malgré la diversité apparente des positions, il y a moyen d'y voir aussi certaines convergences. D'abord, les numismates s'accordent à dire que les deux derniers types de monnaies en or émises à Constantinople sous Théophile sont mieux datés. Le cinquième type doit être daté après la naissance de Michel III et sans doute à l'occasion de son couronnement. Les historiens sont d'accord pour dire que Michel III naquit le 9 janvier 840 et qu'il fut peut-être couronné le 1^{er} septembre de la même année. L'hypothèse de Dikigoropoulos, qui place la naissance de Michel III à la fin du mois de juillet de 838 et son couronnement le 1^{er} septembre 838,⁴⁹ ne repose sur aucune source. En outre, le quatrième type doit nécessairement être placé après la naissance d'Anastasie et avant la naissance de Pulchérie. Malheureusement, nos sources ne donnent pas la date de naissance de ces deux filles de Théophile. Les numismates proposent l'année 838 comme celle de la mise en frappe de ce type. Dikigoropoulos, tenant compte, entre autres, de la rareté de ce type, pense à une émission commémorative frappée au printemps de 837 à l'occasion des festivités organisées par Théophile pour célébrer sa

⁴² PH. GRIERSON, *Catalogue of Byzantine Coins in the Dumbarton Oaks Collection and in the Whittemore Collection*, vol. III : *Leo III to Nicephorus III, 717-1081*, Washington, 2^e éd., 1983, pp. 407-412.

⁴³ WROTH, *Imperial Byzantine Coins*, II [voir n. 20], pp. 418-420.

⁴⁴ BELLINGER, *Emperor Theophilus* [voir n. 30], pp. 102-106.

⁴⁵ SABATIER, *Description générale des monnaies byzantines*, II [voir n. 12], pp. 88-89.

⁴⁶ MORRISSON, *Catalogue*, II [voir n. 28], pp. 514-515.

⁴⁷ DIKIGOROPOULOS, *Constantinopolitan Solidi of Theophilus* [voir n. 24], p. 361.

⁴⁸ BURY, *History of the Eastern Roman Empire*, I [voir n. 23], pp. 125-129.

⁴⁹ DIKIGOROPOULOS, *Constantinopolitan Solidi of Theophilus* [voir n. 24], p. 361.

victoire contre les Arabes.⁵⁰ Quoi qu'il en soit, ces deux types ne concernent pas directement notre sujet, c'est-à-dire Constantin, fils de Théophile, car il ne figure pas sur ces monnaies. Notre étude doit donc se concentrer sur les trois premiers types de monnayage constantinopolitain de Théophile.

Le plus grand désaccord règne quant à la priorité à donner aux trois premiers types du monnayage de Théophile. Le premier type, sur l'une des faces duquel figure Théophile seul, est pour Wroth, Bellinger, Grierson et même pour Sabatier le plus ancien puisque l'empereur y est présenté sans être accompagné d'un coempereur ou d'un autre membre de sa famille. Sa frappe doit alors être placée en 829.⁵¹ Or, Bury trouve que la présentation de Théophile vêtu du *loros*, est un détail vestimentaire qui fait penser à une émission commémorative ; il place alors la mise en frappe de cette monnaie entre 831 et 838.⁵² Cécile Morrisson situe ce type entre 835 et 842,⁵³ sans toutefois étayer suffisamment cette datation que Ph. Grierson qualifie d'erronée.⁵⁴ À notre avis, il n'y a rien qui justifie la mise en frappe de cette monnaie à une date autre que celle du début du règne de Théophile, quand il était seul et ne pouvait pas faire graver un autre personnage sur le revers de sa monnaie. En plus, cette monnaie constitue, d'une certaine manière, la déclaration de ses convictions religieuses, à savoir son intention d'abandonner la politique modérée de son père sur la question des icônes et de retourner à un iconoclasme plus sévère et plus déterminé où seule la croix serait tolérée comme symbole religieux. Une telle déclaration d'intention n'est pas imaginable à une date autre que celle de sa prise de pouvoir. Quant à sa tenue, il ne faut pas oublier que le *loros* n'a jamais été abandonné comme vêtement impérial. Théophile a adopté le costume civil comme tenue impériale seulement quand un coempereur ou un autre membre de sa famille figurait sur la monnaie. D'ailleurs, porter un costume impérial civil ne signifie nullement que la personne ainsi vêtue soit un empereur effectif ; Michel II et Constantin portent un costume civil sur le revers des monnaies du troisième type, bien que Constantin ne fût jamais empereur effectif.

L'antériorité du deuxième type sur le troisième ne fait pas non plus l'unanimité parmi les numismates : Morrisson place en 829 l'émission de la monnaie avec Michel II et Constantin au revers et en 830 l'émission de la monnaie

⁵⁰ *Ibidem*. Toutefois, comme nous l'avons signalé, ces festivités étaient organisées plutôt en 383 qu'en 837.

⁵¹ WROTH, *Imperial Byzantine Coins*, II [voir n. 20], p. 418 ; GRIERSON, *Catalogue* [voir n. 42], p. 408 ; BELLINGER, *Emperor Theophilus* [voir n. 30], pp. 102-106 ; SABATIER, *Description générale des monnaies byzantines*, II [voir n. 12], p. 88-89.

⁵² BURY, *History of the Eastern Roman Empire*, I [voir n. 23], pp. 126-128.

⁵³ MORRISSON, *Catalogue*, II [voir n. 28], p. 514. DIKIGOROPOULOS, *Constantinopolitan Solidi of Theophilus* [voir n. 24], p. 361, suit Morrisson dans son raisonnement.

⁵⁴ GRIERSON, *Catalogue* [voir n. 42], pp. 408-409.

avec seul Constantin au revers⁵⁵ ; elle est suivie par Dikigoropoulos.⁵⁶ Bury fait cavalier seul en plaçant l'émission des deux types en 830.⁵⁷ Wroth situe les deux types entre 832 et 839, sans autres explications.⁵⁸ Par contre, Bellinger pense que le *solidus* avec Constantin au revers est frappé en 832 et qu'il est antérieur à celui qui montre Michel II et Constantin au revers, frappé entre 833 et 837.⁵⁹ Il est suivi dans son raisonnement par Grierson, qui place pourtant les deux émissions plus tôt, à savoir en 830 ou en 831 le *solidus* avec Constantin au revers et entre 830 ou 831 et 840 l'autre type.⁶⁰ En réalité, il ne s'agit pas simplement d'une guerre de dates. Le problème est de savoir si Constantin était encore vivant au moment de la frappe du *solidus* avec Michel II et lui au revers. Morriison dit clairement que Constantin était encore vivant à ce moment.⁶¹ Il y a toutefois un problème que Morriison contourne au même titre que Dikigoropoulos. Selon tous les numismates, le *solidus* avec Constantin seul au revers est une émission commémorative, à l'occasion de son couronnement. À ce moment, il ne devient pas empereur effectif au même titre que son père, mais empereur auxiliaire, fonction pour laquelle l'historiographie a adopté le terme *coempereur*. Au niveau protocolaire, il portait le titre de *despote* et non pas celui de *basileus* ; sur la monnaie il porte le *loros*, tandis que l'empereur effectif porte un costume civil. Comment alors pouvons-nous accepter que le *solidus* avec Michel II et Constantin soit antérieur quand Constantin y porte un costume civil, comme d'ailleurs son grand-père ? Il y a un deuxième problème contourné par les mêmes auteurs : quand les empereurs iconoclastes du VIII^e s. faisaient illustrer les membres de la dynastie sur le revers de la monnaie, tous ces membres étaient déjà morts. En aucun cas, un membre vivant n'y était représenté. Nous pensons que Théophile a repris dans ce domaine la tradition iconoclaste. Quand le *solidus* avec Michel II et Constantin au revers était mis en frappe, tous deux étaient déjà morts.⁶² Cela explique aussi pourquoi Constantin porte un costume civil à titre posthume, quoique de son vivant il n'ait été que *despote*. Cela pose évidemment la question de la date de la mort de Constantin, dont il sera question plus loin. Pour le moment, il est clair – à notre avis – que Théophile, après la mort de son père a d'abord émis un *solidus* portant son effigie au droit ; il est couronné, revêtu du *loros*, et il tient une croix dans

⁵⁵ MORRISSON, *Catalogue*, II [voir n. 28], p. 514.

⁵⁶ DIKIGOROPOULOS, *Constantinopolitan Solidi of Theophilus* [voir n. 24], p. 361.

⁵⁷ BURY, *History of the Eastern Roman Empire*, I [voir n. 23], pp. 126-127.

⁵⁸ WROTH, *Imperial Byzantine Coins*, II [voir n. 20], pp. 418-419.

⁵⁹ BELLINGER, *Emperor Theophilus* [voir n. 30], pp. 102-106.

⁶⁰ GRIERSON, *Catalogue* [voir n. 42], pp. 407-409.

⁶¹ MORRISSON, *Catalogue*, II [voir n. 28], p. 514.

⁶² Cf. GRIERSON, *Byzantine Coins* [voir n. 11], pp. 17-175.

sa main gauche et le globe crucifère dans sa main droite. Au revers, le champ est occupé par une croix (le premier type ci-dessus). Le même type est frappé aussi en argent. Manifestement, Théophile est seul au pouvoir et, par l'icongraphie du revers, il annonce sa couleur en matière de politique religieuse. Cette émission date de 829. Elle suit le mariage de Théophile avec Théodora, à une date toujours discutable, mais, en tout cas, le 5 juin 830 au plus tard.

Fin 830 ou début 831, Théodora a mis au monde un enfant auquel Théophile avait immédiatement conféré le titre de *despote* et qu'il avait couronné coempereur. À cette occasion, il a frappé un *solidus* commémoratif au droit duquel il figure lui-même en costume civil et porteur de tous les insignes impériaux : couronne, croix dans la main droite, *akakia* dans la main gauche ; au revers, Constantin en costume de *despote* : couronne, *loros*, globe crucifère dans la main droite, croix dans la main gauche (le deuxième type ci-dessus). Le même type est frappé aussi en argent. Cette émission doit être datée de 831.

Constantin mourut à une date inconnue. En tenant compte du récit de la *Continuation de Théophane*, il faut songer à un enfant en bas âge qui pouvait déjà marcher ; il a échappé à la vigilance de ses nourrices et s'est noyé dans un bassin. La notice du Porphyrogénète va dans le même sens : Constantin fut déposé dans un petit sarcophage – il devait être encore un enfant. Et de même, le témoignage de la sigillographie. Théophile a alors frappé une pièce le représentant lui-même au droit en costume civil et au revers les empereurs défunts de la dynastie, à savoir Michel II et Constantin (le troisième type ci-dessus). Grierson date la mise en frappe de cette émission en 830/1, date qui semble peu probable, puisque le même Grierson date l'émission précédente en 830/1. Comme nous l'avons remarqué, cette nouvelle émission doit être datée après la mort de Constantin. La proposition de Wroth qui date cette émission de c. 832⁶³ paraît plus acceptable et plus plausible encore la date proposée par Bellinger, à savoir l'année 833.⁶⁴

D'après cette analyse, il nous paraît légitime de placer la naissance de Constantin vers fin 830 ou début 831, son couronnement en 831 et sa mort en 832. L'affaire de Constantin le despote a connu des prolongements, notamment à cause des émissions des ateliers d'Italie. L'atelier de Syracuse émettait, selon Morrisson, des *solidi légers* qui pesaient environs 21 carats au lieu de 24 des *solidi* constantinopolitains ; vers la fin du règne de Théophile, le titre de la monnaie était aussi affecté.⁶⁵ Bellinger, qui a étudié les *solidi* en question, y reconnaît trois types. Le premier présente l'effigie de

⁶³ WROTH, *Imperial Byzantine Coins*, II [voir n. 20], p. 419.

⁶⁴ BELLINGER, *Emperor Theophilus* [voir n. 30], pp. 102-106.

⁶⁵ MORRISSON, *Catalogue*, II [voir n. 28], p. 516.

Théophile au droit comme au revers ; le deuxième reprend le type constantinopolitain de Théophile au droit et de Michel II et Constantin au revers ; le troisième revient au premier type.⁶⁶ Cette classification est reprise par Grierson, qui date la mise en frappe du premier type de 829 à c. 830, de c. 830 à 831 du deuxième et de c. 831 à 842 du troisième. Toutefois, il pense qu'un *semmissis* et un *tremissis* qui représentent au droit Théophile et au revers Constantin avec comme légende *CONSTANTIN* sans titre, sont des subdivisions du deuxième type des *solidi*.⁶⁷ Le savant numismate n'explique pas pourquoi le deuxième type doit être daté de c. 830 à 831 et surtout pourquoi ces deux subdivisions du *solidus* appartiennent au deuxième type. Ce deuxième type doit être daté de 833, date proposée par Bellinger pour les *solidi* correspondants de Constantinople. Quant aux *semmissis* et *tremissis*, ils sont des subdivisions d'un *solidus* commémoratif et rare, analogue à celui de Constantinople, dont Grierson ne connaissait pas de spécimens.⁶⁸ Leur émission peut être datée de c. 831, date proposée pour l'émission commémorative de Constantinople, à l'occasion du couronnement de Constantin.

Si une explication logique est donnée aux émissions de Syracuse, ce n'est pas le cas des émissions de l'autre atelier d'Italie qui, selon tous les numismates, est celui de Naples. Cet atelier, dont la production est arrêtée après le règne de Théophile, a émis des pièces en or d'un titre bas. Au moins deux types sont attestés. Le premier est semblable au premier type de Constantinople, celui avec Théophile au droit et la croix au revers ; son émission doit coïncider avec celui de la capitale. Le second pose question. Il porte au droit l'effigie de Théophile en costume civil, comme le troisième type de Constantinople. L'effigie d'un seul empereur en costume civil est gravée au revers, mais on lit la légende *MIXAHL S CONZTANTI*.⁶⁹ C'est un véritable casse-tête à plus d'un titre. Certes, nous ne pouvons pas exiger d'un atelier périphérique sur un territoire à peine contrôlé par Byzance la précision et la sévérité exigées pour l'atelier de la capitale. Pourtant, il s'agit d'une pièce en or, même d'un titre altéré, émise au nom de l'empereur de Constantinople et il

⁶⁶ A. R. BELLINGER, *Byzantine Notes*, 3 : *Sicilian Gold of Michel II and Theophilus*, dans *Museum Notes*, 13 (1967), pp. 134-136.

⁶⁷ GRIERSON, *Catalogue* [voir n. 42], p. 417.

⁶⁸ WROTH, *Imperial Byzantine Coins*, II [voir n. 20], p. 426, n° 43, planche XLIX, 8, publie une pièce en or qu'il attribue à l'atelier de Syracuse et qui peut être un *solidus* léger qui porte au droit l'effigie de Théophile avec la légende *ΘΕΟΦΙΛΟΣΒΕ* et au revers l'effigie de Constantin avec la légende *CONSTANTIN*. Il date cette émission entre c. 832 ? et 839 ?. Les *semmissis* et *tremissis* en question sont des subdivisions de cette émission.

⁶⁹ Cf. WROTH, *Imperial Byzantine Coins*, II [voir n. 20], p. 428, n° 56-57, planche XLIX.12 ; GRIERSON, *Catalogue* [voir n. 42], pp. 421-423, planche XXVII, n° 33,1 à 33.4. MORRISSON, *Catalogue* [voir n. 28], ne parle pas de ces pièces, mais sur la planche LXXIV et sous le titre Atelier italien elle publie une telle pièce.

semble incompréhensible que la légende fasse état de deux empereurs alors qu'une seule effigie est gravée.

Grierson, le seul qui a tenté une explication, pense que cette pièce copie l'iconographie d'une émission italienne de Nicéphore I^{er} au revers de laquelle figure l'effigie du coempereur Stavracious.⁷⁰ C'est une explication pour le moins fantaisiste. D'abord, pourquoi reprendre un type monétaire qui datait déjà de plus d'un siècle ? Puis, une comparaison du portrait de Stavracious avec celui de la monnaie en question ne donne pas l'impression d'une similitude, excepté pour celui qui veut à tout prix en trouver une, vu le caractère schématique des portraits impériaux, complètement impersonnels. À notre avis il n'y a qu'une hypothèse appréciable : l'utilisation d'un coin récupéré et réparé pour la frappe de cette monnaie. Après l'émission du premier type par l'atelier de Naples, type qui, comme on dit, est conforme aux règles, Naples a reçu des ordres pour frapper une monnaie commémorative à l'occasion du couronnement de Constantin. Un coin fut préparé à cette fin. L'émission n'a pas démarré, peut-être à cause du manque de métal ou parce qu'entre-temps sont arrivées des nouvelles faisant état de la mort de Constantin. Puis, Constantinople a lancé l'émission des pièces représentant Michel II et Constantin au revers. L'atelier de Naples, disposant du métal pour frapper une monnaie analogue, a récupéré le coin du droit du premier type et le coin inutilisé du revers avec Constantin ; le nom de Michel y a été ajouté avant celui de Constantin et, grâce à cette paire de coins, l'atelier a frappé une nouvelle monnaie. Une telle explication suppose que la vie de Constantin fut très courte, conclusion qui concorde avec celle déjà formulée plus haut.

Cette analyse ne met certainement pas un point final à la question de Constantin le despote, fils de Théophile. Il paraît toutefois évident que le classement des premières émissions en or de Théophile proposé par les numismates anglophones (Wroth, Bellinger, Grierson) est plus plausible que celui qui le suit, proposé par Morrison et Dikigoropoulos. Les conclusions de Bury sont celles d'un historien ; il a proposé une datation pour ces émissions monétaires qui allait de pair avec ses points de vue historiques. La même remarque s'impose à propos de la classification proposée par Treadgold.

En guise de conclusion, nous pouvons dire que Constantin est né plutôt vers fin 830 ou début 831 ; il fut couronné coempereur peu après sa naissance ; il mourut avant le 31 août 832. Hormis Constantin Porphyrogénète, il semble que la *Continuation de Théophane* décrit sa mort accidentelle dans

⁷⁰ Cf. un spécimen rare de cette émission dans GRIERSON, *Catalogue* [voir n. 42], p. 361, planche XVI, n° 12.

le Palais, sans toutefois citer son nom. Les autres sources byzantines n'ont pas jugé nécessaire d'en faire mention, notamment à cause de son rôle historique nul. Sa mémoire est conservée grâce à la notice de Constantin Porphyrogénète, qui transmet son nom en parlant de son tombeau, mais surtout grâce aux émissions monétaires de son père, Théophile. Quant à l'information du *Chronicon Vulturnense*, il faut dire qu'elle est précieuse, car elle est la seule à parler de Constantin comme coempereur. Cependant, il semble que son rédacteur fasse des confusions, citant le nom de Michel avant de celui de Constantin. Ainsi, il crée l'impression que les deux coempereurs auraient régné ensemble. Peut-être le rédacteur a-t-il été victime d'une confusion concernant la vraie situation qui régnait à Constantinople et dont l'émission de Naples garde, comme nous l'avons noté, des traces.

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SUMMARY

Since the 17th century numismatists have been trying to identify a “*Constantine despotis*” who is depicted on coins issued by Theophilus. There have been many hypotheses, some of which possible, others unfounded. More light was shed on the question by the edition of the *De Cerimoniis* of 1829, as it is noted in the text that one of Theophilus's children died at a young age and was buried in a sarcophagus. The edition of *Theophanis continuatus* of 1838 further clarified the matter, as it mentioned that one of Theophilus's children drowned in a pool at the Palace as an infant. Finally, the *Chronicon Vulturnense* states that both Constantine and his brother Michael were crowned co-emperors by Theophilus. The remaining questions are situated in the field of chronology : When was Constantine born? When was he crowned and when did he die?

An analysis of numismatic material allows us to place the birth of Constantine at the end of 830 or at the beginning of 831. It also helps to situate his coronation shortly after his birth. Furthermore, based on the imperial seal of commercial depositories, it can be assumed that Constantine drowned before August 31, 832.

COMPTES RENDUS

J. HARRIS, *The Lost World of Byzantium*, New Haven (CT) et Londres, Yale University Press, 2015, xi + 264 pages. ISBN 978-0-300-17857-9.

For two reasons (and only for the sake of the argument) the title of J. HARRIS' book could be called deceptive. Firstly, the volume is written not so much with an intent to describe how the Byzantine empire reached its end in 1453 as with a desire to understand why it had survived for so many centuries, despite its 'ignor(ing of) political and economic reality in favour of ceremony, antiquarianism, dogmatic disputation and church decoration' (p. 4). The book, in other words, does not sketch the ultimate death of Byzantium but rather explains its endurance for over a millennium. The title's somewhat contrasting focus on the demise of the Byzantine world relates to the prologue (pp. 1-5), in which HARRIS recounts how in the 1540s the French humanist Pierre Gilles (Petrus Gyllius) literally saw a great deal of what was left of Byzantine Constantinople disappear before his very eyes. Those opening pages are absolutely wonderful: when reading them I felt the excitement that must also have been pulsing through Gilles' veins when being 'one of the last people ever to see the great equestrian statue of the emperor Justinian I' (p. 3).

Vibrant and powerful, the prologue is representative of the more than two hundred pages that form the main body of the book and which make the Byzantine empire seem to come to life again. The Byzantine world is described in such a vivid manner that one has difficulties imagining that it indeed is lost (compare again with the book's title). In a somewhat popularizing way, one could state that in the eyes of the reader of HARRIS' book, the world of Byzantium is as alive as are Middle Earth or the Seven Kingdoms to *aficionados* of J. R. R. Tolkien or G. R. R. Martin: one needs to pinch one's cheek to keep aware that it is not a place one could travel to today. (Along the same line and as a compliment to HARRIS' fluent style, one could remark that some of the book's passages would have nicely fitted the screen versions of the said bestsellers, such as pp. 105–106 (with the epic title *The Conquest of the North*) or p. 202 (the succinct description of Leo Sgouros' suicide).)

Among the exponents of the entertaining style of the book are its wonderful *ekphraseis*: one of many examples is the description of how the Hagia Sophia rose from its ashes under Justinian I (pp. 45-46). Many pages bear witness to HARRIS' skilful use of the technique to explain key episodes of Byzantine history by means of graphically retold concrete events (e.g. the birth of the Macedonian dynasty as illustrated through the murder of Michael III on p. 119). A skilled narrator, he is aware of how effective salient details can be to help the reader acquire a grip on more complex issues. Examples include emperor Nicephorus I's ending up as a Bulgarian wine cup (p. 109) or empress Irene's well-known hiding of icons under her pillow (p. 99) – partly on the basis of that anecdote, both phases of iconoclasm are sketched in a clear and comprehensible way. Equally enjoyable are the nice turns of phrase the reader comes across not unfrequently. In the first chapter, for example,

I marked passages such as the following: ‘The city was (...) a swelling ulcer that would one day burst and pour forth blood, a monument only to Constantine’s vanity and wasteful extravagance’ (p. 10, on the newly founded capital) and ‘Woe betide anyone who thought differently’ (p. 18, on Nicaea I’s being official doctrine). Witty are the lapidary observations HARRIS sneaks in, such as that ‘[s]lippery ground had saved the dynasty’ (p. 136, on Constantine Ducas’ failed usurpation of 913). Indeed, very often it is hard to imagine the author not having had his tongue in his cheek when he observes entertainingly that all of the men who in 533 were tortured on a charge of homosexuality were bishops (p. 20), when he calls the patriarch-to-be Photius’ not being ordained a ‘minor detail’ (p. 113), or when he terms Alexius Branas’ beheading by the soldiers of Conrad of Montferrat an exception to his otherwise guaranteed safety (p. 194).

Those qualities in terms of style and readability assist HARRIS in achieving his goal of offering to the reader an accessible introduction to Byzantine history. In presenting that history in ten chapters, he retraces the chronology of the events. While doing so, he follows the abovementioned approach and he singles out certain broader trends – recurrent themes are the close relation between Church and empire; Byzantium’s dependence throughout history on strokes of luck and coincidence; and the avoidance by several emperors of military confrontation in favour of diplomacy and ruse when facing external threats (this is a key issue: see below). Although as a rule such a thematic approach complicates a strictly chronological one, HARRIS succeeds in harmonizing them in a clearly structured volume. Only rarely (despite the absence of cross references!) does the reader feel that structure is somewhat lacking – a rare such case is the figure of Romanus I Lecapenus, whose life and actions are described with interruptions throughout chapters five and six. Towards the end of the volume, HARRIS increases his pace and the reader finds post-1204 events succeeding each other quite rapidly, but that dizziness is perhaps less the result of any editorial intervention than of restless history itself.

The key to accomplish a book such as the one under discussion is a careful selection and presentation of the data. An experienced author of this kind of literature, HARRIS has no difficulties in operating such a selection and in deliberately leaving aside various aspects. His focus clearly lies on history, and not, for example, on religion as such (the 1054 schism does not receive much attention, cf. p. 185) or on literature (figures such as Planudes or topics such as the Palaeologan Renaissance are not mentioned). Also with regard to the restriction of references to secondary literature and to primary sources, the book exhibits the ruthlessness its genre requires: this is not disturbing in any way, although the provenance of citations such as the nice rhyme on p. 182 might have been identified. The attentive eye might perhaps wonder why the list of emperors on pp. 245-247 jumps from John VI to John VIII: some rulers of the waning empire are missing, among whom John VII Palaeologus. The scholarly reader also observes that some vexed questions are treated without very much nuance: examples include the ‘personal conversion’ of Constantine and his identification as the (sole) issuer of the Edict of 313 (both p. 14) and the context of the closing of the Athenian school in 529 (p. 38). Again, however, such procedures can be explained by the nature of the book (which indeed even requires them). Slightly more debatable are the occasional anachronism and the sporadic formulation of a problem that never was one, simply to allow the author to counter it in order to make a certain point. One such example is the statement that ‘[m]any Christians felt that it was inappropriate to read the works of Homer,

Aristophanes and Lucian with their tales of gods, nymphs and heroes, and felt that believers should restrict themselves to the Bible and other edifying matter' (p. 28). A case of less secure chronology is the confrontation of the language of Constantine VII's handbooks with that of the *Digenis Akrites* (see pp. 134-135). Harmless are minor individual points that are somewhat unclear (e.g. p. 6: a manuscript reference such as 'Graecus 156' is too vague, even when the Vatican Library is mentioned) or that apparently overshoot themselves (e.g. p. 163: even with HARRIS' elucidation the precise significance of the term *orphanotrophos* will elude the reader not familiar with Greek). Those points, however, are remarkably few in number, as are typos – the most conspicuous one being *monarchoi* for *monachoi* (p. 25; other misprints on p. 42 l. 14; p. 105 l. 5; and p. 237 l. 20).

This, of course, is nit-picking, which did certainly not stop me from tremendously enjoying HARRIS' book. The author's entertaining style, his masterful presentation of the data and his clear articulation of a fresh and personal view on Byzantine history make for an accessible yet high-standard and interesting book. A nice observation that can be made on the side is that the author does not disappear behind the material: for example, the reader cannot shake the impression that HARRIS has a soft spot for Constantine V Copronymus (see pp. 98, 104 and elsewhere). His eloquence and his skilful selection of the evidence allowed HARRIS to write an introduction to Byzantine history that can be recommended to the amateur but that will also interest the specialised scholar. The book articulates a clear scholarly thesis, which HARRIS puts forward as the answer to the question he brings up in the prologue. With regular frequency he repeats his explanation of Byzantium's survival for so many centuries and despite 'the phenomenal and constant pressure on its borders' (p. 5): 'It did so (i.e., survive and retain its culture and identity) not by becoming a narrow, militaristic state that battened down the hatches and adopted a siege mentality. On the contrary, it strove to turn the constant tide of humanity that washed up against its borders to its advantage, playing one off against another, bringing some inside its borders to boost its own manpower and integrating them into its own religious system and culture' (p. 242).

This hypothesis, which is the backbone of the volume, is a captivating one, whether or not it will meet with general scholarly approval. It also carries within a certain level of tragedy: this policy of the Byzantines is identified by HARRIS as the means that kept Byzantium alive for more than a millennium but at the same time as an approach that proved fatal both in 1204 and ultimately 1453. That explanation becomes even more fascinating in the sense that it adds a perhaps unexpected dimension to the book: it will be difficult to find a 2016 reader who will not find HARRIS' interpretation particularly relevant and pertinent to society today and to the challenges Europe and the rest of the world are facing. The last sentence of the book indeed hardly remains noncommittal: '(...) the strength of a society lies in its ability to adapt and incorporate outsiders in even the most adverse circumstances' (p. 242).

R. CEULEMANS.

F. BERNARD, *Writing and Reading Byzantine Secular Poetry, 1025-1081*, Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2014, xvi + 376 pages. ISBN 978-0-19-870374-7.

Even though not entirely overlooked by Byzantine studies, 11th-c. poetry of Byzantium, peculiar because of the number of poetic texts and their vivid features, is

less explored than the verse art of other periods but the same origin. This is probably due to the fact that it could not be affiliated neither with Antiquity (as the 10th-c. Byzantine poetry) nor with Modernity (as the 12th-c. poetry). F. BERNARD's first independent book – *Writing and Reading Byzantine Secular Poetry, 1025-1081* – comes to fill in this lacuna in scholarship and clearly states its subject and chronological frame as soon as in its title. Indeed, it is a relatively short, but carefully chosen period and it is rather intriguing that not just texts and writing, but also reading is to be taken in consideration – something that already hints at the functional approach of the author and his search for the immediate context of creation and perception of poetic works in their contemporary society. The results of the scrutiny placing poetry in its proper social context enrich our knowledge not just – and not so much – in the theory and history of literature (and of the texts under consideration), but also in previously less studied directions towards the intersection between literature and society: education (and related activities including teachers' disputes, school contests, teaching and learning methods), social position and self-esteem of poets (together with their career ambitions, strivings for patronage and struggle with rivals), reading habits, reasons for self-naming of authors and compiling their own collections, reuse of literary works (sometimes in quite unexpected contexts), mechanisms of humour, peculiarities of city life, motivation for solidarity relationships etc. Issues more closely related to poetry, however, are also explored here and the author convincingly proves that the flourishing of the political verse (on the expense of the hymnographic metres and even the dodecasyllable) is connected to the social dimension, to the prevailing social tastes of the time.

This valuable and fascinating monograph is very wisely structured and its content is delicately presented to the reader in a well-thought and well-styled manner – never imposing, rather suggesting, yet, always clearly determining the author's position on an issue. The content is arranged in eight chapters (further organised in subchapters) and separate 'Conclusions', followed by an extensive bibliography and three indices. Each chapter determines its purpose at the beginning and steadily develops toward it by interpreting poems and other data, sharing meanwhile curious details or interesting discoveries. Quite often chapters have open endings – questions rather than fixed conclusions – and smoothly pass to the topics of the following parts.

The Introduction (1st ch.) elaborates on the purpose of the book, its content, chronological frame and the object of research. The main goal of the author is to pinpoint the contemporary contexts of both creation and perception of the verse texts chosen and to outline the interpretative strategies of the respective reading communities. The chronological frame is bordered by periods of tight imperial power, while between 1025 and 1080 wealth and influence were distributed not according to noble origin but rather on meritocratic principles which made vertical movements in society possible and desirable. Intellectuals, i.e. people writing also poetry, became the new elite. Law, philosophy, rhetoric and teaching came to the foreground of social life. It is clear that all of the more spiritual production, all the literature devoted to God falls outside the scope of the study (or is otherwise seen from a purely sociological aspect), even though it would be interesting to find out whether there was some purely stylistic difference in the writings of the ascetics and 'humanists' or whether it was a dichotomy as old as Aristotelian and Platonic discourses.

The period chosen marks also the first and last dated works by three particular poets (even though not entirely secular in all their literary production). These are

Michael Psellos, Ioannes Mauropous and Christophoros Mitylenaios. Yet many other authors of the period and their creative works are often referred to throughout the study. It is a very reader-friendly feature of BERNARD's writing, not to pile up data, but rather to present them humbly and in a well distributed way. It also applies in terms of sources. While outlining the object of study (giving first some general peculiarities and then focusing on each particular poet and genre) he mentions only some of the primary and secondary sources used. The complete list of sources is to be found in the Index of Manuscripts and it is there that one may count as many as 65 manuscripts of 23 repositories.

Ch. 2 'Concepts' is clearly concerned with terminological clarifications especially in terms of poetry and literature. While giving a few, yet again not too many definitions, the scholar juxtaposes modern and earlier understandings of the concepts and argues that, as far as 11th-c. poetry is determined primarily by its social function, it hardly deserves to be named poetry at all. It is also proven that all the attempts to understand a literary peculiarity, which are based on mere enumeration of stylistic features, are futile. And, instead of studying the frequency of use, preferences and contexts of particular rhetorical techniques, as a philologist would do, the author delves deeply in the social meaning of intellectual writing and reading of the time. It is an interesting phenomenon that 11-c. poets never named themselves this (but rather teachers or rhetors) and that poetry was simply part of social life, early educational curriculum and other discursive practices, i.e. of all the intellectual production of learned people. And if the reader of BERNARD's book was not reminded that the initial meaning of *litteratura* was similar, it is just because of the apparentness of its etymology.

The proper contemporary referring to poetry was either *hoi logoi* – referring to all kinds of discourses as well, or, the more particular *stichoi* and *iamboi*. In addition, the people then termed 'rhetoric' everything related to the production of text. And, as far as poetry (as well as rhythmical prose) was concerned, contemporaries referred to metrics, rhythm and, occasionally, velocity. All 11th-c. references to *poiesis* (and its derivatives) referred only to ancient poetic production. So, by outlining the conceptual framework in which Byzantines wrote and read poetic works, this chapter concludes that they wrote poems mainly for particular occasions.

The 3rd ch. is, to a great extent, the most crucial in the book. It emphasises the growing scholarly need to explore reading culture in medieval times and elaborates on performance and interpretation of the texts under consideration, while excerpting evidence also from certain sources of the time where Byzantine authors accounted for readings and responded to comments on their poems. Again, immediate contexts are presented to give an idea of the visual presentation of poetry in everyday life – as epigraphs on buildings, on smaller objects of art and even on quotidian items. Visuality of poetic texts in manuscripts is also taken in consideration – in relation to both book epigrams and poetic texts which are an integral part of Byzantine codices (the types of this codices are diligently taxomised here). And while giving a few examples from texts in the way their contemporaries saw them – as photographs of the respective manuscript folia – the author somehow omits to emphasise the obvious inclination of the 11-c. scribes to use a system of punctuation marks which was quite similar to the ancient system *distinctiones*. He also omits to mention the fact that the majority of ways to visually arrange poetry he indicates, were exclusive neither to 11-c. texts, nor to poetry. A more detailed, if possible also comparative, study of punctuation would probably bring about fascinating results.

An interesting observation is that scribes pronounced the lines aloud while copying or reading them and that the poems were not fixed texts crafted by a single creator at a particular moment. Besides, the reader's attention was attracted to the visual games in poetic book epigrams. The two accounts of reading, presented further on, contribute to our idea of the reading culture of the time: it becomes clear that poems were not just pronounced before an audience, but also borrowed in their written form (probably on scrolls or separate leaves), commented upon; then, there were also author's responses to the comments. Such limited circulations happened not just among close friends but also within small intellectual (indeed reading) circles, sometimes with pure educational purposes and always as a token of recognition. As such, some poems were given as presents.

Acoustic aspect of poetry is also discussed here, together with particular *figurae* and musicality. In addition, the possibility of improvisation is taken into consideration as well as the hypothesis of poetry designed for singing (rather spiritual or ceremonial than purely secular pieces) and collective oral performance (of educational texts especially in terms of grammar and metre).

It is also in this 3rd ch. that switching contexts of the written word are taken into account, that is the reading history of the texts – not purely as text-critical classification of copies and versions, but rather as distorting their original reading context (even though *lemmata* often preserve the respective historical occasions). While discussing the reuse of existing epigrams, the author mentions the fact that the inscription above the entrance of the Grottaferrata church is actually a work of Theodore the Studite (which is, needless to say, an allusion to the core of Liturgy, even though the overall scope of the study does not permit the author to remind this to his readers). Similar examples from the 11-c. poets are furthermore listed.

Ch. 4 undoubtedly builds upon the previous chapter by discussing the ways and reasons (both purely artistic and social) for compiling verse texts in poetic collections by the authors themselves. It focuses on the two major examples of the time – Mauroπους' poetry book and Christophoros' collection. Some minor groupings of poems – by Mauroπους and by Psellos – are also analysed here with the presumption that it is often impossible to decide whether they form a unit of several poems or constitute a single poetic text. BERNARD's careful analysis reveals that, beside the chronological principle of arrangement, there was at least one additional ruling principle for arranging these collections: a 'progressive biographical logic' (moving from one type of self-representation to another) determines Mauroπους' one, while Christophoros' poems are arranged in thematic cycles, by subject. Another important discovery of the author is a principle he calls 'discontinuity as a continuous message' in Mauroπους' book and the more aesthetic idea of *poikilia* (or variety) that influenced the general arrangement of the poems in Christophoros' collection.

The chapter on poets' ambitions (ch. 5) is even more curious as it deals with the issue of poetry as a tool for social ascent. It is especially appropriate for the period under consideration as one of its most peculiar characteristics was the strong bond between intellectual abilities and public (or administrative) success. From such an aspect, poetic production was part of the overall demonstration of skills, display of power and defence from rivals. This also explains why 11-c. poets assumed such a self-assertive tone, otherwise foreign to Byzantine culture.

BERNARD's analysis convincingly constructs a model of this new meritocratic society (opposite to the preceding aristocratic one) which favoured education, tests, exams, school contests, authorship and all other proves of intellectual skills and

abilities. Again, a large number of poems are gathered to prove the author's assertions as well as to convince the reader that poets saw their own poetry as rhetorical achievement and that the intellectual elite overlapped with the social one managing to impose its will on emperors.

All this also comes to explain why such people had interest to keep their class as limited as possible by means of, mainly, propagating the idea of being distinct (not only intellectually, but also with right manners, conversational and social skills). Precisely education was what made those people of standing distinctive of their rivals and what established solidarity and friendship among themselves. The main medium to celebrate the intellectual *philia* were letters, often accompanying poems with dedications, and the most famous friendship of the time was between Mauropous and Psellos. In fact, the most extensive network of friendships was precisely that of Psellos, expanding over several generations and several classes. It is quite striking that Christophoros' friendships were not always elitist and that family played an important role in his writings. But BERNARD does not hypothesise on whether this difference was due to Christophoros' personality, background, piety or else.

Intellectual distinction was to a great extent also spatial, as the elite was concentrated in the capital, so the image of the intellectual gentleman who was able to speak wittily, cheerfully and with humour was opposed to provincial rude people with defective pronunciation. It is not by chance that secular poetry of the period was always set in Constantinople – the centre for education, culture and power. Quite intriguingly, the last subchapter here reveals two main self-representation strategies of poets tinted by their ethical concerns. While for Mauropous ambition transformed into devotion and modesty in his work in order to present himself as a reclusive, disinterested intellectual, morally obliged, however, to receive promotion, Psellos' personal ambition often overwhelmed his intellectual integrity.

Ch. 6 is dedicated to education as part of the intellectual promotion in the 11-c. meritocratic society and as a domain where poets could gain reputation. It actually deals with the different ways in which education and poetry interact and proves that poetic works were often exercises in teaching of rhetoric. And while there was still no separation between religious and secular schools, the teacher played an active role and entertained relationships or friendships with his pupils, forming, in this way, an intellectual circle around himself.

Poetry was studied at the beginning of the curriculum – by means of, mainly, Homeric verses – to gain knowledge in grammar, metric and style, history, mythology etc. It was often underestimated and contrasted to the much more serious philosophy. Some contemporary poetry was also included in manuscripts used by grammarians and prosody was probably taught by practical exercises, that is examples of verses to be copied or imitated by the pupils. So the poets under consideration in the monograph distributed poetic works at school (or to their single imperial pupil) – including the ones of their own – as sources of techniques, as models to imitate or, at least, as an entertaining and mnemonic way to transmit knowledge. This is well illustrated by a bulk of poems that could not have been suitable for public use, as the formal techniques they demonstrate, predominate any possible ideological message they could convey.

Particular attention is further drawn to 11th-c. didactic poetry also because, as the author states, its quantity and scope were considerable. He underlines the fact that Byzantine didactic poetry seems to us more 'prosaic' than prose in style, diction and vocabulary; besides, such poems can hardly be considered creative works. Here

BERNARD elucidates the peculiarities associated with the *politikos stichos* – ease, pleasantness, clarity and synoptic quality – which well explain the popularity of this metre at the time, especially among both the patrons of poetry and a broad public of students. *Synoptic quality* is a term coined by the author by which is meant that verse was capable to transmit condensed knowledge, or, in other words, to summarise big ideas in short syntactical units that follow a repeating rhythmical pattern.

Ch. 7 ‘Competition’ deals with the phenomenon of rhetorical contests, especially as a driving force for writing satirical and polemical (or, indeed, invective) poems. Besides, competition was an inevitable stage in the career development in the 11-c. Byzantine meritocratic society. There were mainly inter-school competitions, in which teachers played the main roles; besides, such rivalries closely corresponded to the rivalries between neighbourhoods in Constantinople. Again, a large quantity of primary source material is attracted by BERNARD to pinpoint the motives and strategies in poems written for competitive occasions.

Furthermore, humour in poetry is studied and there is an emphasis on its aggressive purpose in Byzantium. The respective subchapter (7.3 ‘Derision and Abuse’) offers an exhaustive analysis of numerous such works, besides not only by the three main authors under consideration. Particular attention is given to Christophoros’ collection (in 7.4) and a number of Psellos’ poems (7.5). At the end of 7.4, BERNARD shares another discovery – a person mentioned in a poem is known also by contemporary seals. Some of the most characteristic rhetorical techniques (including certain previously unnoted allusions, *topoi* etc.) are mentioned alongside some of the key points in the history of the texts.

Ch. 8 ‘Patronage’ investigates the issue of material motivation for writing poetic works in Byzantium at the time. It offers an analysis of the specific representations of patronage rather than of the sponsorship itself. Some of the peculiarities of such a funding in Byzantium are also determined here – e.g. that the lack of institutionalisation and market was compensated by the emperor as the most important source of patronage. The main representations of patronage studied here are commissions, dedications and gifts, according to the dedicatory epigrams referring to them. Requests of patronage are also closely looked upon to discover their utmost achievement – the construction of a concept of a system of culture where a class of intellectuals is of the utmost importance. Such an ideology was supported also by Maupous who, otherwise, did not insist on patronage.

The successful achievement of this model in the 11th-c. Byzantine society is explained by the author as a result of the coincidence of intellectuals in the need to profit from vertical mobility, on the one hand, and governors wanting to be glorified in order to compensate for their shaky dynastic status, on the other. Verse was thus a profitable means for both sides. The author also proves that verse dedications were accepted as more valuable than prose ones and so signified richer funding. Nevertheless, as in medieval society, there were ethical constraints – clearly related to Christianity, even though not mentioned by BERNARD – that prohibited the poets to freely ask for rewards and that made them often stress eternal gains and purely intellectual ideals. What came to fill in the gap between these two oppositions, were the poems given as gifts to benefactors but expecting something in return. The final subchapter here focuses on poems accompanying material gifts. Some of them are clearly markers for the exclusive intellectual culture shared between the poet and recipient.

Instead of repeating deductions made earlier in the monograph, BERNARD decides to structure his ‘Conclusions’ in a way allowing for an open end and involvement

of the readers. Again, he is not imposing definite answers upon them but prefers to design the final part of his monograph in 5 subparts, each presenting a particular opposition between two poles; as it turns out, they do not entirely exclude each other: 'Selbstzweck and Sitz im Leben', 'Ephemeral or Eternal?', 'Frivolity and Value', 'Self-Assertiveness and Submissiveness' and, finally, the question 'Is Byzantine Poetry Poetic?'

Here BERNARD first stresses the importance to consider the 11-c. Byzantine poems not as fossils but as testimonies of vivid intellectual life and personal talents. The message conveyed in the first subpart of 'Conclusions' is that many poems had the function to mainly fulfil a particular role in the enclosed circle of the school or serve other real purposes like applying for jobs, accompanying a gift, addressing important persons etc. The second one, dealing with the nature of poetic works, tackles the lack of meta-poetic discourse as an opportunity for easy circulation (by means of scrolls and oral reciting) in limited intellectual circles and for change of mediums – from stone to paper and back – to prove that there were as many texts as contexts. The third one reminds the fact that contemporary opinions on poetry were rather neglectful although poetic works could well be valuable and prestigious too. This is well illustrated by epigrams in manuscripts (often marked by golden uncial unlike the prose text that surrounds them), by poems given as gifts or accompanying gifts. The fourth opposition focuses on the self-assertiveness of poets and their submissiveness to patrons, both of which related to their ambitions. And the final one makes us think again whether Byzantine poetry is poetry at all, and whether those who created it were poets. Yet, indubitably, poetry carried specific connotations: satire was best conveyed by iambs, measured speech was most suitable for conveying autobiographical and apologetic messages and poetry could bring about both aesthetic pleasure and intellectual appreciation.

The accessible style, the curious facts and details mentioned, together with the translation of the studied texts in English, make this book, I believe, appealing to a broader audience. It will definitely be a fascinating reading not just for professors and students working in the fields of Byzantine or generally Medieval Studies, but also for any intellectual fascinated by the less known sides of Byzantine life.

Ekaterina DIKOVA.

Ruth MACRIDES, J. A. MUNITIZ et D. ANGELOV, *Pseudo-Kodinos and the Constantinopolitan Court: Offices and Ceremonies* (*Birmingham Byzantine and Ottoman Studies*, 13), Farnham et Burlington (VT), Ashgate, 2013, xxii + 540 pages; 24 planches en couleurs. ISBN 978-0-7546-6752-0.

Cet ouvrage résulte de la collaboration d'une équipe de l'Université de Birmingham, qui l'a publié dans sa collection d'études byzantines et ottomanes. Il a été principalement rédigé par Ruth MACRIDES, à qui l'on doit en particulier une récente traduction commentée de la chronique de Georges Acropolitès. Joseph A. MUNITIZ, qui avait, entre autres, traduit Nicéphore Blemmydès, s'est occupé de l'édition du texte grec. Enfin, Dimiter ANGELOV, auteur d'un livre sur l'idéologie impériale et la pensée politique à Byzance entre 1204 et 1330, a conçu l'étude sur la hiérarchie des titres, quatre tableaux associés et l'annotation du chapitre I correspondant. Notons que ces trois chercheurs sont tous des spécialistes du XIII^e siècle, un moment compliqué de l'histoire de Byzance, mais dont il faut absolument tenir compte pour

appréhender un texte du milieu du XIV^e siècle. Le titre indique bien la double ambition du livre et son découpage en deux parties à peu près égales : il vise d'une part à éditer, traduire et annoter le texte appelé *Pseudo-Kodinos* ; il s'attache d'autre part à en réaliser un ample commentaire, sous la forme de sept études de longueurs très inégales.

L'édition du texte grec reprend presque intégralement celle qui fut publiée en 1966, l'année qui suivit la mort de son auteur, Jean Verpeaux, sous le titre *Pseudo-Kodinos, Traité des offices*, Paris, Éditions du CNRS (dans la collection 'Le monde byzantin' dirigée par Paul Lemerle). L'annotation du texte grec ne révèle que quatre menues divergences de lecture avec J. Verpeaux, à qui les auteurs rendent l'hommage qui lui est dû, tout en renvoyant à sa pagination. Il faut d'ailleurs toujours se reporter au livre de 1966 (republié en 1976), pour disposer de l'édition scientifique complète du *Pseudo-Kodinos*, renforcée par l'édition et la traduction de huit courts textes similaires de l'époque des Paléologues, le tout assorti d'un index grec.

Le meilleur manuscrit (A), le *Parisinus gr.* 2991A, est le seul à donner des titres aux douze chapitres du texte. Il a été copié en 1419 à l'instigation de Matthieu Paléologue Lascaris, ambassadeur de Manuel II auprès du sultan ottoman Mourad II. Il contient aussi deux autres listes de préséances à la cour, la liste du moine Matthieu (Blastarès) et la liste anépigraphie en vers (respectivement les appendices III et IV publiés par J. Verpeaux). Une autre branche de la tradition manuscrite, débutant dans les années 1380, regroupe ce texte avec des traités sur l'histoire de Constantinople, en particulier les fameux *Patria* des VIII^e-X^e siècles. Or un copiste douteux du XVI^e siècle, André Darmarios, a attribué tous ces textes à un certain Georges Kodinos : cela explique que tant les *Patria* que le *Traité des offices* puissent être connus sous le nom de *Pseudo-Kodinos*. Enfin, deux manuscrits (V et W) du Vatican (*Vaticanus gr.* 162 et 975) copiés au XVI^e siècle comportent d'importants ajouts au chapitre I 'Sur l'ordre des dignités et offices'. Ces additions commentent les titres de sébastocrator, pan-hypersébate et protovestiaire grâce à des emprunts à l'*Alexiade* d'Anne Comnène. Alors que J. Verpeaux avait commodément édité ces ajouts en bas du chapitre I, notre ouvrage les rejette en appendice de l'ensemble du texte (pp. 270-271).

L'introduction rappelle que le *Pseudo-Kodinos* constitue une compilation de textes de natures différentes. Pour y voir plus clair, on peut dire qu'il regroupe deux types de textes qui étaient séparés à l'époque macédonienne (IX^e-XI^e siècles). Il s'agit d'un côté de listes de préséances (éditées par N. Oikonomidès pour les IX^e et X^e siècles) : à elles correspondent à peu près 40% du recueil, soit les chapitres I sur l'ordre des dignités et offices, II sur leurs uniformes et III sur leurs services, auxquels il faut ajouter le chapitre VI sur le service du grand domestique à l'armée. On a affaire d'un autre côté à des descriptions de cérémonies dont le modèle est évidemment le *De ceremoniis* de Constantin VII Porphyrogénète au X^e siècle : renvoient à ce genre les chapitres IV et V sur les fêtes liturgiques, VII sur le couronnement de l'empereur, VIII, IX et X sur la promotion des despote, sébastocrator, César et patriarche (c'est-à-dire les plus hauts dignitaires de l'État et de l'Église), et enfin XI sur les costumes impériaux de deuil et XII sur la fiancée impériale. Dans sa préface, MACRIDES souligne que trois périodes de l'histoire byzantine émirent à la fois des protocoles de cérémonies et des corpus juridiques, bref se soucièrent de mise en ordre : les VI^e, X^e et XIV^e siècles ; et il faut justement remarquer que l'une des listes de préséance du XIV^e siècle n'est autre qu'un appendice à l'*Hexabiblos* de Constantin Harménopoulos (en particulier dans le plus ancien manuscrit de ce dernier, le *Vaticanus Ottobonianus gr.* 440 de 1346/1351).

Par ailleurs, la comparaison du *Pseudo-Kodinos* avec le *De ceremoniis* met en cause avec acuité l'identité de l'empereur supervisant de tels recueils. L'historiographie cherche depuis longtemps à savoir qui est le Constantin VII à l'origine de la compilation du XIV^e siècle. On a remarqué que certaines descriptions de cérémonies apparaissent très proches de celles livrées par Jean VI Cantacuzène dans ses *Histoires*, en particulier le couronnement d'Andronic III en 1325, qui est un protocole abstrait. En outre, la place accordée au grand domestique non seulement dans le chapitre VI mais aussi en bien d'autres endroits du texte fait écho au titre reçu par Cantacuzène au plus tard la même année 1325. Cependant, il existe entre les *Histoires* et le *Pseudo-Kodinos* des divergences ponctuelles qui empêchent de faire de Cantacuzène le patron direct du recueil. D'ailleurs la rédaction du texte ne permet pas de voir en lui l'exact successeur du *De ceremoniis* : on y trouve moins la description précise de protocoles que leur commentaire, discutant origines et changements dans l'ordonnement et les gestes de la cour. Certaines mentions concrètes prêtent même à sourire, quand on explique que l'empereur reçoit les pétitions le matin car ses sujets sont alors plus sobres qu'après leur repas de midi (p. 82) ! Il existe certes un auteur anonyme, qui intervient parfois à la première personne, a été témoin de certaines scènes, mais ne paraît pas toujours aussi bien informé qu'un Pierre le Patrice, maître des offices de Justinien. La date de rédaction est nécessairement postérieure à 1347, début du règne conjoint à Constantinople de Jean V Paléologue et Jean VI Cantacuzène. En effet, le chapitre II mentionne la promotion cette année-là comme sébastocrators des beaux-frères de Jean VI, Jean et Manuel Asan. Le *terminus ante quem* n'est pas facile à établir. Le texte ne mentionne pas la fête dédiée à Grégoire Palamas (le deuxième dimanche des jeûnes) et paraît donc antérieur à son accès à la sainteté en 1368 (et non 1366 comme le dit MACRIDES). Par ailleurs, le texte ignore la position hiérarchique de l'*epi tou kanikleiou* : ce titre est inoccupé depuis la mort de Nicéphore Choumnos en 1327 et à nouveau occupé par Manuel Ange à une date comprise entre 1354 et 1369. Étant donnés les arguments dont on va faire état qui placent l'auteur dans le parti des Cantacuzènes, je serais tenté de situer la rédaction entre 1347 et 1354, à l'apogée du pouvoir de Jean VI, et non sous le règne du seul Jean V.

La première étude (pp. 275-318), due à ANGELOV, porte surtout sur le chapitre I, qui expose une hiérarchie de 82 titres. Mais elle évoque aussi le chapitre III sur le service (*ὄπηρεσία*), c'est-à-dire la fonction concrète, de chacun des offices, et le chapitre VI sur celui du grand domestique à l'armée. D'emblée, cette étude montre bien que la hiérarchie, loin d'être entièrement immuable, se révèle tributaire du contexte politique des différents règnes. Le texte comporte lui-même des annotations à certains titres mentionnant les premiers empereurs Paléologues, à commencer par Michel VIII. Il faut revenir surtout sur le cas du grand domestique. Le texte affirme qu'Andronic II et Andronic III placèrent le grand domestique Jean Cantacuzène à un rang égal au panhypersébate : le commentaire pourrait remarquer que, parmi les deux empereurs, cette promotion devait davantage au petit-fils qu'au grand-père. Mais le texte ajoute ensuite qu'Andronic III, après la mort de son grand-père, installa le grand domestique Cantacuzène au-dessus de tous, immédiatement après le César. Si l'on considère toujours le sommet de la liste, on peut montrer qu'elle se fonde sur un matériau remontant au moins à 1305 : elle mentionne la promotion par Andronic II de son neveu le panhypersébate Jean Paléologue au-dessus du proto-vestiaire, un événement datable grâce à Pachymère. Le chapitre I expose donc les remaniements intervenus pendant toute la première moitié du XIV^e siècle. L'étude

d'ANGELOV confronte le *Pseudo-Kodinos* aux sept autres listes de préséances remontant au XIV^e siècle, une comparaison présentée synthétiquement par le tableau IV. Deux de ces listes sont presque identiques et plus longues que celle du *Pseudo-Kodinos* : l'appendice à l'*Hexabiblos* d'Harménopoulos et la liste du moine Matthieu (Blastarès) ; elles sont toutes deux dues à des juristes thessaloniens. Toutes ces sept listes présentent des variations de détail et, dans douze cas, une hiérarchie différente de celle qui est exposée par le *Pseudo-Kodinos* ; elles ne mentionnent pas la promotion évoquée du grand domestique. Une analyse prosopographique amène à conclure que les adversaires de Jean Cantacuzène, par exemple les Choumnoi, sont valorisés par ces listes, alors qu'il est lui-même desservi. Il s'avère donc que ces listes reflètent le contexte de la seconde guerre civile de 1341-1347 : elles ont été composées dans l'entourage de la régente Anne de Savoie. Du même coup, on comprend mieux à quel point le *Pseudo-Kodinos* constitue un manifeste en faveur de Jean Cantacuzène.

Sur un plan plus général, cette étude montre que ces listes de préséances du XIV^e siècle ne reprennent plus la distinction entre dignités et offices caractéristique de la cour byzantine jusqu'aux Comnènes. La cour des Paléologues comporte une seule hiérarchie de titres, aux origines plus ou moins anciennes. Selon l'hypothèse de M. Angold, l'unification des deux hiérarchies des dignités et offices remonte à l'empire de Nicée. À l'inverse, il faut dire que la hiérarchie aulique du XIII^e siècle a pu être reconstituée rétrospectivement à partir des listes du XIV^e siècle, ce qui se révèle toujours hasardeux. En outre, certains titres postérieurs à 1204 furent empruntés à des peuples étrangers, par exemple les Turcs (*çavuş*, 'messager', devient *tzaousios*) ou les Latins (le *protoierakarios* est le 'premier fauconnier'). La hiérarchie aulique des Paléologues comporte nombre d'offices du palais, mais leurs détenteurs remplissent en fait des fonctions militaires ou administratives, bien connues en particulier par les sources historiographiques ou les archives athonites. Dans certains cas, le *Pseudo-Kodinos* affirme ne pas connaître la fonction d'un titre, par exemple le logothète du *genikon*, pourtant repéré à la tête d'un tribunal fiscal dans un acte de Kutlumus de 1375. Le trouble vient du fait que le titre aulique porté par un aristocrate peut recouvrir des fonctions concrètes variables selon le contexte. Concernant la rémunération des dignitaires, l'un des mérites de cette étude est de souligner qu'à côté du système dominant de la *pronoia* a subsisté une résiduelle distribution directe de salaires : cela montre surtout que l'empereur demeurait au centre de la rétribution de l'aristocratie, en dépit de la mainmise de celle-ci sur nombre de ressources.

La deuxième étude (pp. 319-358) concerne le chapitre II sur les uniformes, tout en revenant sur le chapitre III dédié aux services. MACRIDES indique que le *Pseudo-Kodinos* est le seul texte byzantin qui traite de manière aussi précise des tenues d'apparat de l'aristocratie. Là encore, l'empereur use de ces symboles avec souplesse, en attribuant parfois à tel dignitaire une tenue correspondant à un rang supérieur ou inférieur : dans le but de signifier la place d'un aristocrate, c'est un moyen plus simple mais peut-être plus efficace qu'une modification de la hiérarchie elle-même. Alors que le vêtement caractérisait la cour de l'époque médiobyzantine, l'époque des Paléologues insiste surtout sur les chapeaux et aussi les bâtons. Comme dans toute société de cour, la relation entretenue avec le souverain est essentielle. Le port de l'épée de l'empereur est d'abord réservé au grand domestique – l'une des raisons qui a sans doute poussé, à côté de son réel rôle militaire, à l'octroi de ce titre à Jean Cantacuzène.

Le troisième essai (pp. 359-365) porte sur les sources pour l'étude du cérémonial. Il cherche à repérer des textes parallèles au *Pseudo-Kodinos* et contemporains de

lui, de la même manière que les différentes listes de préséances. La moisson est beaucoup moins riche que pour la hiérarchie de la cour. Il faut signaler le *prostagma* de 1272 de Michel VIII pour son fils Andronic II qui venait d'être couronné : ce texte rapporte avec précision les cérémonies auxquelles doit se livrer l'empereur héritier, quand il se trouve avec son père à Constantinople et lorsqu'il est seul en province ; le commentaire pourrait rappeler qu'un passage de Pachymère (IV, 29) permet de compléter notre connaissance du cérémonial entourant Andronic II. Cette étude comporte surtout un utile récapitulatif des sources iconographiques, fresques d'églises et enluminures de manuscrits, qui documentent les cérémonies – et la présence de 24 planches en couleurs agrémentent le volume.

La quatrième étude (pp. 367-378) est dédiée au palais abritant les cérémonies. Le *Pseudo-Kodinos* cite une seule fois le Grand Palais dans un contexte fort logique : l'empereur y passe les deux nuits qui précèdent et suivent son couronnement à Sainte-Sophie. Toutes les autres cérémonies se déroulent 'dans l'autre palais' (ἐν τοῖς ἄλλοις παλατίοις). Selon MACRIDES, l'identification de ce dernier au palais des Blachernes repose sur la seule mention de la cour abritant une icône de saint Georges (du XII^e siècle), également connue par Grégoras ; cette cour joue en effet un rôle central dans les cérémonies. Il faut quand même ajouter la mention d'un 'prokathèmenos du palais des Blachernes' (p. 30). Le *Pseudo-Kodinos* contribue grandement à la reconstitution du palais des Blachernes, bien différent du Grand Palais avec son amoncellement de pièces basses et d'espaces ouverts. Le palais des Paléologues, hérité des Comnènes, ressemblait ainsi davantage à un château occidental d'un seul bloc. Un grand bâtiment comprenait plusieurs *triklinoi* pour les banquets, des appartements et une église, le tout relié par une galerie extérieure donnant sur la cour. Une image probablement fidèle en est donnée par les ruines du 'Tekfur Saray' (pl. 23), adossé à la muraille de Constantinople au sud des Blachernes, près du monastère de Chôra, et attribuable à la fin du XIII^e siècle, peut-être destiné au porphyrogénète Constantin, fils de Michel VIII.

La cinquième étude (pp. 379-393) s'intéresse aux expressions de la hiérarchie, c'est-à-dire aux gestes qui régissent les cérémonies. Je me limiterai à un seul exemple tiré du chapitre IV et portant sur la cérémonie de la veille de la Nativité du Christ. Lors du repas de l'empereur qui suit la messe, seuls les dignitaires porteurs d'un chapeau or et rouge ont le droit de s'adresser directement à lui. Ce chapeau est le *skiadion* ; étymologiquement censé protéger du soleil, il comporte une forme pyramidale et des bords relevés : il s'agit sans doute de celui qui est porté par les dignitaires autour de Jean VI présidant le concile, sur l'enluminure de ses œuvres théologiques (pl. 2 : *Parisinus gr.* 1242, fol. 5 v^o). Or le tableau V montre que ce *skiadion* or et rouge caractérise les dix rangs supérieurs de la cour, du despote au grand stratopédarque.

La sixième étude (pp. 395-437) est aussi longue que la première sur la hiérarchie des titres, et traite des cérémonies. Parmi les rituels associés aux fêtes liturgiques, le plus longuement décrit par le *Pseudo-Kodinos* (au chapitre IV sur les fêtes du seigneur) est la *prokypsis*, c'est-à-dire l'épiphanie impériale voire 'une sorte de théophanie', pour reprendre des termes de G. Dagron ('L'organisation et le déroulement des courses d'après le *Livre des cérémonies*', *Travaux et Mémoires*, 13 (2000), p. 123). Elle hérite bien sûr de l'apparition de l'empereur à sa loge de l'hippodrome telle qu'on peut la voir sur la base de l'obélisque de Théodose I^{er}. Ce n'est pas un hasard si la *prokypsis* impériale caractérise surtout la veille de la Nativité puis l'Épiphanie, c'est-à-dire des sortes de *prokypseis* du Christ lui-même. Ce rituel

mobilise les différentes parties du palais des Blachernes : l'église où a lieu la messe, la galerie extérieure où monte l'empereur, la cour où se tiennent le clergé, les dignitaires et la garde.

La description du couronnement impérial livrée par le chapitre VII du *Pseudo-Kodinos* constitue le plus précis texte de ce type dans toute la littérature byzantine. Dans *Empereur et prêtre*, G. Dagron a montré à quel point les rites de l'avènement impérial étaient tributaires d'un contexte politique et chargés de signification quant à la nature même du pouvoir. La continuité revendiquée par les Paléologues avec leurs prédécesseurs sur le trône est bien marquée par le déroulement de cette cérémonie exclusivement au Grand Palais et à Sainte-Sophie. Les sources historiographiques confirment cette donnée, sauf – ironie du sort – pour Jean VI Cantacuzène en 1347 : comme Sainte-Sophie était endommagée par un séisme, l'ensemble eut lieu au palais et à l'église des Blachernes. Le déroulement peut se résumer ainsi. L'empereur prononce sa profession de foi à Sainte-Sophie. Il est hissé sur le pavois au Thomaïtès, une galerie du palais qui donne sur la place de l'Augustéon ; le bouclier est tenu par les hauts dignitaires et le patriarche. L'empereur se rend ensuite à Sainte-Sophie. Il reçoit le diadème béni par les évêques. Il enlève ce diadème, reçoit du patriarche l'onction (*chrisma*) par le *myron* (ou chrême), puis est couronné à nouveau par le patriarche. L'empereur couronne ensuite l'impératrice, reçoit la communion, puis la famille impériale apparaît à la tribune de Sainte-Sophie.

La synthèse de MACRIDES à ce sujet n'expose pas toujours précisément les points communs et les divergences avec les cérémoniaux antérieurs aux Paléologues. On ne peut dire que l'ensemble de l'avènement est intégré dans la liturgie religieuse. La proclamation comme *autokratôr* repose sur l'élévation sur le pavois, à laquelle, il est vrai, le patriarche participe désormais directement (alors qu'auparavant il se bornait à prier). Cette élévation sur le pavois était la norme dans l'Antiquité tardive, mal documentée à l'époque médiobyzantine puis à nouveau connue pour Théodore II Lascaris en 1254. La véritable nouveauté est double : le couronnement lui-même se voit entièrement réalisé à Sainte-Sophie ; l'onction par le patriarche a été introduite. Demeure le geste symbolique consistant à enlever le diadème et à le recevoir à nouveau des mains du patriarche. L'onction par le *myron* est pour la première fois attestée par la discussion entre le patriarche de Nicée Germain II et l'archevêque d'Ochrid Démétrios Chomatianos : elle a donc dû concerner les couronnements de Jean III Batatzès en 1221 et Théodore Ange (peut-être en 1227). Un cas particulier est le couronnement du fils de l'empereur par son père : le geste est accompli à la fois par l'empereur et le patriarche, alors qu'il était auparavant le fait du seul empereur. Depuis le couronnement d'Andronic II par Michel VIII en 1272, la dynastie des Paléologues se caractérise en effet par l'association fréquente de deux *autokratôres* (alors même que l'héritier était déjà *basileus* auparavant). Il se trouve d'ailleurs que le protocole du *Pseudo-Kodinos* est très proche de celui qui est décrit par Pachymère à propos du couronnement de Michel IX par Andronic II en 1294 : cela confirme bien que, comme pour les titres auliques, le texte renvoie à un passé d'au moins un demi siècle. Pour conclure sur l'avènement impérial, on peut dire que la continuité l'emporte, avec la localisation au Grand Palais, l'élévation sur le pavois et la transmission de la couronne de père en fils. Les nouveautés n'apparaissent que comme des inflexions apportées au rôle de l'Église : le patriarche accroît son intervention dans le couronnement au sens strict.

La promotion (πρόβλησις) du patriarche fait l'objet du chapitre X du *Pseudo-Kodinos*, suivant les chapitres VIII et IX sur celle des trois plus hauts dignitaires

(despote, sébastocrator et César). Comme dans leur cas, elle a lieu dans le *triklinos* du palais où se trouve le trône impérial. Après avoir été élu, le patriarche est en effet promu par l'empereur, qui lui remet le bâton patriarcal et reçoit de lui une bénédiction, non sans que les deux hommes s'embrassent sur la bouche, un privilège unique (p. 386). Puis le patriarche se rend à Sainte-Sophie, où il est intronisé (et éventuellement ordonné évêque) par les métropolitains. Ce texte évoque tout le processus de désignation d'un patriarche et il est ainsi unique en son genre. Comme dans le cas du couronnement impérial, il faut remarquer la dichotomie spatiale et institutionnelle : le palais de l'empereur, puis l'église et son clergé.

La septième et dernière étude (pp. 439-444) traite de la musique, des acclamations et de la lumière. Par rapport au *De ceremoniis* qui insiste beaucoup sur les acclamations, le *Pseudo-Kodinos* met plutôt l'accent sur la musique et la lumière. Les instruments de musique évoqués sont des timbales, trompettes, buccins ou flûtes. La lumière se caractérise par un chandelier d'or à deux branches et un grand cierge. Lors de la *prokypsis*, la présence de ce grand cierge devant l'empereur s'inscrit dans l'héritage du *De ceremoniis*, où un hymne salue toute apparition impériale comme un lever de soleil.

De brèves conclusions se concentrent sur la comparaison entre les cérémonies du XIV^e et celles du X^e siècle. L'historiographie a parfois décrit une évolution vers un repli du cérémonial sur la cour au détriment de la ville, mais les deux types de rituels coexistent aux deux époques. La véritable nouveauté de l'époque byzantine tardive est l'association systématique des cérémonies impériales au calendrier des fêtes religieuses. Soulignons pour terminer que la qualité intrinsèque des sept études réunies dans ce volume tient aussi beaucoup à leurs renvois constants à une annotation de la traduction à la fois riche et précise.

V. PUECH.

L. CAPRON, *Codex hagiographiques du Louvre sur papyrus (P.Louvre Hag.) (Papyrologica Parisina, 2)*, Paris, Les Presses de l'Université Paris-Sorbonne (PUPS), 2013, xxv + 188 pages + 40 pages de planches + CD-ROM. ISBN 978-2-84050-894-6.

Contemporary hagiography research has moved beyond the historical perspective and has embraced new methodological frameworks such as, for instance, Narratology, Social History and Gender Studies. The late antique *Vitae* of holy women – virgin martyrs, repentant prostitutes and saintly cross-dressers – have proven to be particularly appealing, as is clear from the huge number of publications on the subject; the recent monograph by Crystal Lynn LUBINSKY (*Removing Masculine Layers to Reveal a Holy Womanhood. The Female Transvestite Monks of Late Antique Eastern Christianity*, Turnhout, 2013) is just one of many examples. With this flood of publications on female sanctity, it is easy to forget that the textual traditions of most of these *vitae* still await thorough philological investigation. The monograph by Laurent CAPRON offers a valuable contribution to the research into three of these *Lives*, viz. the *Vita* of the anchorite Eupraxia (BHG 631, 631b – henceforth, as in the book, VE), the story about Mary, the niece of Abraham of Qidun, who was saved by her uncle from prostitution (part of Abraham's *Vita*, BHG 5-7 – referred to as VAQ), and the *Life* of Theodora of Alexandria (BHG 1727-1729 – henceforth VThA), who achieved sainthood in the guise of a monk.

These *Vitae*, however, are not the immediate point of departure for CAPRON's book, which was originally written as a PhD thesis. Its focus is on the study and edition of a lot of some 50 papyrus fragments, issued from Fayum and today kept in the Louvre at the Department of Egyptian Antiquities (*P.Louvre Hag.* 1-6). Previous work on these rare and important hagiographic papyri by Carl WESSELY (1860-1931) (*Literarische Fragmente der Papyri aus El-Fajjûm*, in *Wiener Studien* 11 (1889), pp. 175-191; *Zu den griechischen Papyri des Louvre und der Bibliothèque nationale. II. Die Vita s. Theodorae*, in *Fünfzehnter Jahresbericht des k.k. Staatsgymnasiums in Hernals*, Wien, 1889, pp. 24-46; *Die Pariser Papyri des Fundes von El-Fajjûm*, in *Denkschriften der Kaiserlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften. Philosophisch-historische Klasse* 37,2, Wien, 1889) left enough to be desired for CAPRON to undertake a more correct and more complete restauration of the fragments, to identify new texts, to correct Wessely's numerous mismatches and transcription errors, and to draw up an excellent commented edition of the whole lot of these papyri. The fragments, written in Alexandrian majuscule, are identified as the remains of three codices: codex 1 (5th-6th c.), of which a single surviving folio contains a fragment from the *VE*; codex 2 (7th c.), which, apart from a few unidentified fragments has transmitted considerable parts of the *VAQ* and the *VThA*; codex 3 (7th-8th c.), of which ten minor unidentified fragments – possibly homiletic – have been preserved. A general introduction (pp. 3-11) describes the fate of the papyri from the moment of purchase by the Louvre in May 1881 and offers a critical survey of the early research by Wessely (identification and edition of *VAQ* and *VThA* fragments in 1889) and Démocratie Hemmerdinger-Iliadou (*Étude comparative des versions grecque, latine et slave de la Vita Abrahamii* (*BHG* 5, 6 et 7), in *Études balkaniques*, 2-3 (1965), pp. 301-308).

The edition of the fragment from the *VE* (codex 1) is preceded by a minute description of the material particulars of the papyrus fragments (dimensions, direction of the fibers, *kollêsis*), an exploration of the paleographical features of the text, and an argument for dating the fragments to the late 5th or the 6th century (pp. 15-17). An inconsistency, however, caught the reviewer's eye: on p. 17, the author cautiously writes: 'Nous conviendrons donc ici, avec prudence, que le codex I date de la fin du v^e ou du vi^e siècle', while on the next page he confidently affirms: 'Écrit vers la seconde moitié du vi^e siècle, il est le plus ancien témoignage de la *VE*'. The grounds for this sudden precision remain unclear. For the presentation of the text and its tradition (pp. 17-25) CAPRON draws on the full hagiographic dossier of Eupraxia, including the Latin, Syriac, Coptic and Slavonic versions (pp. 17-23).

The treatment of the codex 2 fragments – originally part of twelve folios containing pieces of the *VAQ* (9 ff.) and the *VThA* (3 ff.) – is at the heart of the monograph (pp. 33-174). The papyri are vital witnesses to the early stages of these *Vitae*'s textual history – for the *VAQ* as a missing link in the genealogy of the Greek tradition and a 'hinge' between the Syriac original and its subsequent translations, for the *VThA* as a witness to readings that in the mediaeval copies have disappeared altogether. CAPRON's introduction to codex 2 (pp. 33-51) – helpfully enhanced by numerous illustrations and tables – impresses by its balanced combination of science and scholarship. It contains a meticulous description of the reconstruction work (restauration of the fragments, composition of the quires, determination of the characteristics of the book as a whole) and of the particulars of the codex (dimensions, page layout, paleographic properties), which is then dated to the second half of the 7th century. The papyri cover a substantial part of the story of Mary, Abraham's

niece, which is embedded in the *VAQ* (pp. 53-123). CAPRON presents a critical survey of the scholarly questions that surround the text: the historicity of Abraham of Qidun, the alleged authorship of Ephraem the Syrian, the connection of the *Vita* with the hymns on Abraham, the unity of the two parts of the *VAQ*. The original Syriac tradition – to which the Greek papyrus text is found to be close – receives ample attention. A similar rigorous treatment is given to the *VThA* (pp. 125-173). The author here dwells at length on the narrative structure of the *Vita*, to arrive at the suggestion that it may have been meant for the stage. This hypothesis is corroborated by the above treatment of the codex's punctuation marks (esp. the *paragraphos*), page layout and text structuring (pp. 49-51). The author then quickly passes over the literature on transvestite saints – too narrow a perspective for him to arouse much interest – and proceeds to questions concerning the historical and ideological (Chalcedonian) context and the Alexandrian (Mariout region) setting of the *vita* – issues that are met with more enthusiasm. The discussion of codex 2 is concluded with the edition of two tiny unidentified snippets of papyrus (pp. 170-171), followed by a general conclusion (pp. 172-173), in which the author entertains the suggestion that the book may have contained a thematic collection of female saints' *Lives*, which – according to his intriguing but not at all unconvincing hypothesis – may have been meant for life performance.

As CAPRON's monograph does not have a general conclusion, it ends somewhat abruptly with the edition of ten minor fragments, originally belonging to three folia of codex 3 (pp. 174-180). The fragments remain unassigned, in spite of the editor's careful attempts to reconstruct some words and the identification of a quotation from Isaiah. The suggestion made in the question-form subtitle on p. 174, 'Fragments d'une homélie?', is not explained in any way, but the reader can assume that the issue has been addressed in a previous publication by the author referred to in a footnote ('Isaïe entre les pampers et les épines du desert: fragments d'homélie chrétienne' – still marked as 'à paraître' in the bibliographic list but appeared in 2013 in *Études anciennes* 54). A brief explanation or résumé would not have been out of place.

The actual text editions (of codex 1: *VE* pp. 26-29; codex 2: *VAQ* pp. 70-105, *VThA* pp. 138-149, unidentified fragments pp. 170-171; codex 3: unidentified fragments pp. 176-179) are exemplary. Apart from a brief exposition of the editorial principles and a list of abbreviations and text critical signs (p. xv), each edition of an identified text is prefaced by a careful discussion of the broader manuscript tradition. CAPRON offers lists of all known text witnesses and presents the results of his collation – not without criticizing the grouping of witnesses in the *BHG* (pp. 24, 68-69) – with a view to the selection of manuscript texts close to the papyrus, which are then used as an aid for the *constitutio textus*. Diplomatic transcriptions of the papyri are presented alongside grey-scale reproductions of the fragments on the left, and accompanied by a normalized, reconstructed text on the right. All lacunae, omissions, deletions are carefully marked, as are unclear readings and conjectures. A critical apparatus adduces the readings of the selected witnesses in support of the editorial choices that fill the gaps and shape the reconstructed text. Where possible, a French translation has been added at the bottom of the page. Unfortunately numerous (though minor) referencing mistakes mar the *apparatus* (for instance p. 87: (line) 184 should be indicated before τοῦ μακαρίου; p. 89: unnecessary repetition of 192; p. 97: 275-276 should be omitted before διατί; p. 143: reference to 58-60 should be to 58-59; p. 145: 76 should be indicated before ἐκεῖ; p. 149: unnecessary repetition of 109).

CAPRON's book is a nicely finished hard cover volume with full coverage of the papyri fragments, both in clearly printed plates and in high-resolution files on the included CD. It comes with a rich bibliography (pp. xvi-xxv), a list of illustrations (p. xiv) and a useful index of Greek words (pp. 181-188). Most of all, however, it is a fine piece of scholarship that commands admiration for the breadth of its scope and its scholarly rigour.

Lara SELS.

N. MELVANI, *Late Byzantine Sculpture (Studies in the Visual Cultures of the Middle Ages, 6)*, Brepols Publishers, Turnhout, 2013, x + 299 pages; 114 photos en noir et blanc, 4 dessins et 10 planches en couleurs. ISBN 978-2-503-53064-2.

Cet ouvrage consacré à un domaine encore mal connu de l'art byzantin constitue la version révisée de la thèse de doctorat que l'auteur a soutenue à l'Université d'Athènes en 2008. Bien qu'essentiellement architecturale et surtout liée aux édifices religieux, la sculpture tardobyzantine (1204-1453) présente de nombreuses et intéressantes facettes qui sont exposées en 6 chapitres. Outre les nombreuses illustrations, on notera aussi la présence d'une bibliographie sélective (pp. 213-226) et celle d'un précieux index des noms propres et des noms de lieux. L'auteur a combiné différents angles d'approche pour traiter ce vaste sujet qui, jusqu'à présent, a peu attiré l'attention des chercheurs : il analyse non seulement la sculpture dans son contexte architectural tout en s'efforçant de définir ses caractéristiques stylistiques, mais il examine aussi le contenu des textes de l'époque relatifs aux sculptures, de même que les inscriptions et les éléments héraldiques sculptés. La sculpture tardobyzantine est ainsi appréhendée comme un témoignage du contexte historique auquel elle appartient et comme un reflet de la société à l'origine de sa création.

L'introduction fournit un bon aperçu du contexte historique, géographique et culturel de la période étudiée. Après le sac de Constantinople en 1204, l'Empire va connaître un processus de fragmentation géographique et politique qui va contribuer à l'émancipation de certaines provinces, gouvernées alors par des membres des grandes familles impériales. À Constantinople, la dynastie des Paléologues s'imposera en 1261 et sera à l'origine d'une renaissance artistique et littéraire influencée par un courant humaniste.

Le premier chapitre 'Textes et symboles' (pp. 13-25) recense les passages textuels relatifs à l'art de sculpter. Si celui-ci n'est pas considéré comme aussi abouti que l'art de peindre, plusieurs auteurs des XIII^e-XIV^e siècles, tels Georges Pachymère et Manuel Philès, y font allusion et vont jusqu'à manifester leur admiration à l'égard des sculpteurs qui parviennent à rendre vivant des personnages en modelant un matériau inerte comme la pierre. L'étude des inscriptions figurant sur les installations funéraires est particulièrement intéressante car elle révèle que plusieurs poèmes d'hommage et épitaphes gravés sur les tombes des membres de riches familles de Constantinople, de Thessalonique, de Verria et du Mont Pélion en Thessalie, étaient confiés à des poètes renommés de l'époque. Ces courts textes visaient principalement à célébrer les donateurs alors que les inscriptions funéraires latines conservées dans l'Orient méditerranéen comportent des informations beaucoup plus précises sur le défunt et sa famille. Une autre différence avec le monde latin concerne l'usage des blasons et armoiries sculptés, rares à Byzance : alors que les sculptures commanditées par les marchands génois de Constantinople et de Trébizonde étaient souvent

ornées de blasons, on ne rencontre que des imitations de lions héraldiques sur quelques sculptures byzantines. En revanche, le recours aux monogrammes était beaucoup plus fréquent chez les Grecs car il correspondait à une tradition bien établie perpétuant le souvenir du donateur privé ou ecclésiastique. La mauvaise qualité des illustrations (en particulier, les fig. 27, 29, 81, 86, 87 et 94) ne permet pas de lire correctement divers monogrammes décrits dans le texte.

Le deuxième chapitre (pp. 27-41) a trait aux matériaux et aux méthodes de travail des sculpteurs. L'auteur souligne avec raison la prédominance du marbre qui reste le matériau de prédilection. Il mentionne aussi l'utilisation du plâtre pour des reliefs épirotes et l'usage fréquent des remplois. Il passe malheureusement sous silence l'essor de la sculpture sur bois en Macédoine et en Bulgarie à partir du XIII^e siècle. L'auteur souligne à juste titre que les méthodes archéométriques n'ont jusqu'à présent que peu été appliquées aux sculptures méso- et tardobyzantines. Néanmoins, il aurait pu évoquer les progrès réalisés ces dernières années dans l'identification de la provenance des marbres blancs grâce aux analyses chimiques en signalant les articles suivants : W. Prochaska, S. M. Grillo, 'A New Method for the Determination of the Provenance of White Marble by Chemical Analysis of Inclusion Fluids: the Marbles of the Mausoleum of Belevi/Turkey', *Archaeometry* 52 (2010), pp. 59-82 et C. Vanderheyde, W. Prochaska, 'Le marbre en Bulgarie à la période byzantine : l'apport de l'étude des sculptures architecturales de Sozopol', *Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique* 135.1 (2011), pp. 351-375. L'examen des outils des sculpteurs et de leurs traces fait l'objet d'un rapide survol chichement illustré (cf. fig. 7 et 11). L'auteur observe que les sculpteurs choisissaient de laisser délibérément visibles les traces de certains outils dans le but d'aboutir à un effet stylistique renforçant les contrastes visuels. Néanmoins, beaucoup de ces traces étaient *in fine* masquées par un enduit peint. Parmi les techniques considérées, le haut relief semble bien réservé aux templa et aux aménagements funéraires, principaux réceptacles du patronage aristocratique, tandis que des motifs plus simples sculptés en bas-relief ou en champ-levé ornaient les éléments architecturaux et les installations liturgiques, tels les ambons. Au sujet de la question délicate de l'organisation des ateliers de sculpteurs, l'auteur distingue les ateliers urbains des ateliers itinérants mais ne propose pas de nouvelles hypothèses à propos du rayonnement géographique de ces derniers. Il fait cependant remarquer avec raison que pour des projets de grande ampleur, des sculpteurs d'origines diverses collaboraient certainement, tandis que pour des édifices plus modestes, les sculpteurs étaient intégrés aux équipes de maçons. Une dernière catégorie concerne les ateliers spécialisés dans la production de pierres tombales qui connaît un réel essor en raison des commandes émanant des Latins établis en Grèce.

Le troisième chapitre (pp. 43-84) envisage la sculpture tardobyzantine dans son contexte architectural. L'auteur commence par examiner les reliefs des templa en faisant observer que le décor de ces installations liturgiques n'est pas très différent de celui les caractérisant à l'époque mésobyzantine. L'attribution de certaines sculptures, telle par exemple la tête d'apôtre de l'Odalar Camii à Istanbul (p. 46, fig. 14 c-d), à des épistyles de templa nous paraît néanmoins douteuse. Le revers de cette pièce trahit en effet la réutilisation d'une plaque d'ambon. L'auteur se limite à observer que les iconostases en bois sont prédominantes après 1453, alors que l'examen des décors sculptés des templa en bois datés des XIII^e-XIV^e siècles aurait été susceptible de fournir des points de comparaison avec ceux ornant leurs équivalents en marbre. Peu d'innovations spectaculaires caractérisent les chapiteaux de cette période à l'exception de ceux de la Pantanassa à Mistra et de la Parigoritissa à Arta.

Le même constat vaut pour les corniches intérieures des églises. En revanche, les icônes sculptées sont davantage répandues dans les édifices au programme plus ambitieux financés par de riches donateurs. Il eût par ailleurs été plus judicieux de grouper l'étude des encadrements des fenêtres et des portes avec celle du décor sculpté des façades. L'auteur fait remarquer que ce dernier type de décor n'est pas un élément caractéristique de l'architecture tardobyzantine mais il néglige d'évoquer Saint-Jean Aliturgitos à Nessebar, en Bulgarie, qui présente à nos yeux un exemple significatif de l'aboutissement du décor sculpté des façades. Parmi les installations liturgiques sculptées étudiées, les ambons de Verria et d'Ohrid datés du premier quart du *xiv*^e siècle constituent les pièces majeures de cette période. Plus rares sont les chaires épiscopales, telle celle de l'église d'Episkopi dans le Pélion, en Thessalie, dont la photo est peu lisible (fig. 66). La sculpture funéraire demeure la plus emblématique par son originalité comme en témoignent les formidables *arcosolia* sculptés, encore bien conservés, dans l'église du monastère de Chora à Constantinople. Dans les provinces, le domaine funéraire est illustré par des installations connues comme les sarcophages monolithes ou composites reflétant les revendications politiques et dynastiques du temps.

Le quatrième chapitre s'intéresse à la place occupée par la sculpture dans l'iconographie tardobyzantine (pp. 63-84). L'auteur y compare plusieurs sujets figurés en bas-relief à ceux, analogues, que l'on observe dans la peinture monumentale et sur les icônes. Les quelques portraits sculptés de défunts ou de donateurs constituent à ce propos une véritable innovation. Les motifs animaliers (aigle, griffons, lions, sphinges, centaures, paons, oiseaux) ne diffèrent pas de ceux utilisés à la période mésobyzantine et présentent le même symbolisme. Un constat similaire vaut pour l'ornementation végétale, dont les motifs sont standardisés mais dont les compositions asymétriques ne présentent plus le même équilibre caractérisant les décors sculptés de la période précédente. Les motifs géométriques demeurent secondaires, tandis que la décoration pseudo-coufique connaît un nouvel essor en Macédoine et dans le sud de la Grèce. L'étude approfondie du décor du temple tardobyzantin révèle certaines associations du décor sculpté et peint aux thèmes liturgiques de la Déisis, de la Théophanie et de la Paraclèse évoqués au cours des offices religieux. Un dialogue analogue entre liturgie et décor sculpté est perceptible sur les *arcosolia* du *parekklesion* du monastère de Chora à Constantinople : les sculptures figurées sur les arcs font écho au thème de l'intercession invoqué lors des oraisons funéraires, des psalmodies et des rites commémoratifs. L'examen de deux cycles iconographiques sculptés, situés à proximité des entrées des églises de la Parigoritissa à Arta et de Sainte-Sophie à Trébizonde, met en évidence leur caractère exceptionnel, résultant d'influences extérieures occidentales pour la première, et orientales pour la seconde. L'auteur n'insiste pas sur le rôle particulier des icônes sculptées alors que leur caractère dévotionnel ne fait aucun doute, comme l'atteste encore leur disposition dans l'espace intérieur de Saint-Marc à Venise. Un aperçu des différents personnages représentés sur ces icônes est certes utile mais la prudence s'impose au sujet de l'attribution du saint Jean-Baptiste ailé d'Arta à une scène de la Déisis (p. 76).

Le chapitre 5 intitulé 'La sculpture tardobyzantine et son évolution stylistique' (pp. 85-130) consiste en un catalogue qui retrace de manière succincte le développement de la sculpture constantinopolitaine ainsi que celle de plusieurs zones géographiques : Macédoine, Épire, Thessalie, Péloponnèse, région de Trébizonde, monde slave, Orient latin et Méditerranée orientale. Selon nous, il aurait été cependant plus judicieux de placer ce catalogue au début de l'ouvrage afin d'y faire

référence dans les chapitres liminaires dont la réflexion se focalise souvent sur le matériel gréco-constantinopolitain. On regrettera par ailleurs un examen parfois trop rapide de certaines des sculptures présentées et quelques références bibliographiques lacunaires.

Dans son dernier chapitre (pp. 131-146), l'auteur analyse les motivations des donateurs des sculptures et le milieu social auquel ils appartiennent afin de mieux comprendre les raisons de cette production. Jusqu'à la deuxième moitié du XIV^e siècle, les sculptures funéraires sont essentiellement commandées par des membres de la haute aristocratie ou de la famille impériale des Paléologues, ainsi que par les dirigeants des États grecs indépendants ou semi-indépendants, tandis que le patronage ecclésiastique semble plus rare. Par la suite, plusieurs installations funéraires sculptées sont réalisées à la demande de marchands italiens de Constantinople et de Trébizonde, ce qui témoigne de leur rôle accru dans les affaires commerciales et la vie économique de la capitale. Les ateliers de sculpteurs de la capitale travaillaient à la fois pour la famille impériale et les membres de la haute aristocratie, alors que, dans les provinces, les équipes de sculpteurs gravitaient autour des familles de hauts dignitaires. L'installation des Latins dans plusieurs régions de l'Empire entraîne l'émergence d'autres modèles formels et iconographiques. Il aurait été intéressant de réfléchir au rôle des interactions culturelles entre Grecs et Latins dans l'apparition de certains motifs sur les sculptures du XIII^e siècle. En revanche, l'A. met bien en évidence la fonction idéologique et commémorative des bas-reliefs ornés d'éléments héraldiques qui sont intégrés dans plusieurs façades d'églises, dans le décor des temples et des mausolées ou encore dans les murailles des fortifications. Il souligne aussi, de manière convaincante, le développement d'une tendance classicisante caractérisant les sculptures funéraires de Constantinople, qui traduit des notions liées à la rédemption de l'âme des donateurs. Dans les autres provinces de l'Empire, si l'intercession reste le thème dominant dans cette même catégorie de sculptures, d'autres motifs sont utilisés pour proclamer ostensiblement la puissance politique et le statut des donateurs. Selon nous, il aurait aussi fallu tenir compte des moyens limités dont disposaient les régions périphériques pour la réalisation de monuments funéraires auxquels ne travaillaient sans doute seulement que des artisans moins bien formés aux techniques de la sculpture figurée en haut relief.

L'une des questions soulevées dans la conclusion concerne l'origine du style classicisant des sculptures constantinopolitaines. L'A. minimise l'influence de la sculpture monumentale occidentale, soulignant avec raison que ce style caractérise aussi la peinture des édifices de la même période et qu'il répond à une demande du milieu aristocratique de Constantinople auquel appartenaient les donateurs. L'apport d'influences extérieures, issues de l'Anatolie musulmane, de l'Italie, de la Dalmatie et de l'Orient latin, se perçoit davantage au niveau régional que dans la capitale et reflète la grande diversité stylistique qui marque l'ère des Paléologues par rapport à celle des dynasties macédonienne et comnène. Si on le compare à la période mésobyzantine, l'espace couvert par le décor architectural s'est réduit au temple et aux installations funéraires. L'art occidental ne paraît pas avoir incité les sculpteurs constantinopolitains à concevoir leurs œuvres en trois dimensions. En revanche, l'art roman tardif a eu un impact important sur la production sculpturale d'Arta, de Dalmatie et de Serbie au XIII^e siècle. Inversement, selon l'auteur, la sculpture tardobyzantine n'aurait eu absolument aucune influence sur le développement de la sculpture européenne. Il nous semble néanmoins important de rappeler le rôle de Venise

dans la transmission de modèles et de techniques propres à la sculpture byzantine dans l'Occident médiéval. Ce chapitre montre bien que, jusqu'au milieu du XIV^e siècle, l'épanouissement de la sculpture tardobyzantine fut intimement lié au dynamisme de ses commanditaires qui utilisèrent cet art pour exprimer leur foi en la rédemption après la mort ou pour exposer les signes de leur pouvoir terrestre.

Certaines parties de cet ouvrage auraient pu être approfondies, élargies (notamment la question des matériaux utilisés par les sculpteurs), et mieux illustrées, mais il n'en demeure pas moins que cette synthèse fournit, tant au spécialiste qu'à toute personne intéressée par l'art médiéval, une très bonne vue d'ensemble de l'art de sculpter entre les XIII^e et XV^e siècles. L'espace gréco-constantinopolitain reste privilégié par rapport aux autres régions car le matériel étudié y est jusqu'à présent mieux documenté que dans les autres régions de l'Empire. L'un des mérites principaux de ce livre est d'avoir réussi, à partir d'éléments sculptés déjà publiés mais souvent retrouvés isolés de leur environnement architectural initial, à replacer dans son contexte social ce domaine de recherche prometteur de l'art byzantin.

Catherine VANDERHEYDE.

NOTICES BIBLIOGRAPHIQUES

Elena N. BOECK, *Imagining the Byzantine Past. The Perception of History in the Illustrated Manuscripts of Skylitzes and Manasses*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2015, 314 pages. ISBN 978-1-107-08581-7.

Le temps d'un cloisonnement trop prononcé entre les différentes disciplines qui ont à s'occuper des manuscrits illustrés n'est plus. S'il fallait démontrer le bienfondé d'une approche pluridisciplinaire, cet ouvrage s'en chargerait. Il présente l'étude comparative de deux manuscrits historiographiques, dans lesquels s'affichent des constructions sicilienne et bulgare de l'histoire byzantine. Les deux manuscrits sont bien connus des historiens de l'art : ce sont le 'Skylitzès de Madrid' et le 'Manassès du Vatican'.

Le 'Skylitzès de Madrid' (*Matritensis gr. vitr.* 26-2) est un manuscrit illustré de la *Synopsis historion* de l'historien Jean Skylitzès, produit au milieu du XII^e s., durant le règne de Roger II de Sicile (et pour lui, selon la thèse de l'A.) ; le 'Manassès du Vatican' (*Vatican, Slav.* 2) présente une traduction bulgare, également illustrée, de la *Chronique* de Constantin Manassès ; le manuscrit a été copié et décoré au milieu du XIV^e s. pour le tsar Ivan-Alexandre de Bulgarie (r. 1331-1371).

L'A. rappelle que, si les deux manuscrits présentent des points communs qui rendent leur comparaison pertinente, les textes historiographiques qu'ils transmettent relèvent de genres différents : Jean Skylitzès (fin XI^e s.) était sans doute un haut dignitaire de la Cour de Constantinople, dont le nom n'est pas certain ; son œuvre couvre, en 21 chapitres, les années 811-1057 (mort de Nicéphore I^{er} - couronnement d'Isaac Comnène). La *Synopse historique* en vers de Constantin Manassès a été écrite entre 1142/3 et 1153 ; elle commence à la création du monde, et mène le lecteur jusqu'à l'accession de la dynastie Comnène au trône de Byzance (1081). Les deux œuvres ont connu un réel succès, mais qui s'est marqué différemment : une douzaine de manuscrits grecs de Skylitzès sont conservés, contre une bonne centaine de copies du Manassès. Cette différence tient à la simplicité du second, par rapport au premier : le genre de la *Chronique* universelle est en effet beaucoup plus accessible, caractérisé par une structure narrative simple (progression chronologique linéaire), qui met en évidence quelques moments choisis d'un règne individuel, et des histoires sensationnelles ; l'histoire du monde y est résumée en petites séquences narratives faciles à 'digérer'.

Tout cela est très bien présenté par l'A., qui propose aussi une description minutieuse des deux objets. Elle retrace également leur histoire, et les opinions émises à leur sujet dans la littérature scientifique.

Enfin, avant de s'attaquer à l'étude des illustrations et à l'évaluation de leur message, l'A. décrit le contexte respectif dans lequel les deux projets ont été pensés (la Sicile du XII^e s. et la Bulgarie du XIV^e), et les raisons qui y ont mené (chap. 2). Le chap. 3 commence sur une constatation qui résume bien l'importance de la reprise sur frais nouveaux, sans préjugés (si possible), de l'analyse iconologique des deux

manuscripts : *Because images in the Madrid Skylitzes provide rich scenes of imperial, civic, and military life in the Byzantine empire, individual images from the manuscript have been extensively utilized in modern publications to visualize everything from the veneration of icons, to courtly ritual, to fashion. Beloved by creators of book jackets and embraced in popular publications as vivid illustrations of a world we have lost, they have often been treated as political and cultural constructs. Unfortunately, the tendency to treat the Sicilian manuscript's images of Byzantium as images from Byzantium has obscured the larger messages about Byzantine history that the manuscript was created to communicate. In contrast to the internationally acclaimed Madrid Skylitzes, the Vatican Manasses has failed to capture the imagination of modern audiences outside of Bulgaria. Its scholarly perception still reflects its medieval function. By forging indelible links to the imperial prestige of Byzantium, it continues to boost Bulgarian pride. But in an odd twist of fate, this fascinating Bulgarian creation has often been viewed as a celebration of Byzantium's imperial history rather than as a tactical takeover and practical makeover of it (p. 87).*

Dans la plus grande partie de l'ouvrage, les illustrations sont analysées comme telles, mais aussi dans leur rapport avec le texte qu'elles illustrent : le concepteur du programme de chaque manuscrit a dû adapter, sélectionner, amplifier, écarter, redonner une forme à bien des passages du texte de départ ; certains détails prennent de l'importance par rapport à une tradition, qu'ils suivent ou dont ils s'écartent ; les images peuvent donc prendre un sens différent quand elles sont comparées avec d'autres du même manuscrit, ou quand elles sont confrontées à d'autres témoins de l'enluminure byzantine. Au total, ce que nous montrent le Skylitzès de Madrid et le Manassès du Vatican sont deux présentations tronquées et manipulées de Byzance, deux façons de se l'approprier en fonction de besoins précis : dans les deux cas, il s'agit de marquer la légitimité d'une cour royale, mais la différence de contexte et des relations avec Byzance impose de le faire d'une façon différente.

Un bel ouvrage, donc, qui obligera à regarder ces manuscrits avec d'autres yeux, et à étendre ce nouveau regard à l'ensemble des livres illustrés. S'il y avait un reproche à formuler, il ne s'adresserait pas à l'A., mais aux contingences matérielles qui obligent à présenter de telles recherches avec des reproductions en noir et blanc et en petite taille des images étudiées ; le cahier central de planches en couleur (pour la plupart en pleine page) accentue l'impression d'insuffisance qui naît à la vue des autres reproductions. Heureusement, il existe de bons fac-similés des deux manuscrits, mais ils ne sont malheureusement pas disponibles dans toutes les bibliothèques.

Véronique SOMERS.

Penelope BUCKLEY, *The Alexiad of Anna Komnene. Artistic Strategy in the Making of a Myth*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2014, xv + 318 pages. ISBN 978-1-107-03722-9.

L'*Alexiade*, ou l'histoire de l'empereur Alexis I^{er} Comnène (r. 1081-1118) racontée par sa fille Anne, n'a certainement pas été délaissée par le monde académique ; la bibliographie rassemblée aux pp. 298-307 en fait foi. Il s'agit d'une source importante pour le règne, mais qui va bien au-delà, même si la figure d'Alexis est idéalisée : *It shows awareness of the act of writing as itself a form of government, of rescue and control, its strategies mirroring the strategies ascribed to Alexios in ruling. It is a history and also a drama, one in which 'the Emperor Alexios, my*

father' is the mask, and 'I, Anna', the voice (p. 1). L'A. entend la considérer comme une œuvre d'art littéraire, qui construit une légende *in the medium of history* : le but est d'examiner comment et à quel effet Anne Comnène a créé cette légende autour de son père, et comment ce dernier en vient à incarner l'idéal impérial, au point de représenter le pendant de Constantin tel que le dépeint son hagiographe Eusèbe dans la *Vita Constantini*, et au point que sa mort constitue la fin de l'Empire véritable.

Sans ignorer une tendance, assez récente dans la recherche, à considérer l'*Alexiade* comme le résultat d'une association entre Anne Comnène et son époux, Nicéphore Bryennios, assignant à celui-ci la part du lion, l'A. entend surtout insister sur la diversité présente dans cette œuvre : *The Alexiad is not a military manual, nor a mirror of princes, nor a funeral oration. It is not romance or court satire or even wholly epic. It draws on all these genres among others, and counts on readerly familiarity with them, but it does not conform itself to any* (pp. 9-10). Ces divers aspects montrent que la figure d'Alexis, tout comme le récit de son règne, appartiennent au mythe sur lequel Byzance est fondée : celui d'un renouveau ou d'une continuité à travers le changement (p. 11).

La tendance à mêler continuité et changement est une caractéristique des textes historiques byzantins, et l'A. montre que, malgré ses différences, l'*Alexiade* se fonde d'une certaine façon sur la *Chronographie* de Psellos et incorpore d'autres textes en les réélaborant. Tout l'art réside dans la façon : [Anna Komnene] *is doing something everybody does and something no one has* (p. 14). Plus qu'à la vérocité historique, l'A. s'intéresse à la manière dont Anne Comnène construit ses tableaux ou ses portraits. Pour mieux cerner les méthodes artistiques utilisées, l'A. entend les comparer avec celles de quelques textes-phares : l'*Hylé historias* de Nicéphore Bryennios, la *Chronographia* de Psellos, les *Historiae* de Skylitzès, la *Vita Basilii*, et la légende constantinienne.

La démarche d'Anne Comnène peut aussi être étudiée sous des angles particuliers, comme l'hellénisme chrétien et la théocratie. L'A. précise en quels termes ces notions doivent être entendues – et comment elles évoluent – dans ce cas-ci (pp. 15-23). Elle souligne aussi l'accueil assez mitigé qu'Anne Comnène reçoit comme historienne, par certains critiques modernes ou certains de ses pairs byzantins (Choniatès, par ex.). Dans les différents chapitres de l'ouvrage, l'*Alexiade* est étudiée, livre après livre, à la lueur de ces notions, tandis que sont soulignées les différences et ressemblances par rapport aux auteurs évoqués ci-dessus.

En *Appendice*, l'A. livre quelques réflexions sur les traits communs que l'*Alexiade* partage avec des textes de la Renaissance (pp. 290-297 : *The Alexiad as pre-Renaissance text*).

Véronique SOMERS.

P. CESARETTI, *Leonzio di Neapoli. Niceforo prete di Santa Sofia. Vite dei Saloi Simeone e Andrea* (BHG 1677, 115z). *Premessa di Augusta ACCONCIA LONGO. Introduzione di Lennart RYDÉN* (Testi e studi bizantino-neoellenici, 19), Rome, Bolis Edizioni, 2014, 397 pages. ISBN 978-88-940045-2-6.

The present volume is a new edition of P. CESARETTI's book on 'santi folli di Bisanzio' from 1990 (Leonzio di Neapoli – Niceforo prete di Santa Sofia, *I santi folli di Bisanzio. Vite di Simeone e Andrea*, a cura di Paolo Cesaretti, Introduzione di Lennart Rydén, Mondadori, Milan 1990, 257 pages). It contains a preface by

A. ACCONCIA LONGO, on whose request the new edition was prepared. Then follows an extensive editorial note and acknowledgments by CESARETTI, where he elucidates why and how this new edition came about, discussing its different sections. The general design of the volume consists, as in the 1990 book, of a general introduction (in Italian) by L. RYDÉN to the late antique phenomenon of 'holy folly' and to the *Lives* of the two best-known examples, Symeon (*BHG* 1677) and Andrew (*BHG* 115z), followed by CESARETTI's Italian translation of these two works. The actual text is in both cases framed by a 'note on the title' and a section called 'apparati', which includes an index of names, an index of quoted passages and some illustrations. The final part of the book contains three particular sections which present general tools and discussions pertaining to both *Lives*. In 'Esercizio di lettura', CESARETTI quotes an excerpt from the Greek text of the *Life of Symeon*, namely the episode of the miracle with the cross-eyed girls, which serves as a vehicle to describe and discuss the linguistic features of the text and the author's style. Next, CESARETTI provides a comprehensive glossary and finally an epilogue in which he discusses recent scholarship on the two *Lives* as well as possible topics for future research.

Apart from the fact that the 1990 volume went out of print in 1994, which made it hard to obtain a copy ever since, the republication of CESARETTI's book on the *Lives* of Symeon and Andrew was driven by the need to update the work in light of new scholarly developments on these texts during the past two millennia. But the new volume also does more than that. Apart from L. RYDÉN's introduction, which is taken from the earlier volume, albeit with some minor stylistic revisions by CESARETTI, and the two translations, which are fully revisited, the rest of the book presents new contents not present in the earlier work.

First of all, the book contains an extensive and up-to-date bibliography on the two texts and the phenomenon of holy folly more generally, which was completely absent in the previous edition. Secondly, the translations themselves have been paired with useful tools to navigate the texts, namely the index of names (both of people and places) and of biblical and other intertextual references. These tools are a valuable addition since they render CESARETTI's translations more widely operative and make them of interest to a non-Italian public as well. Thirdly, whereas the 1990 book contains only one map, this volume contains no less than five maps (four for the *Life* of Symeon and one for the *Life* of Andrew), three of which were created especially for the volume. The map of Constantinople in the old volume is replaced with a new one indicating significant places in the story of Andrew. The other four maps are added as illustrations of the geographical setting of Symeon's story. Most interesting is the one where the fictional journey of Symeon is reconstructed. Next, it is also worth mentioning that the notes on the text at the bottom of each page underneath the translation, although they were already present in the 1990 edition, have been expanded considerably, functioning as a true commentary on the text. They contain not only references to biblical parallels and historical and geographical contextualizations, but also include bibliographical references to secondary sources as well as original observations by CESARETTI of philological, linguistic, narratological, topographic and even iconographic nature. Finally, the three special sections in the final part of the book are also brand new. The 'reading exercise', which is perhaps the least conventional section of the volume, is meant for didactic purposes and wants to confront the reader with some of the original Greek, as is explained by CESARETTI in his editorial note (p. 10). He adds that the episode of the cross-eyed girls was selected for this purpose because it is a well-known passage, particularly

valued by critics for its linguistic and stylistic merits. Although CESARETTI's in-depth discussion dealing with, for example, the use of a certain verb or of a particular syntactic structure appears somewhat out of context, its value lies in the fact that it allows the reader to get a more general sense of the author's style and the linguistic particularities of seventh-century Greek, which is when the *Life* of Symeon was written. In this light, however, it would have been preferable if a similar 'reading exercise' were provided for the *Life* of Andrew, a tenth-century text (or so it is presumed). Another section that is added in the new edition is the glossary, which is more than just a list of terms and definitions. CESARETTI has selected thirty concepts pertaining to holy folly or relevant to the *Lives* of the two holy fools (examples are 'angelo', 'precognizione/profezia', 'riso/sorriso', 'teatro e spettacoli', etc.). For each concept he discusses the role and meaning within both narratives and in relation to each other, linking them to concrete passages and situating them within a more general context of late antique urban and religious life. It thus serves, to use CESARETTI's words, as a guide into 'the world of the holy fool in thirty words' ('Il mondo dei saloi in trenta parole'; p. 359). To conclude, CESARETTI presents the state of the art on the two texts in his 'postfazione', with special attention for publications from the intermediary period between the two volumes. From this overview, the author infers some interesting lines of research that remain to be studied, most importantly the way in which the sources of the *Lives* signaled in the volume reveal a certain poetics of the text and inform its goal and structure (p. 395).

While both the *Life* of Symeon and the *Life* of Andrew have been translated into different modern languages (English, French, Dutch, etc.), this volume now also assures its continued availability in Italian. Moreover, whereas for the *Life* of Andrew, an extensive commentary and an index of names and references are easily accessible in L. Rydén's two volumes from 1995 (*The Life of St Andrew the Fool*, Uppsala), for the *Life* of Symeon, CESARETTI's book unites this kind of information for the first time in one place. Moreover, while an index of names and places was already available in L. Rydén (*Das Leben des heiligen Narren Symeon von Leontios von Neapolis*, Uppsala, 1963) and a commentary is provided in A. J. Festugière (*Vie de Syméon le fou et vie de Jean de Chypre*, Paris, 1974), the index of biblical and other intertextual references was not yet available for this text before the publication of the current volume. Furthermore, CESARETTI's work presents a particularly original dimension by introducing less conventional ways of approaching both *Lives*, for example through the inclusion of illustrations, the reading exercise and the 'world of the holy fool in thirty words'. Nevertheless, its main strength remains the combined approach to the two most important *Lives* of holy fools, which facilitates comparative studies of these two texts by making them accessible in one volume. Thanks to the various additions that were made in comparison with the earlier 1990 volume, this combined approach has now reached its full scope and becomes an important working tool for many students of either or both of the *Lives*.

Julie VAN PELT.

J. E. COOPER et M. J. DECKER, *Life and Society in Byzantine Cappadocia*, Basingstoke, Palgrave Macmillan, 2012, 339 pages. ISBN 978-0-230-36106-5.

L'ouvrage sous recension continue la recherche doctorale menée par J. E. COOPER à Oxford. Celle-ci se focalise sur une région importante de l'Empire byzantin : la

Cappadoce, qui est ici scrutée dans les sources disponibles, entre le IV^e et le XI^e siècles ; en effet, la région a fait l'objet d'âpres disputes entre Byzantins et forces arabes puis turques, jusqu'à la bataille de Mantzikert (1071), où Romain IV s'incline devant les Turcs Seldjoukides, et où elle est définitivement perdue pour Byzance.

La vie en Cappadoce est relativement bien connue au IV^e siècle, grâce aux sources littéraires d'exception que constituent les textes des Pères cappadociens : Basile de Césarée, Grégoire de Nazianze, et Grégoire de Nysse. Pour les périodes suivantes, les sources écrites sont plus aléatoires, et les renseignements fournis par les sources archéologiques sont plus parlants, même si ces dernières ne sont pas toujours d'utilisation facile (elles ne sont pas toujours publiées, ou le contexte de leur découverte est inconnu).

Par rapport à d'autres parties de l'Empire byzantin, la Cappadoce présente une particularité géologique : elle est partiellement constituée de massifs en tuf, où les hommes ont créé des habitats depuis l'époque hittite (voire avant). La vie dans les complexes urbains creusés dans ces massifs, parfois habités sans discontinuité malgré les changements d'empires, ne peut naturellement pas s'envisager dans les mêmes termes que les villes 'de plaine', créées ou développées aux époques hellénistique et romaine, et qui occupent une place différente dans la géographie administrative : les A. distinguent bien la Cappadoce rocheuse du reste dans leurs analyses. Celles-ci révèlent la grande richesse de la culture cappadocienne, où se retrouvent des éléments de l'héritage anatolien, mêlés à des éléments perses, arméniens, puis arabes, en plus de ce qui relève de la culture byzantine et chrétienne. Les données démographiques ou économiques ne sont pas toujours faciles à quantifier ou à évaluer dans l'état actuel de la documentation, mais il est indéniable que les provinces, puis les thèmes, auxquels a appartenu la Cappadoce, bien que ruraux, ont fourni des élites dont le rôle au niveau du pouvoir central a parfois été très important. Les A., conscients des limitations auxquelles ils se sont trouvés confrontés, espèrent avoir encouragé des recherches plus approfondies sur cette région.

D'un point de vue pratique, on peut peut-être regretter que les notes soient rassemblées en fin d'ouvrage (pp. 261-287) ; cette option a été prise dans le but de faciliter la lecture, mais est-ce vraiment le résultat obtenu ? On peut aussi regretter le modèle réduit adopté pour les cartes : ici aussi, l'idée était de rassembler le maximum d'informations dans un espace minimal, mais la clarté en a souffert. Il s'agit là de détails qui trouveront leurs défenseurs et leurs opposants, et qui n'enlèvent rien au mérite de la démarche. La bibliographie considérable couvre les pp. 288-315 ; les dernières pages (pp. 316-339) sont consacrées à l'index.

Véronique SOMERS.

La face cachée de la littérature byzantine. Le texte en tant que message immédiat. Actes du colloque international, Paris, 5-6-7 juin 2008, organisé par Paolo Odorico en mémoire de Constantin Leventis (Dossiers byzantins, 11), éd. par P. ODORICO, Paris, Centre d'études byzantines, néo-helléniques et sud-est européennes, 2012, 331 pages. ISBN 2-95306555-3-4; ISSN 1637-8350.

L'idée qui sous-tend le colloque auquel nous devons ces *Actes* est à la fois simple et novatrice : réunir plusieurs spécialistes des différents types de productions littéraires byzantines pour leur demander de présenter un texte et de l'examiner par rapport au message qu'il contient et qui s'adresse à un public à définir, mais

contemporain de l'auteur, au-delà des déclarations qui souvent remplissent des préfaces (p. 9). Les textes et auteurs étudiés vont du IX^e au XIV^e s.

P. ODORICO, *Oneirokritika : critique des rêves ou critique par les rêves ?* (pp. 11-22), montre, à l'occasion des interprétations possibles de la réponse de Théodore Daphnopatès à un (peut-être forgé par lui) *pittakion* de Romain II (*Lettres* 15-16 de la correspondance de Th. Daphnopatès, X^e s.), que la production écrite à Byzance avait souvent un caractère utilitaire.

D. BIANCONI, *Dire e contraddire. Committenti, autori e pubblico nella letteratura delle controversie religiose (due esempi dal XIV secolo)* (pp. 23-40), aborde le thème par le biais de la littérature polémique du XIV^e s., en l'espèce les *Antirrhétiques* respectives de Grégoire Akindynos et de Nicéphore Grégoras.

Ch. MESSIS, *Public hautement affiché et public réellement visé : le cas de l'Apologie de l'eunuchisme de Théophylacte d'Achrida* (pp. 41-85), a choisi un traité de la fin XI^e - début XII^e s., qui défie l'un des préjugés majeurs les plus ancrés dans la tradition littéraire byzantine (p. 43), et lui permet d'entreprendre une enquête plus vaste sur l'eunuchisme à cette époque.

Contrairement aux autres contributions, J. SIGNES CODOÑER, *La diffusion envisagée par l'auteur pour son œuvre comme guide pour un classement de la littérature à Byzance aux IX^e et X^e siècles* (pp. 87-122), considère d'abord le problème du classement des textes dans la littérature byzantine. Insatisfait des divisions actuellement proposées, il souligne que *tout texte composé selon les normes de la grammaire et de la rhétorique antiques, aux yeux des Byzantins de cette époque était 'littéraire'* (p. 90), et que, si l'on envisage le texte *au moment où il est sorti de la plume de son auteur* (p. 87), il existait à Byzance *une littérature de l'éphémère* (p. 91). Il en veut pour exemple la poésie non liturgique de l'époque du second iconoclasme et de la dynastie macédonienne, et propose un nouveau tableau des genres littéraires à Byzance, établi *en raison de la diffusion envisagée par leurs auteurs*, comme critère complémentaire à d'autres (p. 91), mais n'a pas la prétention d'être inattaquable.

M. FEATHERSTONE, *Theophanes Continuatus: A History for the Palace* (pp. 123-135), examine le cas particulier du Continuateur de Théophane, qui rassemble trois textes séparés, conservés dans un seul manuscrit (*Vat. gr.* 167, du XI^e s.). Il nous offre une comparaison avec l'*Histoire* connue sous le nom de *Génésios*. Les quatre premiers livres de la Continuation de la 'Chronique de Théophane', en effet, ont été 'commandés' par Constantin Porphyrogénète, insatisfait du résultat d'une première commande à Génésios. Les deux œuvres se révèlent toutefois aussi tendancieuses l'une que l'autre.

F. RONCONI, *La collection brisée. La face cachée de la 'collection philosophique' : les milieux socioculturels* (pp. 137-166), nous propose un nouvel examen des 18 manuscrits composant la 'collection philosophique', très important chaînon de notre connaissance de la philosophie ancienne. Ces différents volumes ont sans doute été copiés à Constantinople pendant le troisième quart du IX^e s. ; mais, d'après l'A., ils n'ont jamais formé une 'collection' au sens propre. Au contraire, ils se répartissent en trois groupes distincts, émanant de milieux différents.

Ch. ANGELIDI, *La Vie de Macaire le Romain : écrire pour le plaisir ?* (pp. 167-178), analyse un texte ascétique antérieur à la fin du X^e s., mais dont les circonstances de rédaction sont loin d'être claires. Ce texte original fait appel à l'imagination du public, et était probablement plus adapté au niveau intellectuel de la masse que des textes ascétiques déjà abondants, mais plus sophistiqués.

I. NILSSON, *La douceur des dons abondants : Patronage et littérature dans la Constantinople des Comnènes* (pp. 179-193), examine l'*Hodoiporikon*, sorte de récit de voyage dans la Palestine des Croisés écrit en dodécasyllabes par Constantin Manassès, œuvre moins bien connue que sa *Synopsis Chronikè*, mais illustrant le même principe : *le contenu et la manière dont le texte est écrit sont réglés par celui qui commande et qui paye ; au XII^e s., il s'agit souvent d'une personne de la cour ou d'une personne renommée, en bonnes relations avec la cour* (p. 180). Le 'message immédiat' de l'*Itinéraire* veut faire connaître au public la situation des poètes.

M. MULLETT, *Whose Muses? Two Advice Poems Attributed to Alexios I Komnenos* (pp. 195-220), s'intéresse aux Μοῦσαι Ἀλεξιάδες Κομνηνιάδες, un manuscrit très fragmentaire. Sous-titre : *The final admonitions and instructions of Alexios Komnenos, mother-lover, autokrator, to John Porphyrogenetos, victor, autokrator, father-lover, his son* ; les vers comptent 501 lignes conservées, et se répartissent manifestement en trois sections ; les nombreux problèmes qu'ils soulèvent sont passés en revue.

St. EFTHYMIADIS, *Quand Nicéas Choniates a pris la plume : la genèse d'une œuvre historiographique* (pp. 221-236), montre que l'originalité de cet auteur ne serait pas apparue si nous n'avions conservé de lui que sa correspondance, ses éloges, et sa *Panoplie dogmatique* ; c'est son œuvre historique qui nous dévoile son humanisme, et la complexité de la tradition manuscrite (différentes versions conservées), qui remonte à l'auteur lui-même, reflète son évolution personnelle et l'époque mouvementée où il écrit. La comparaison de certains passages avec d'autres textes contribue à révéler sa personnalité.

G. CAVALLO, *Alla ricerca del doppio pubblico di Michele Psello* (pp. 237-245), explore l'*Encomium* de Michel Psellos à Syméon Métaphraste qui, contrairement à ses autres Éloges, ne concerne pas un contemporain mais une figure antérieure d'un siècle ; il tente de comprendre la raison d'être d'une telle œuvre, et de cerner le double public auquel elle s'adresse : une élite lettrée, et la masse qui a besoin de clarté.

M. HINTERBERGER, *Ein Editor und sein Autor: Niketas Stethatos und Symeon Neos Theologos* (pp. 247-264), sonde la *Vie de Syméon le Nouveau Théologien* rédigée par Nicéas Stéthatos, en s'interrogeant sur l'implication de cet auteur dans ce texte.

A. TIMOTIN, *Message traditionnel et message immédiat dans l'hagiographie méso-byzantine (IX^e-XI^e siècles)* (pp. 265-274), cherche à illustrer, dans quelques textes hagiographiques, une option théorique sur les types de messages véhiculés par les textes byzantins (messages immédiats directs et voilés).

A. KALDELLIS, *The Timarion: Toward a Literary Interpretation* (pp. 275-287), s'intéresse à un ouvrage unique dans la littérature byzantine : une satire philosophique (v. 1100) transmise dans un manuscrit des œuvres de Lucien.

S. PAPAIOANNOU, *Fragile Literature: Byzantine Letter-collections and the Case of Michael Psellos* (pp. 289-328), veut illustrer le propos du colloque avec les collections épistolaires byzantines du IX^e au XII^e s., et plus particulièrement avec Psellos.

Véronique SOMERS.

Le Patriarcat œcuménique de Constantinople et Byzance hors frontières (1204-1586). Actes de la table ronde organisée dans le cadre du 22^e Congrès International des Études Byzantines, Sofia, 22-27 août 2011 (Dossiers Byzantins, 15),

éd. par Marie-Hélène BLANCHET, Marie-Hélène CONGOURDEAU et D. I. MUREŞAN, Paris, Centre d'études byzantines, néo-helléniques et sud-est européennes, 2014, 358 pages. ISBN 2-9530655-7-2; ISSN 1637-8350.

Dans l'*Introduction* (pp. 7-21), D. I. MUREŞAN esquisse l'évolution qui s'observe dans l'utilisation des termes 'patriarches' et 'œkoumène', ainsi que des mots qui en dérivent, dans le monde de l'Antiquité tardive puis de Byzance. Au terme de cette évolution, certains aspects de la situation demandent à être élucidés. Un colloque international s'était déjà tenu à cet effet à Rome (2005), dont les travaux de cette table ronde du colloque de Sofia poursuivent les recherches. Les thèmes principaux en sont le patriarcat œcuménique et les prolongements de sa politique en dehors des frontières byzantines, dans les derniers siècles de Byzance et ceux qui ont suivi sa chute. Les contributions ont été réparties en quatre séries.

La première série est consacrée à la 'Redéfinition du pouvoir patriarcal' : M. STAVROU, *Rassembler et rénover une Église en crise : la politique ecclésiale du patriarche Germain II (1223-1240)* (pp. 23-36), examine le rôle joué par Germain II dans la rénovation de l'identité orthodoxe dans l'Empire de Nicée, plus particulièrement en relation avec la question des frontières du patriarcat de Constantinople ; I.-A. TUDORIE, *Le patriarche Athanase I^{er} et les arsénites : une lettre patriarcale contre les schismatiques* (pp. 37-67), s'intéresse à une autre figure de patriarche, Athanase I^{er}, et à la crise qu'a connue l'Église byzantine suite à la déposition du patriarche Arsène Autoreianos (1254-1260, 1261-1264) ; A. S. ANCA, *The Ecumenical Patriarch as Mediator. Patriarch and Emperor in the Palaiologan Period* (pp. 69-79), examine le rôle de médiateur qu'a pu jouer le patriarche œcuménique entre l'empereur et une personne qui l'aurait offensé ; P. GURAN, *Frontières géographiques et liturgiques dans la lettre d'Antoine IV au grand prince de Moscou* (pp. 81-97), reprend le dossier des rapports entre Russie et Byzance à la fin du XIV^e s.

La deuxième partie, 'L'institution ecclésiastique en acte(s)', regroupe quatre contributions : Chr. GASTGEBER, *Das Patriarchatsregister als Spiegel der Religionspolitik: Registerführung unter dem palamiten Isidoros I. (1347-1350)* (pp. 99-131), étudie, dans le registre synodal du patriarcat byzantin, un certain nombre de documents rédigés sous le mandat d'Isidore I^{er} (1347-1350) ; L. PIERRALLI, *I 'protocolli' delle riunioni sinodali* (Regestes, n^o 1549, 1567, 3424 [= 2352 a]) (pp. 133-157), s'intéresse à un type particulier de documents synodaux : les 'protocoles' ; il y joint une liste des protocoles synodaux connus, une discussion sur une formule qui y apparaît, et la reproduction en couleurs de trois documents ; J. PREISER-KAPPELLER, *Calculating the Synod? New Quantitative and Qualitative Approaches for the Analysis of the Patriarchate and the Synod of Constantinople in the 14th c.* (pp. 159-172), utilise les outils de la statistique moderne pour éclairer certaines questions qui se posent à la lecture du Registre patriarcal ; Ekaterini MITSIOU, *Information Channels Leading to the Patriarchate of Constantinople in the 14th c.* (pp. 173-185), examine les sources d'information et de désinformation sur lesquelles patriarches et synodes pouvaient baser leurs décisions au XIV^e s.

Dans la troisième partie, cinq articles sont centrés autour de l' 'Extension et rétraction des espaces juridictionnels' : Marie-Hélène CONGOURDEAU, *Le patriarche Kallistos I^{er}, les moines bulgares et le myron* (pp. 187-201), apporte de nouveaux éléments au dossier d'un litige qui opposa le patriarcat œcuménique et l'Église de Bulgarie vers 1360-1362 ; D. I. MUREŞAN, *Le patriarcat œcuménique et les patriarcats balkaniques (Tarnovo, Peć). Enjeux ecclésiaux et impériaux au XIV^e s.* (pp. 203-242), examine les

rapports tumultueux entre le patriarcat œcuménique et les Églises serbe et bulgare au XIV^e s. ; G. PRINZING, *Emperor Manuel II and Patriarch Euthymios II on the Jurisdiction of the Church of Ohrid* (pp. 243-271), propose une version mise à jour d'un article antérieur, en y ajoutant en appendice le texte grec de trois documents avec traduction anglaise ; K. VETCHNIKOV, *Le titre officiel des métropolitains russes au Moyen Âge* (pp. 273-307), oriente ses recherches sur la titulature des dignitaires de l'Église russe (avec un tableau récapitulatif) ; Marie-Hélène BLANCHET, *Le patriarcat de Constantinople et le rejet de l'union de Florence par les patriarches orientaux en 1443. Réexamen du dossier documentaire* (pp. 309-326), revient sur un dossier qui sera lourd de conséquences.

Une quatrième et dernière partie regroupe trois séries de notes relatives à des 'Éléments de continuité institutionnelle' du patriarcat : D. G. APOSTOLOPOULOS, *Les 'frontières' d'un patriarcat œcuménique* (pp. 327-332), s'interroge sur la portée du terme 'œcuménique' quand les frontières politiques de l'Empire rétrécissent, ou après sa disparition ; Machi PAÏZI-APOSTOLOPOULOU, *Institutions du patriarcat œcuménique concernant les fidèles intra muros et hors frontières* (pp. 333-338), s'intéresse à la survivance des institutions patriarcales après la chute de l'Empire aux mains des Ottomans ; Youli EVANGELOU, *Les relations entre les monastères et le patriarcat de Constantinople à l'intérieur des frontières ottomanes au XVI^e s. : quelques hypothèses* (pp. 339-350), revient sur la situation particulière des monastères dans le même contexte.

Les différentes parties, ou groupements thématiques, sont nommément indiquées dans la table des matières, mais ne sont pas signalés dans le corps de l'ouvrage.

Véronique SOMERS.

Ch. MESSIS, *Les eunuques à Byzance, entre réalité et imaginaire (Dossiers byzantins, 14)*, Paris, Centre d'études byzantines, néo-helléniques et sud-est européennes, 2014, 428 pages. ISBN 978-2-9530655-6-5 ; ISSN 1637-8350.

L'ouvrage est la première des publications tirées d'une thèse soutenue en 2006, portant sur 'la conception de la virilité à Byzance et sa représentation dans la production littéraire', sous la direction de P. Odorico (p. 7).

L'eunuchisme à Byzance semble connaître un regain d'intérêt : en plus de ses propres recherches, l'A. fait en effet allusion (p. 9) à deux autres monographies récentes sur le sujet (K. Ringrose, *The Perfect Servant. Eunuchs and the Social Construction of Gender in Byzantium*, Chicago / Londres, 2003 ; Sh. Tougher, *The Eunuch in Byzantine History and Society*, Abingdon / New York (NY), 2008), et en annonce une troisième, tirée de la thèse de G. Sidéris. Il existe cependant une importante différence de point de vue entre ces publications et celle-ci : l'A. ne s'intéresse pas à l'histoire des eunuques à Byzance (le rôle qu'ils ont joué dans l'administration, par ex.), mais à l'histoire des discours multiples sur les eunuques. Le livre essaie de retracer une histoire des représentations plutôt qu'une histoire des réalités (...). Il est le fruit des recherches de quelqu'un qui se veut un adepte de l'anthropologie historique et qui aspire à situer son travail dans cette ligne de pensée (p. 9). Et le résultat est, sans conteste, d'une grande richesse.

L'Introduction commence par rappeler l'importance des eunuques à Byzance, avant de préciser l'objet du travail : les significations symboliques de l'eunuque telles qu'elles sont véhiculées par les textes, mais aussi la construction de l'eunuque en tant

que catégorie rhétorique signifiante (p. 13). L'A. présente ensuite diverses théories par lesquelles on tente d'expliquer la raison même de l'existence des eunuques, dont certaines remontent à l'Antiquité. Si la présence d'eunuques à Byzance, dans les hautes sphères, est un héritage de l'empire romain de l'Antiquité tardive, cette présence s'accroît par la suite, l'âge d'or de l'eunuchisme à Byzance se situant du VII^e au XI^e s. ; ensuite, l'évolution de la société byzantine conduit à la marginalisation des eunuques. Dans un deuxième temps, l'*Introduction* montre que, dans la littérature, les eunuques sont une *construction culturelle et rhétorique* (p. 27) : *La préoccupation principale des textes n'était pas la description et l'explication d'une réalité quelconque, mais la confirmation de vérités d'ordre culturel (politiques, théologiques, sociales), ce qui explique que le discours sur les eunuques soit le plus souvent construit en exemples. En effet, leur présentation se fait au moyen d'une série d'exemples qui typifient les différentes réalités* (p. 28). C'est cette construction que vise à retrouver ce travail, en analysant l'image de l'eunuque donnée par différents types de sources (œuvres littéraires, lois, canons ecclésiastiques, témoignages historiques, etc.), et non le parcours de certains eunuques importants, ou le profil de l'eunuque moyen.

Le premier chapitre fixe le *cadre général* de l'étude : l'A. y examine la terminologie relative aux eunuques, relevant, outre εὐνοῦχος, plusieurs mots pouvant les désigner (par ex. : θλιβίας, σπάδων, etc.) ; toutefois, en dehors des textes techniques, législatifs et médicaux, l'usage de ces mots n'est pas toujours précis, et le champ sémantique qu'ils recouvrent est parfois assez flou. L'A. s'étend ensuite sur les différentes techniques de l'eunuchisme, avant de cerner l'origine ethnique et sociale des eunuques, qui connaît une évolution certaine au fil du temps.

Dans le chap. II, l'A. analyse *l'héritage de l'Antiquité tardive* en matière de discours relatif aux eunuques, comme par exemple : le discours 'scientifique' des textes médicaux et/ou philosophiques ; le discours social ; le discours chrétien, qui ajoute une dimension spirituelle ; le discours hagiographique, etc. Il en ressort que, du point de vue du genre, la place de l'eunuque n'est pas bien définie : il peut être perçu comme une sous-catégorie du masculin, ou comme relevant de la catégorie du féminin, voire quelque chose d'indéterminé entre les deux. Dans la pensée chrétienne, la seule voie positive qui s'ouvre à lui est celle de la sainteté, *qui équivaut à l'effacement total de l'eunuque en tant que catégorie à part* (p. 96).

Le troisième chapitre examine la situation de l'eunuque vis-à-vis des *institutions d'ordre* : l'A. y cherche à définir l'eunuque dans les lois de l'État, et dans le droit canon.

Dans le quatrième chapitre, c'est le rapport des eunuques à la sainteté qui est analysé. Une série d'exemples permettent de mettre en avant divers types d'eunuques, de premier plan (dont les grandes figures de sainteté que sont le patriarche Germain I^{er}, Nicéas le Patrice, Théodore Kratéros, le patriarche Ignace, Syméon le Nouveau Théologien, Nicéphore évêque de Milet, Jean le Jeûneur, Nicéas évêque de Chonai, Jean évêque d'Héraclée), ou secondaires des récits hagiographiques. Ce chapitre, extrêmement documenté, est le plus fourni de l'ouvrage, puisqu'il occupe une petite centaine de pages (pp. 119-207). On y constate une évolution des types qui n'est pas linéaire : des *exempla* anciens peuvent réapparaître plus tard, de façon sélective, mais *toutes les lectures de l'eunuque ont néanmoins une constante de base, qui consiste en un paradoxe consubstantiel au discours hagiographique : la sainteté de l'eunuque se fonde sur la négation de celui-ci, car le saint – qu'il soit homme ou femme –, par sa fonction même doit nier sa nature sexuelle au profit d'une nature masculine transcendante* (p. 207).

Le chapitre suivant tâche de cerner *les eunuques dans les 'belles-lettres'*. Par 'belles-lettres', l'A. entend *des créations littéraires plus ou moins fictives telles l'épistolographie, la poésie, le roman ou la satire, créations qui (...) utilisent un langage (...) très codifié* (p. 209). Lorsque, dans ces pièces, les eunuques sont présentés comme tels, *ils sont réduits à des caricatures* (p. 209). Les exemples présentés illustrent principalement l'éloge, le blâme, ou la condescendance dont les auteurs font preuve à leur égard. Une section particulière est consacrée à *l'eunuque dans le roman*, et une autre aux *textes des 'eunuques'* (c'est-à-dire les textes dont l'auteur prête sa voix à un eunuque). Au total, on n'observe pas d'évolution dans l'image des eunuques qui ressort des belles-lettres, image qui ne diffère guère de celle de l'Antiquité tardive.

Le chapitre VI occupe, lui aussi, un espace conséquent lié à son importance (pp. 239-320) : il s'attache à la figure de l'eunuque dans les textes historiographiques, du VI^e au XIV^e s. D'une façon générale, les historiens des VI^e au X^e s. ne relaient pas à leur égard l'attitude hostile et désobligeante de leurs confrères de l'Antiquité tardive : ils ne mettent pas l'accent sur la condition d'eunuque de certains grands personnages, mais en retracent la carrière ou les hauts-faits, sans plus (cette neutralité ne vaut pas dans le cas de reprises de sources antiques). L'A. estime que *cette attitude confirme la présence d'eunuques dans les structures administratives de l'Empire et leur influence accrue dans la production de la culture écrite* (p. 239). À partir de la fin du X^e et du début du XI^e s., cette attitude n'est plus systématique : une nouvelle orientation se fait jour, reflet des changements de la société et du pouvoir impérial ; en effet, l'accès au pouvoir de l'aristocratie militaire, qui marque une rupture avec la situation antérieure, jette le discrédit sur celle-ci, en faisant des eunuques le symbole de sa corruption. La présentation de ces derniers peut s'en trouver modifiée en conséquence. Cette tendance s'accroît chez les historiens du XII^e s. En revanche, les textes historiographiques du XIII^e s. ne mentionnent que rarement des eunuques, et le font généralement de façon plus neutre, à quelques exceptions près. Quant à ceux du XIV^e s., ou ils suivent leurs sources, ou ils évoquent des eunuques non seulement dans l'Empire byzantin, mais également chez les Ottomans ; et ce sont ces derniers qui sont vus d'une façon plus positive, dans un premier temps. Au total, donc, les textes historiographiques n'échappent pas à certains codes dans la présentation des eunuques, mais on peut y déceler une évolution, qui suit les modifications observées dans la société byzantine.

Le dernier chapitre développe quelques approches particulières : l'apologie de l'eunuchisme de Théophylacte d'Achrida ; la voix des eunuques à travers les livres sacrés ; les eunuques dans la géographie de la Ville et la topographie onirique à Byzance ; les attitudes 'populaires' envers les eunuques ; les eunuques et le dialogue entre Byzance, l'Orient et l'Occident.

Les conclusions montrent que les questions soulevées par une étude relative à la catégorisation des eunuques dans la pensée byzantine sont loin de recevoir des réponses simples. Cette complexité relève de la variété des sources étudiées, ainsi que de l'évolution de la société qu'elles reflètent ; ce qui n'a rien de très étonnant, puisqu'elles couvrent près d'un millénaire.

La riche bibliographie et les index qui clôturent l'ouvrage le complètent de façon très utile.

L'A. terminait son *Introduction* en *offrant ce livre à ceux, rares, qui le liront du début à la fin, à ces lecteurs presque sacrés qui respectent les rituels anciens de la lecture, dans une époque où la destinée principale d'un livre est d'être écrit plutôt*

que lu (p. 10). Et il ne fait pas de doute que cet ouvrage, qui présente une recherche novatrice, richement documentée, mérite une lecture intégrale.

Véronique SOMERS.

T. PAPADEMETRIOU, *Render unto the Sultan. Power, Authority, and the Greek Orthodox Church in the Early Ottoman Centuries*, Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2015, xv + 256 pages. ISBN 978-0-19-871789-8.

The Ottoman *millet* system was a multifaceted phenomenon that can be approached from different angles: as a traditional Islamic institution or as ‘Byzance après Byzance’, as an autonomous religious body or as a tool of Ottoman rule, as evidencing Ottoman religious tolerance or Ottoman religious discrimination, as a proto-national organization promoting national independence or as a supra-ethnic ecumenical institution. All approaches tend to suffer from a certain one-sidedness, while at the same time often contributing substantially to a better understanding of the phenomenon. The same fully applies to this remarkable monograph by Tom PAPADEMETRIOU. According to PAPADEMETRIOU, the Ottoman *millet* system was, in addition to everything else, most of all a revenue source or an instrument of tax farming.

The first chapter of the book revisits the investiture myth, challenging the received idea that the Ottomans ruled the Greek Orthodox *millet* through one singular leader. The author holds that they worked effectively through the multiple leaders of the local Greek Orthodox communities. Especially during the first stages of the Turkic conquest in Anatolia, this practice, called *istimâlet* (‘accommodation’), enabled local Church leaders to negotiate with the new rulers *ad hoc* regulations for their flock. *Istimâlet* is explained more closely in chapter II. It also implied a considerable amount of flexibility and pragmatism of both the ecclesiastic and the Turkic, respectively Ottoman authorities. In the case of the bishops, it boiled down to disobedience to the Patriarchal centre; in the case of the beys to a ‘creative’ interpretation of Islamic law.

In chapters III and IV, PAPADEMETRIOU convincingly argues that the Ottoman authorities dealt with the Church leaders as *mültezim* (tax farmers). Covering local expenses and the yearly assessment owed to the Patriarch in Constantinople, ecclesiastical taxation continued Byzantine practice. The Ottomans resolved the problem how to deal with ecclesiastical property without resorting to new forms of administration by using the *timar* (land tenure). Bishops and metropolitan bishops were considered as feudal lords receiving a *timâr-i medrepolid* or a *timâr-i peskopoz* respectively as a reward for their cooperation. More or less the same system was applied to monasteries, following the practice introduced by the Byzantines in the late 14th century of turning monastic estates into *pronoia*. Eventually, the monastic *timars* were transformed into *vakıfs* (pious holdings).

Chapters V and VI offer more information on the documents of appointment (*berâts*), in which the property rights and fiscal obligations of the Church leaders were specified. It appears that these documents had as their main concern the fiscal relationship between the bishop or metropolitan and the Ottoman state. In a *berât* from 1483 the patriarch is explicitly described as a *mültezim* – tax farmer. The patriarch himself was responsible for gathering taxes derived from all ecclesiastical revenues within the patriarchate. Conflicts between archbishops, metropolitan bishops and bishops claiming a particular episcopal see – that is the right to farm taxes

– were a rather frequent phenomenon. Significantly, these conflicts were settled by a local court or brought before the Divan, without any patriarchal representative being present, and the claimant's right as bishop was identified not in religious terms, but in terms of right to collect the taxes. A *berât* (usually for three years) could be obtained by down payment and the promise of subsequent payments. Following this transaction the bishop or metropolitan bishop was 'elected' according to canonical law. Claimants sought support for their rights bribing Ottoman officials, 'just as it were a salt works or a customs port'. Actually, the *iltizam* (tax farm) was assigned to the highest bidder. Greek Orthodox elites, commonly known as *Phanariotes*, played an important role as financiers and thus sustained the system. The sixth and last chapter focuses on one of these Orthodox Greek financiers, the notorious Michael Kantakouzenos or *Şeytanoğlu* (the Satan's Son).

PAPADEMETRIOU convincingly shows that the Ottomans did not 'do business' only with the patriarch as the Greek Orthodox community's leader (*ethnarch*), but frequently interfered in the Church's 'human resources' policy on the local, episcopal level. They dealt with the Church as with a tax farm, thus integrating it even more tightly into the Ottoman governmental system, while also infecting it with Ottoman – though, to be sure, not only Ottoman – corrupt practices. Evidently, the Great Church was more than solely a tax farm, but the fiscal features PAPADEMETRIOU draws the attention on, should be taken into account in any appreciation of the *millet* system.

R. DETREZ.

D. POTTER, *Theodora. Actress, Empress, Saint*, Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2015, x + 277 pages. ISBN 978-0-19-974076-5.

The empress Theodora is one of the more interesting characters from late antiquity, and one whose history has exerted a fascination on the modern mind. At a time when acting was disreputable, she rose above her background on the stage to marry the heir to the imperial throne, and become an independently powerful figure in the fields of both politics and religion. Here, her story is taken on by David POTTER of the University of Michigan, who brings a considerable breadth of expertise to bear in this volume, having recently published the second edition of his history of the later Roman Empire with Routledge. The author carefully attempts to get behind the unreliable sources such as Procopius' vicious *Secret History*, although he is still willing to make use of it as useful evidence for the kind of gossip that people would have believed about the empress. When necessary, he is willing to dispense with contemporary propaganda in favour of later sources that arguably preserve the most accurate accounts, including the *Chronicle* of John Malalas, the seventh-century *Easter Chronicle*, and the ninth-century *Chronicle* of Theophanes. However, he might have explained further why Malalas, for example, who is so rightly maligned for inaccuracy in general, might be accurate on certain topics whose sources he was well versed in. The high points are the author's detailed treatments of Theodora's adult life prior to Justinian, and of the Nika Riots of A.D. 532, with both episodes given exceptionally clear and informative treatment. The author is, as usual, particularly skilled at analysing social structures and networks, as demonstrated in his discussion of economic inequality and the circus factions (pp. 73-74). He fills in many missing details in Theodora's background with a discussion of other people and topics that shed light

on the actress-turned-empress. Although this necessitates a certain amount of speculation, it is usually to the benefit of the author's portrait of Theodora, barring some less helpful examples drawn from the first century (e.g., pp. 42-44). While the references reveal a broad foundation of scholarship, the book is written at a very accessible level, similar to Robert Browning's *Justinian and Theodora* (London, 1971, rev. ed. 1987), a useful work surprisingly absent from the bibliography.

This is no mere dispassionate collection of facts and dates, but a smooth narrative related by a particularly engaging guide. However, for good or ill, much of the author himself comes through in the work, including an abundance of modern colloquialisms, e.g., landowners' estates patrolled by their 'hit men' (p. 72), recipients of papal letters included on 'the pope's mailing list' (p. 86), and the costly Gothic War that would 'hoover up' men and money (p. 166). The author refreshingly avoids becoming mired in heavy theological discussion, although sometimes at the price of oversimplification. He reductively describes Arianism as a 'catch-all label for people who, although Christian, were somewhat "different"' (p. 19). Later, he defines Arians simply as those that had 'stressed Christ's human aspect' (p. 164), a glib summary that makes all those opposed from any perspective sound thoroughly unreasonable. There is a brief foray into biblical studies, as the author informs readers that the Gospels provide 'irreconcilable' accounts of Christ's birth (p. 162), apparently unaware that some scholars specialising in that field have heavily challenged the secondary-source authority he cites. Finally, although Oxford University Press has produced a handsome and generally well-edited volume, some minor mistakes of language slipped through, i.e., 'the Rufinus' (p. 79), 'perished in a single day on Constantinople alone' (p. 192). One hopes that POTTER's effort to maintain interest in such an iconic character will bear fruit, as it is a worthwhile contribution to the scholarly literature on Theodora, and one that should reach a wider audience.

D. N. GREENWOOD.

'*Pour une poésie de Byzance*'. *Hommage à Vassilis Katsaros (Dossiers Byzantins, 16)*, éd. par S. EFTHYMIADIS, Ch. MESSIS, P. ODORICO et I. POLÉMIS, Paris, Centre d'études byzantines, néo-helléniques et sud-est européennes, 2015, 320 pages. ISBN 2-9530655-8-9; ISSN 1637-8350.

Dans la courte *Préface* (pp. 7-9), les éditeurs rendent hommage à V. Katsaros, esquissant à grands traits les grandes étapes de ses recherches et insistant sur la qualité de son enseignement. Les contributions à ce volume d'hommage entendent illustrer ce que les éditeurs appellent la 'nouvelle "poétique" de Byzance' qui émergea dans les deux dernières décennies du XX^e s., grâce à de nouveaux questionnements sur le monde byzantin, plus proches sans doute de la vie réelle, loin en tout cas des splendeurs habituelles. En voici les titres : P. A. AGAPITOS, *Learning to Read and Write a schedos: The Verse Dictionary of Par. gr. 400* (pp. 11-24 ; entend présenter un texte oublié relatif à la schédographie à l'époque des Comnènes) ; I. ANAGNOSTAKIS, *Cold and Wine: On the Freezing of Wine and of Vases Broken by Frost. Textual and Climatic Evidence (4th-9th c.)* (pp. 25-45 ; étudie deux épigrammes pour en tirer des conclusions sur une époque-charnière qui a vu se renouveler la carte européenne du vin) ; Christine ANGELIDI, *Icons in a Bottle: Maria Romaia and Other Stories* (pp. 47-56 ; examine le motif de l'icône jetée à la mer qui réapparaît après un laps de temps assez long, en partant de la découverte en

octobre 2013 d'une icône sur les côtes de Sochi) ; A. ANGELOU, *Word and Deed: Types of Narrative in Kantakouzenos' Histories* (pp. 57-73 ; poursuit ses enquêtes antérieures sur la structure des *Histoires* de Cantacuzène) ; D. A. CHRISTIDIS, *Euripidea and Pseudo-Euripidea in Michael Gabras* (pp. 75-83 ; illustre, avec le cas d'Euripide chez Michel Gabras, les difficultés auxquelles peut se trouver confronté le chercheur moderne qui s'occupe des citations des Classiques dans la littérature byzantine) ; Marie-Hélène CONGOURDEAU, *Nicolas Cabasilas et Matthieu Cantacuzène* (pp. 85-98 ; revient sur le *Panégryrique* de Matthieu Cantacuzène par Nicolas Cabasilas et combat l'opinion négative exprimée à son sujet par certains de ses devanciers aussi célèbres que M. Jugie et P. Lemerle) ; Stavroula CONSTANTINOY, *Rewriting Beauty and Youth in Female Martyr Legends* (pp. 99-112 ; part de la *Vie et Passion de Febronia* (BHG 659) et analyse le motif de la belle et jeune chrétienne persécutée à cause de sa beauté) ; S. EFTHYMIADIS, *Une hagiographie classicisante et son auteur : la Vie longue de sainte Thomaïs de Lesbos* (BHG 2455) (pp. 113-131 ; prend l'exemple du dossier de sainte Thomaïs pour mettre en avant les choix des responsables des nombreuses réécritures de *Vies* de saints à l'époque des premiers Paléologues) ; M. KORDOSIS, *A-luo-han's Dispatch to Fu-lin (= Rome) of Central Asia by Gaozong and the Connection with the Arab Defeat of 674-678* (pp. 133-140 ; introduit le lecteur à certaines ambiguïtés du vocabulaire chinois : Fu-lin et Fromo Kesaro désignent-t-ils Byzance ou autre chose ? L'enquête se développe autour de l'examen d'une stèle du début du VIII^e s.) ; Eleonora KOUNTOURA GALAKI, *Decoding Byzantine Churches on Naxos in the Early Palaiologan Period: Motivations and Inevitable Necessities* (pp. 141-163 ; étudie la situation de Naxos à l'époque de la IV^e Croisade) ; P. MAGDALINO, *Debunking Astrology in Twelfth-Century Constantinople* (pp. 165-175 ; présente trois textes contemporains ridiculisant des astrologues ; le dernier de ces textes est un poème édité ici pour la première fois, avec traduction anglaise) ; C. PAIDAS, *An Unedited Discourse on the Ignorance of the Holy Scriptures by the Patriarch Kallistos I* (pp. 177-186 ; donne l'édition d'une homélie inédite du patriarche Callixte I^{er}, avec appareil critique et appareil des sources) ; G. PAPAGIANNIS, *Κριτικές παρατηρήσεις στις επιστολές του Μιχαήλ Χωνιάτη* (pp. 187-204 ; liste une série de critiques concernant l'édition des lettres de Michel Choniatis par F. Kolovou (CFHB 41)) ; I. POLEMIS, *Neoplatonic and Hesychastic Elements in the Early Teaching of Gregorios Palamas on the Union of Man with God: The Life of St. Peter the Athonite* (pp. 205-221 ; montre que l'influence de Plotin sur les œuvres de Grégoire Palamas est visible dans sa *Vie de S. Pierre l'Athonite*) ; A. RHOBY, 'When the year run through six times of thousands...'. *The Date in (Inscriptional) Byzantine Epigrams* (pp. 223-242 ; indique que, à l'instar de colophons de manuscrits, des inscriptions byzantines épigrammatiques peuvent réserver quelques vers à l'expression de la date de leur réalisation ; une liste de dix-neuf épigrammes de ce genre clôturé l'article) ; Helen G. SARADI, *The Streets in the Byzantine Literary Sources: Changing Perceptions and Evolving Social Models (4th-10th c.)* (pp. 243-272 ; cherche dans les sources le témoignage des changements visibles dans la culture urbaine de l'empire byzantin) ; Ch. SIMELIDIS, *Lustrous Verse or Expansive Prose? The Anonymous Chapters in Parisinus gr. 2750A and Vaticanus gr. 1898* (pp. 273-294 ; étudie une œuvre partiellement conservée dans deux manuscrits, qui présente la particularité de mêler prose et poésie) ; Maria TZIATZI-PAPAGIANNI, *Bemerkungen zum Kontakion 'Εἰς τὸν ἔσχηκῶτα τὸν λεγεῶνα τῶν δαιμόνων' des Romanos Melodos* (pp. 295-311 ; fournit un commentaire analytique sur un Kontakion).

Les diverses contributions se suivent en fonction de l'ordre alphabétique du nom de leurs auteurs, et n'ont pas fait l'objet de regroupements thématiques. C'est peut-être un peu dommage, sans être choquant dans un volume d'hommage.

Véronique SOMERS.

Jessica PRIESTLEY, *Herodotus and Hellenistic Culture. Literary Studies in the Reception of the Histories*, Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2014, xii + 274 pages. ISBN 978-0-19-965309-6 .

Della fortuna di Erodoto nella storia della storiografia si sono già occupati alcuni studiosi: tra questi, si possono ricordare le ormai classiche pubblicazioni di Arnaldo Momigliano e Oswyn Murray (A. Momigliano (1958) 'The Place of Herodotus in the History of Historiography'. *History* 43, pp. 1-13; O. Murray (1972) 'Herodotus and Hellenistic Culture'. *Classical Quarterly* 22, pp. 200-213). Il bel volume di Jessica PRIESTLEY si colloca sulla scia di questi lavori, portando avanti i loro suggerimenti e sviluppando interessanti prospettive. Come la stessa autrice annota nell'*Introduction* (pp. 1-17), il suo studio *draws attention to writers not usually categorized as 'historians' in order to broaden our perspectives on Herodotus' cultural importance* (p. 14). Questo focus più ampio è uno dei punti di forza del libro, ciò che lo rende un punto di partenza ideale per ulteriori ricerche.

Il primo capitolo dell'opera, *Biographical Traditions* (pp. 19-50), analizza le diverse tradizioni biografiche relative ad Erodoto. Le dubbie (e spesso contrastanti) informazioni che queste tradizioni hanno tramandato rischiano di essere scarsamente utili per una ricostruzione affidabile della vita dello storico. Tuttavia, esse possono risultare degli strumenti preziosi per rintracciare la ricezione dell'opera erodotea nelle diverse comunità del mondo greco. Il collegamento entusiasta tra lo storico di Alicarnasso e la colonia di Turi, così come la sua presunta ostilità nei confronti di Tebe o Corinto, forniscono infatti degli indizi su come questi centri si rapportassero con le *Storie* erodotee, soprattutto con la rappresentazione che Erodoto aveva dato di essi. Un approccio di questo genere alle biografie erodotee apre orizzonti interessanti. L'analisi della presunta onorificenza conferita allo storico dagli Ateniesi ne è un esempio (pp. 44-49), così come il riferimento ai tolemaidi (pp. 34-42).

Il secondo capitolo, *The Great and the Marvellous* (pp. 51-108), esamina la presenza del meraviglioso in Erodoto e la sua evoluzione negli autori successivi. Le prime pagine si concentrano sul concetto di *thoma* ('meraviglioso'), evidenziando quella che l'autrice definisce *rhetoric of wonder* (p. 56): una costruzione letteraria realizzata attraverso una serie di soluzioni testuali, come l'uso frequente di comparativi o superlativi, l'inserimento di misure precise o il ricorso continuo ai *verbs of vision*. Dopo un sintetico esame della costruzione del meraviglioso in Tucide ed Aristotele (pp. 61-75), per chi scrive si è rivelato decisamente interessante il riferimento alla paradossografia (pp. 75-87), ambiguo genere letterario (se di genere si può parlare!) dell'età ellenistica e romana. Affascinante, seppur meno cogente per certi aspetti, è la riflessione sulle sette meraviglie del mondo antico e sull'influenza erodotea nella costituzione del loro canone (pp. 87-99).

Il terzo capitolo, *Herodotus and Hellenistic Geographies* (pp. 109-156), costituisce una delle sezioni più brillanti del libro. Esso affronta infatti uno degli aspetti più innovativi e travolgenti dell'età ellenistica, l'ampliamento degli orizzonti geografici. Come altri studi hanno già dimostrato in passato (cito come esempio – ma

se potrebbero fare molti altri – lo studio di Andrea Zambrini sul *corpus* frammentario di Megastene ('Gli Indikà di Megastene (I)'. *Annali della Scuola Normale Superiore di Pisa. Classe di Lettere e Filosofia* 12.1 (1982), pp. 71-149; 'Gli Indikà di Megastene (II)'. *Annali della Scuola Normale Superiore di Pisa. Classe di Lettere e Filosofia* 15.3 (1985), pp. 781-853), l'improvviso allargamento del mondo greco causato dalla spedizione di Alessandro è stato affrontato e (mi si passi l'espressione) 'digerito' dagli autori ellenistici attraverso le fonti di età arcaica e classica. Vale la pena ricordare, ad esempio, il Nearco di Murray, presentato a navigare l'Indo con Erodoto in mano. Per dimostrare l'influenza del *Pater Historiae* in questa fase di scoperte, la PRIESTLEY prende in esame due dibattiti che hanno coinvolto l'*intelligenza* ellenistica: quello su Iperborei e Ipernoti, mitiche popolazioni del nord e sud del mondo, e quello sulle fonti del Nilo (pp. 111-137). La trattazione mostra chiaramente come il dettato dello storico di Alicarnasso, seppur adattato al nuovo lessico e alla diversa visione teorica del mondo, rimanga un punto di riferimento fondamentale. La seconda parte del capitolo è dedicata invece all'esame dell'influenza erodotea nelle opere di Ecateo di Abdera (pp. 138-144) e Apollonio Rodio (pp. 144-155). Un aspetto particolarmente interessante che emerge da questo capitolo riguarda la polemica che gli autori ellenistici costruiscono contro l'ingombrante precursore: una polemica che, a tratti, estremizza e altera le notizie riportate dalle *Storie*, trasformando l'opera di Erodoto in un facile bersaglio e in un comodo termine di paragone.

Il quarto capitolo, *The Persian Wars: New Versions and New Contexts* (pp. 157-186), prende in esame il fattore che, forse più degli altri, ha garantito la popolarità e la sopravvivenza delle *Storie* erodotee: il tema. Se non c'è bisogno di spiegare come, nel mondo greco di età classica, le guerre Persiane abbiano goduto di un'importanza considerevole, vale tuttavia la pena di evidenziare, insieme all'autrice, come la loro centralità nella costruzione di una memoria culturale collettiva si sia mantenuta anche nelle turbolenze del mondo ellenistico. Il capitolo offre parecchi spunti interessanti: dall'analisi delle influenze erodotee nell'opera di Timeo (pp. 162-169), allo studio di quelle presenti nell'*Alessandra* di Licofrone (pp. 179-185). Particolarmente degno di nota è l'esame della rilettura delle *Storie* in occasione dell'invasione gallica del 279 a.C. (pp. 158-162). Esso allarga infatti il campo d'influenza del capolavoro erodoteo, che, da un piano puramente letterario, assume a strumento di propaganda e di azione politica.

Il quinto e ultimo capitolo, *The Prose Homer of History* (pp. 187-222), si rifà ad una tendenza tipica della critica ellenistica, quella cioè di trovare, per ogni genere letterario, un 'Omero', una figura fondante. L'analisi dei rapporti tra l'opera erodotea e gli eruditi alessandrini è al centro della trattazione. Particolarmente interessante è la sezione dedicata al dibattito ellenistico sui rapporti tra prosa e poesia, una discussione che ha coinvolto anche Erodoto e il suo stile (pp. 195-209). Altrettanto brillanti le pagine dedicate alle 'menzogne' di Erodoto, tema caro a Plutarco e a molti altri dopo di lui (pp. 209-219). L'autrice mostra come l'approccio dei vari autori alle sezioni meno realistiche delle *Storie* sia stato influenzato dalle loro diverse idee sulla ricerca storica. Partendo da questo presupposto, è chiaro che la posizione di Erodoto e della sua «reliability» è stata sempre in movimento, oscillando tra accuse avvelenate e giustificazioni condiscendenti: un'ambiguità che riflette il giudizio degli eruditi ellenistici e imperiali su certe sezioni dei poemi omerici.

Dopo un breve epilogo (pp. 221-222), conclude l'opera un'appendice sul commentario erodoteo di Aristarco (pp. 223-229).

L. FOCANTI.

Riflessi metropolitani liturgici, agiografici, paleografici, artistici nell'Italia meridionale. Atti della giornata di studi presso il Pontificio Istituto Orientale, 18 maggio 2010, éd. par V. RUGGIERI, L. PIERALLI et G. RIGOTTI (*Orientalia Christiana Analecta*, 296), Rome, Pontificio Istituto Orientale, 2014, 195 pages; illustré. ISBN 978-88-7210-389-0; ISSN 1590-7449.

The book under review is the result of a one-day conference held in Rome, at the *Pontifical Oriental Institute*, on the 18th of May 2010, and is composed of seven contributions, mostly written by Italian scholars. The influence of Constantinopolitan peculiarities on southern Italian culture is explored from a variety of points of view. This interdisciplinary approach involves the study of liturgy, codicology and palaeography, history of art and hagiography.

In their very brief Introduction (pp. 7-9), V. RUGGIERI, L. PIERALLI and G. RIGOTTI, editors of the volume, summarize the content of each chapter and state that the aim of the book is to provide some new insights into a well-known field of investigation, the relationship between Constantinople and the Byzantine province of Italy. However, they do not provide a broader theoretical frame to connect the single contributions to each other. The impression of the lack of a unitary scope becomes stronger if one looks at the general structure of the book, which does not have either any index or a general bibliography.

M. BERGER, in his chapter on *L'influence de la liturgie et des commentaires mystagogiques sur les programmes iconographiques byzantins de Terre d'Otrante (XII^e-XV^e siècles)* (pp. 11-35), analyzes the impact of liturgical themes on the iconographic patterns of some artistic representations in Southern Italy, especially in Apulia. BERGER presents a rich selection of paintings and the relevant textual parallels taken from hymns and other liturgical texts and concludes that the specific character of Byzantine culture is kept also in this provincial area.

Giovanna Rita BELLINI is the author of the (very short) second chapter, *Il castrum Suji* (pp. 47-62). She presents the archaeological evidence of the site in Lazio and mentions a remarkable number of fragments of frescos, found some ten years ago on the walls of this *castrum*, which originally belonged to a chapel. Although these paintings have severely been damaged, their sacral content is still visible and their destruction can be dated to the earthquake of 1120.

The same *castrum* and its artistic value are also the topic of the third chapter, *Frammenti di intonaci dipinti da Suio (Castelforte, Latina)* (pp. 63-102), by Alessandra ACCONCI. The author is well acquainted with the history of the castle and frames some chronological information within a broader context. The same fragments of paintings mentioned by BELLINI are the core of ACCONCI's paper. The author refers to the poor status of the frescos due to the same earthquake (which she dates to 1117!) but is able to depict in a very precise and skilful way all the main elements of the paintings. The stylistic features are very similar to the Cassino's ones and are compared to Byzantine colours and motifs.

In the fourth chapter, *Su alcuni codici 'ad omega paraphé' tra scrittura di Rossano e scrittura di Reggio* (pp. 103-134), M. D'AGOSTINO gives a brilliant example of how a palaeographical analysis can be meaningful to get a clearer view of the relationship between Constantinople and the Greek-speaking communities based in Italy. D'AGOSTINO focuses on twelve manuscripts preserved in some Italian libraries and written in 'omega paraphé' handwriting, which are closely related to the Rossano style manuscripts (often compared to the Constantinopolitan *Perlschrift*). He devotes a significant part of his paper to a full codicological description of the

selected codices. The second part of the chapter shows that the illuminations and ornamental elements of the ‘*omega* paraphé’ manuscripts are homogeneous and that the palaeographical features of the hands who wrote them are very similar as well.

The fifth paper is entitled *Riflessi di Costantinopoli nei documenti dell’Italia meridionale (secc. X-XII)* (pp. 135-147), by Paola DEGNI. DEGNI offers an overview of the documentary handwritings in Southern Italy. Her essay is complimentary to D’AGOSTINO’s one and focuses on the handwritings produced for private use and public administration during the middle Byzantine period. Her analysis leads to the conclusion that the documentary handwritings in Southern Italy are strongly influenced by the Constantinopolitan ones until the middle of the 12th c. Afterwards Latin influence becomes predominant and the number of Greek documents decreases.

Anna GASPARI’s paper is entitled *Innografia liturgica greca di Terra d’Otranto: non solo riflessi costantinopolitani* (pp. 149-171). The author moves from the observation that southern Italian liturgy is mostly a faithful reproduction of the Constantinopolitan one. Therefore, it is more interesting to find out some elements of originality than to confirm the dependence of the provincial culture on the Byzantine rites. GASPARI scrutinizes two manuscripts produced and still preserved in Apulia and discovers that some saints of Western origin were worshipped in Greek liturgy, namely Saint Francis of Assisi and Saint Mary of the Snows.

The last paper of the book is *Riflessi metropolitani nel monachesimo greco dell’Italia bizantina e normanna* (pp. 173-195), by E. MORINI. The core of the essay is the analysis of Stoudite influence on Italian monasticism. Grounding his study on a considerable number of sources, MORINI emphasizes that monks of Greek-speaking monasteries in Italy base their life on *hesychia* and at the same time practice forms of coenobitism, as their equivalent in Constantinople, but with some local peculiarities.

Thanks to the variety of disciplines and topics explored by the scholars who contributed to the book, it will be useful to readers with different backgrounds and interests. The pictures that accompany some of the chapters add an extra value to the understanding of the papers and are duly referred to in the relevant pages. As already mentioned, a more substantial introduction could have made the volume a reference book for the study of the influence of Constantinopolitan elements on southern Italian culture and the editors could have provided the readers with the link between the essays. All in all, this book is a valuable bibliographical reference for anyone who needs information on some specific aspects of Byzantine culture.

Rachele RICCERI.

P. SARRIS, *Byzantium: A Very Short Introduction*, Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2015, xx + 142 pages. ISBN 978-0-19-923611-4.

In this *Very Short Introduction*, Peter SARRIS introduces the reader to Byzantium in eight chapters. Rather than being chronologically ordered, the chapters are thematic in nature: after making some introductory remarks on Byzantine society in the first chapter, the author goes into the geography, history, architecture and population of Byzantium’s famous capital, Constantinople, in the second chapter. The third chapter deals with Byzantine history, especially the Byzantine emperors, and the relationship between Byzantium and its neighbouring states. This topic is further elaborated in the fourth chapter, where SARRIS treats Byzantium’s encounters with Islam, and the fifth, where he goes into a number of ‘strategies for survival’ from

different time periods, such as conversion, adaptation, and diplomacy. In the sixth chapter, SARRIS discusses a number of cultural issues: literary culture, iconography, architectural and artistic developments. The seventh and final chapter deals with the end of the empire, the first step of which was the Crusaders' sack of Constantinople in 1204. In sum, this *Very Short Introduction* offers a brief, but stimulating account of Byzantium, inciting its reader towards further engagement with the topic.

K. BENTEIN.

The Christian Heritage of Kosovo and Metohija: The Historical and Spiritual Heartland of the Serbian People, éd. par M. VASILJEVIĆ, Los Angeles (CA), Sebastian Press, 2015, 1007 pages; illustré. ISBN 978-1-936773-18-3.

Bishop Maxim VASILJEVIĆ, assisted by his editorial board, has created a treasure house of Serbian art. From the fresco depicting the Holy Trinity (Abraham's hospitality) found on the east wall of the Gračanica monastery church to the fascinating but disturbing wall painting of Judas' kiss from the Church of the Holy Apostles at Peć, this volume of more than 1000 pages will dazzle the eyes of both professional scholars and casual readers. In my own career as a Byzantinist, until I examined these illustrations, I had never comprehended how extraordinary are the frescos from the many churches of Kosovo and Metohija built and decorated during the golden age of the Nemanjić dynasty. The richness of these reproductions and their number (800 illustrations and almost all in vivid colour) make this volume an indispensable addition in any library devoted to Byzantine and medieval art as well as a splendid book for the coffee table.

This extraordinary volume, however, is not a study in Serbian art history. Rather, it is a collection of 116 separate entries, arranged in eight sections, all seeking to demonstrate how the Serbian Christian heritage has been firmly rooted in Kosovo for centuries. Many of these entries are academic articles, originally published in Serbian, and reproduced here in English translation. Others are articles written specifically for this volume while still others are English versions of famous Serbian poems. One entry is an article written in 1916 by G. K. CHESTERTON for the *Daily News*, published in London. Here CHESTERTON eloquently justified Britain's decision to go to war against Austria and Germany on behalf of Christian Serbia.

For Byzantinists the first three sections are the relevant ones. Section I deals with the history of the Nemanjić dynasty which ruled Serbia during the 13th and 14th centuries when most of the churches in Kosovo and Metohija were built and decorated. In this section there are entries describing the four renowned churches of Dečani, Gračanica, Ljeviša, and Peć, all four of which are still intact, as well as many other smaller churches.

Sections II and III consist of entries on the political and military events surrounding the defining event in Serbian history, the Christian kingdom's defeat by the Muslim Turks at the Battle of Kosovo in 1389, a defeat that ultimately enabled the Turks to absorb the Serbians into their burgeoning Ottoman Empire. Because both Lazar, Serbia's last king, and the Ottoman sultan Murat died on the Kosovo battlefield, this military engagement took on epic status in the national consciousness of Orthodox Serbia. The author of one entry compared the stories of loyalty and betrayal surrounding the Kosovo legend to the themes of Homer's *Iliad*.

What makes this volume fascinating but challenging to use is that not all the illustrations are arranged according to the monuments which they adorn. As one would

expect, many illustrations of the frescos from the Patriarchate of Peć accompany the article by G. SUBOTIĆ about the four churches which make up this structure (pp. 69-106), but reproductions of other frescos from these same four churches accompany other entries. For example, the spectacular fresco depicting Judas' betrayal of Christ illustrates G. K. CHESTERTON's entry to reflect Austria's betrayal of Christian Serbia in 1914. Finding all the frescos from Peć requires a careful perusal of the entire volume, but given the stunning photographs, such a search is pure joy.

T. MILLER.

The Jewish-Greek Tradition in Antiquity and the Byzantine Empire, éd. par J. K. AITKEN et J. CARLETON PAGET, New York, Cambridge University Press, 2014, 359 pages. ISBN 978-1-107-00163-3.

Les dix-sept contributions qui suivent l'*Introduction* sont réparties en quatre sections : histoire, historiographie, Bible et langue grecques, culture (la dernière section étant de loin la plus fournie, puisqu'elle compte huit contributions, contre deux, trois, ou quatre pour les autres).

La *Préface* d'Amos OZ (pp. XI-XII) rend hommage aux qualités, essentiellement mais pas seulement, de traducteur d'hébreu en anglais de Nicholas De Lange, dont une photographie est donnée en tête de l'ouvrage.

Cet éloge est ensuite relayé dans l'*Introduction* (pp. 1-11) par les deux éditeurs, qui lui dédient ce recueil. Ils retracent l'intérêt dont il a fait preuve tout au long de sa carrière, souvent comme pionnier, pour le thème de l'ouvrage, qu'ils définissent comme suit : *The term Jewish-Greek 'tradition' recognizes the continuity of a Greek-speaking Jewish world and a Greek literary engagement among Jews* (p. 1), qui commence avec la traduction grecque du Pentateuque au III^e s. aCn., et se poursuit sous l'Empire byzantin (et même au-delà).

Les différentes contributions, dues à des collègues et amis du dédicataire, veulent embrasser la globalité de son champ d'investigation, dans toute sa diversité, depuis les origines de la Bible grecque jusqu'à quelques palimpsestes de la Génizah du Caire. Les éditeurs considèrent ces contributions comme des 'chapitres' ; cependant, si les quatre parties rassemblent effectivement des articles qui touchent au même domaine, on ne peut pas parler de plan d'ensemble, qui indiquerait une progression dans le développement.

Après une liste des publications de N. De Lange (pp. 300-308), cet intéressant recueil se clôture sur des index bien utiles (pp. 349-359) et sur une riche bibliographie (pp. 309-348).

Véronique SOMERS.

S. TROVATO, *Antieroe dai molti volti: Giuliano l'Apostata nel Medioevo bizantino (Libri e biblioteche, 34)*, Udine, Forum, 2014, XII + 526 pages. ISBN 978-88-8420-778-4.

This is a study of the Byzantine tradition on Julian the Apostate. It is richly documented, if methodologically conservative. Besides discussing a wealth of material, unearthing some of it for the first time, it shows that three interrelated images of Julian circulated in Byzantium: Julian as an emperor, author and persecutor. The first two counterbalanced the generally negative perception produced by the third.

The book is divided into three parts. The first is a miscellany of three studies of specific aspects of Julian's reception: the accusation of *imitatio Iuliani*, the overriding influence of Gregory of Nazianzen on later Byzantine perceptions of Julian, and the reception of Julian as an author. The second part analyses Byzantine hagiography, discussing most of the major hagiographical texts. Noteworthy is an analysis of the *synaxarion* of Constantinople and of two *menologia*. The third part analyses Julian in Byzantine chronicles. Particularly innovative here is the analysis of the Epitome of Church histories (7th c.), noting the strong influence of Theodoret of Cyrillus on the representation of Julian in Theodore Lector, the source of the Epitome. This leads to a more negative picture than when Theodore would have relied primarily on Socrates or Sozomen. A rich bibliography and a somewhat abortive index (of authors only) conclude the book.

The book is a major step forward for those interested in the image of Julian, offering all the Byzantine material in a single tome. As regards the level of analysis, however, TROVATO could have done much more. The general thesis is, unsurprisingly, that the image of Julian is usually negative and far removed from reality and that we see a progressive 'mythologisation' over time. The other major interest is the identification of the sources used by the various authors. Rather than lamenting the negative tendency and fantasy in Byzantine accounts, it would have been more fruitful to start out from the fact that every society has its enemies and idols, often drawn from history, and then to study how such representations develop and change in different historical contexts. Julian obviously was one of the imperial 'demons' of the Byzantine *imaginaire*. Rather than stating this fact over and over again, it would have been more rewarding to ask what particular purpose a text had with its particular representation of Julian and if we can see distinct Julians in particular periods or texts. This should, in addition, be done within the context of other positive and negative images that populated the Byzantine mind (Diocletian and Constantine being obvious candidates). In other words, what does an image of Julian mean at a given moment of Byzantine history? Similarly, it would have been more fruitful to analyse a few Lives of martyrs *in extenso* to understand them as narratives in their own right rather than conveyers of clichés. There are many instances in the book where the author offers interesting remarks and insights, which would be the starting point for such an approach. His fine analyses of Theodoret of Antioch (141-149) and of Artemius and Eusignius (199-239) are cases in point. In the third part on historiography, one would have liked to see more reflection on the role attributed to Julian in the course of history: is he just a blip, a demon of the past, or the image of a realistic threat to a Christian polity?

In sum, this is a useful work that offers unmatched access to the Byzantine reception of Julian and to previous scholarship. It brings new material to our knowledge and regularly offers fine analyses of individual texts. But the book also shows the limitations of the catalogue-like approach inherited from earlier scholarship, as it only occasionally broaches the crucial question: what does this all mean?

P. VAN NUFFELEN.

P. YANNOPOULOS, *Μεγαλό (761-μετά το 818). Η αγνοημένη βυζαντινή οσία. Ιστορική βιογραφία*, Thessalonique, Σταμούλης, 2014, 208 pages. ISBN 978-960-9533-76-8.

[I] L'ouvrage est consacré à la vie de Mégalo, 'une sainte ignorée', dont la biographie est difficile à reconstruire, l'Histoire ayant quasiment perdu jusqu'à son souvenir.

Issue d'une famille patricienne en vue du VIII^e s., elle épouse à 16 ans, dans un mariage de convenance, le rejeton d'une autre famille bien en cour, qui devait devenir célèbre pour deux raisons : sa résistance (gonflée par les Studites) à l'iconoclasme, et la Chronique qui porte son nom. L'A. a reconstitué dans un ouvrage récent la vie de ce Théophane (*Théophane de Sigriani le confesseur (759-818). Un héros orthodoxe du second iconoclasme*, Bruxelles, 2013), et s'est intéressé dans la foulée à Mégalo.

Cerner la vie du fameux Théophane a demandé une enquête approfondie, une analyse minutieuse des sources, et une connaissance sans faille de l'époque pour interpréter et mettre ensemble les éléments ainsi identifiés. Ce qu'on peut dire de Mégalo relève de la même méthode, et essentiellement des mêmes sources ; celles-ci sont peu loquaces à son sujet ; car à partir du moment où Théophane a été compté au rang des saints, le simple fait qu'il ait été marié s'est avéré fort dérangent, et a bien failli disparaître des sources. Attiré par la vie contemplative, Théophane se sépara de son épouse dès qu'il fut libre de le faire, c'est-à-dire après la mort de leurs parents ; Mégalo ne semble pas avoir émis d'objection, et être également entrée en religion ; mais elle a suivi son ex-époux incognito dans ses pérégrinations : elle n'est jamais loin de lui, à son insu ; mais une fois qu'il est mort et devenu célèbre, elle disparaît dans l'oubli, entre 818 et 822.

En consacrant ces pages à cette figure oubliée, l'A. lui rend un hommage mérité. Il nous rappelle aussi que, s'il ne faut pas toujours prendre au pied de la lettre les récits hagiographiques, ils contiennent généralement une part de vérité qui, pour en être extraite, demande doigté et compétence ; et, d'autre part, que les anonymes dont les annales de l'Histoire n'ont pas (ou peu) gardé la trace nous permettent d'appréhender de façon parfois bien plus concrète la société byzantine que les grandes figures dont le nom est resté.

À la fin de l'ouvrage, le lecteur trouvera deux résumés de cette vie rocambolesque, en français et en anglais.

Véronique SOMERS.

[II] En 2013 parut à Bruxelles le livre de P. YANNOPOULOS, *Théophane de Sigriani le confesseur (759-818). Un héros orthodoxe du second iconoclasme* (Collection *Histoire*, 5), Bruxelles, Éditions Safran, 2013, 328 pages (ISBN 978-2-87457-066-7), dont la première partie est consacrée à la biographie détaillée de Théophane. Il y est noté que Théophane a reçu pour épouse Mégalo, fille du patrice Léon. Le livre présenté ici est, d'une certaine manière, un prolongement de cette biographie, puisque l'A. y étudie les sources parlant de Théophane pour établir la biographie de son épouse.

Mégalo est née à Constantinople en 761. À l'âge de huit ans elle est promise à Théophane ; leur mariage eut lieu 777/778, peu avant la mort de Léon, tandis que les parents de Théophane étaient déjà morts. La vie conjugale n'était pas longue. En 780 Théophane obtint l'autorisation de l'impératrice Irène d'entrer au couvent à condition que Mégalo reçoive aussi l'habit monastique. C'est ainsi qu'elle se trouva, malgré elle, cloîtrée au monastère de l'île du Prince. N'ayant pas d'autres choix, Mégalo embrassa pleinement l'idéal monastique en dépassant ses collègues dans la voie ascétique, tandis que Théophane à ce même moment n'était qu'un moine inconnu. Peut-être à cause de cela elle a décidé de devenir la mauvaise conscience de son ex-époux : elle est partie pour l'île de Calonymos, où s'était installé Théophane, et puis à Bithynie où Théophane s'était établi vers 786/787 en y construisant le monastère de Megalos Agros.

Théophane arrêté après la relance du second iconoclasme est mort à Samothrace le 12 mars 818. Mégalo écrivit à Théodore Studite, lui aussi en exil, pour lui apprendre la fin de son ami. Théodore lui a répondu par une lettre chaleureuse où il exprime aussi son admiration pour la fermeté de Mégalo dans la foi. C'est la dernière information la concernant. Elle doit être morte avant 822, car Théodore Studite dans son *Panégyrique*, prononcé le jour de Pâques 822 lors de la translation des restes de Théophane à son monastère, parle d'elle en utilisant des formes grammaticales indiquant le passé. Malgré quelques tentatives, surtout par les Studites, pour être canonisée, la mémoire de Mégalo est oubliée peut-être à cause de la célébrité de son époux qui a réuni sur lui toute l'attention de l'Église.

L'étude est assortie de trois annexes, articles de l'A. traduits par lui-même en grec, puis les originaux avaient paru en français, notamment : 1) *Les destinataires de la lettre 'Aux moniales' de Théodore Studite*, paru dans *Byzantinische Zeitschrift*, 100.2 (2007), pp. 819-822), 2) *Les sources orales de la biographie de Théophane le Confesseur*, paru dans *Jahrbuch der Österreichischen Byzantinistik*, 58 (2008), pp. 217-222, et 3) *Un désaccord des biographes de Théophane le Confesseur au sujet de son épouse Mégalo*, paru dans *Βυζαντινός Δόμος*, 19-21 (2011-2013), pp. 393-402. Il s'agit d'études partielles qui traitent certaines questions particulières concernant Mégalo. En outre l'ouvrage est complété par les tables habituelles : bibliographie et index.

S. SPYRIDAKOS.

J. L. ZECHER, *The Role of Death in the Ladder of Divine Ascent and the Greek Ascetic Tradition*, Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2015, XIX + 252 pages. ISBN 978-0-19-872494-0.

The *Ladder*, a spiritual masterpiece written by John Climacus (henceforth Climacus), consists of thirty rungs. These are virtues by which one can ascend to heaven. In his book, ZECHER opens and ends with the role of death in the *Ladder*. The central part, however, is devoted to the ascetic tradition, which precedes and influences Climacus. ZECHER perceives the *Ladder* as a tapestry woven out of different threads, shaping its own story, based on tradition. In particular, he states that the engagement with death is the organizing principle of the *Ladder*. This is a new and refreshing approach to one of the most popular works of Byzantine spirituality.

Ch. 1 opens with an introduction to Climacus as a historical person. Concerning the problematic date of Climacus, ZECHER suggests a wide range between 579 and 659 AD. The author also examines the structure of the *Ladder*, an issue on which there is no clear scholarly *communis opinio*. He compares the hypothesis of a bipartite to that of a tripartite structure. ZECHER adds to this discussion that both structures work at the same time and that we should, most of all, look at the unity in the *Ladder*. All rungs are part of the same work and Climacus' obscurity serves a didactic purpose. ZECHER affirms that the *Ladder* is rather a shape than a system; Climacus indeed did not conceive his spiritual guide as a ready-made manual for a carefree ascent. The gaps between the rungs are left open; ZECHER fills them with the encounter of death: 'Death runs like a grain of wood through the whole *Ladder*' (p. 51). He is, however, aware that the 6th rung is specifically entitled 'Memory of death'. For the author, there seems to be no contradiction in death being spread over the entire *Ladder*, and appearing as the theme of one specific rung at the same time.

ZECHER correctly states that 'the memory of death is interconnected with numerous other virtues' (p. 51). This could, however, make a reader of this book by ZECHER suspicious: if all virtues are interrelated, why then perceive the memory of death as the pivotal axis of the *Ladder*? In the following chapters, the author takes his time to explain.

ZECHER takes almost 130 pages and four chapters to establish his acquaintance with the ascetic tradition. Ch. 2 discusses biblical vocabulary on death, focusing on two aspects of death: mortality and judgement. Also the spiritual exercises of Greek philosophy are briefly discussed. Ch. 3 comments upon the *Vita Antonii*. Several topics are examined there: the role of the memory of death and the concepts of 'daily dying' and 'ascent', as a link between life and death. Ch. 4 concerns the Desert Fathers, for whom death is a constant companion. A dialectical unity between fear and hope regarding the judgment is essential to keep the monk away from sin and to spur him to virtue. From the diverse Desert Fathers, one monk in particular is important for Climacus: Abba Poemen, who developed the way of tears and repentance. Also freely chosen obedience of a disciple towards his teacher is stressed by ZECHER. Ch. 5 presents the Gazan Fathers. Their reading of the Desert Fathers will be determinant for Climacus, their idea of death as the imitation of Christ will become central in his spirituality. Furthermore, ZECHER stresses that the Gazan Fathers were the first to define death as normative for the ascetic spirituality. For Barsanuphius, endurance until death is a crucial virtue. Death is the natural boundary of ascetic progress. The monk lives as if he was already dead, because he has cut off his individual will. This individual will is equal to the will of the Devil; the will of the abbot is the will of God. In ch. 6 ZECHER returns to Climacus and on how he is embedded in the tradition. The author states that Climacus also transcends tradition. Climacus takes the renovation of the human being, following the example of Christ, as the essence of monastic identity. He goes further than the Gazan Fathers, not only by focusing on the obedience, but also on sin, repentance and failure. Climacus is often obscure, and the paradox is one of his favourite means of expression. For him tears bring joy, the living corpse is blessed, and the imitation of Christ allows for failure, since 'to remain sinless', Climacus says, 'is to never see death' (p. 219). ZECHER is fond of paradoxes too, concluding his book by stating that Climacus provides a 'radically original vision of Christian identity that is new precisely by being traditional' (p. 226). By defining death as the organizing logic of the *Ladder*, I understand that death *is* the *Ladder*. By means of a ladder one can ascend; by means of death one is able to reach heaven.

R. MEESTERS.

OUVRAGES REÇUS PAR LA RÉDACTION DU 1^{ER} JUILLET 2015 AU 30 JUIN 2016

- Saška BOGEVSKA-CAPUANO, *Les églises rupestres de la région des lacs d'Ohrid et de Prespa. Milieu du XIII^e – Milieu du XVI^e siècle (Bibliothèque de l'École des hautes études, sciences religieuses, 166)*, Turnhout, Brepols Publishers, 2015, 831 pages; illustré. ISBN 978-2-503-54647-6.
- P. BROWN, *Treasure in Heaven. The Holy Poor in Early Christianity*, Charlottesville (VA) et Londres, University of Virginia Press, 2016, xxv + 162 pages. ISBN 978-0-8139-3828-8; 978-0-8139-3829-5 (version électronique).
- Béatrice CASEAU, *Nourritures terrestres, nourritures célestes. La culture alimentaire à Byzance (Collège de France – CNRS, Centre de Recherche d'Histoire et de Civilisation de Byzance, Monographies, 46)*, Paris, ACHCByz, 2015, LIV + 345 pages. ISBN 978-2-916716-54-1; ISSN 0751-0594.
- N. EGENDER, *Moines de Palestine : portraits spirituels. Préface de Marie-Anne Vannier*, Paris et Perpignan, Éditions Artège, 2016, 171 pages. ISBN 978-2-36040-662-3.
- D. GETOV, *A Catalogue of the Greek Manuscripts at the Ecclesiastical Historical and Archival Institute of the Patriarchate of Bulgaria*, vol. I. *Bačkovo Monastery*, Turnhout, Brepols Publishers, 2014, xxii + 370 pages + 181 planches. ISBN 978-2-503-55173-9.
- J. HALDON, *The Empire that would not die. The Paradox of Eastern Roman Survival, 640-740*, Cambridge (MA) et Londres, Harvard University Press, 2016, xii + 418 pages. ISBN 978-0-674-08877-1.
- J. HARRIS, *The Lost World of Byzantium*, New Haven (CT) et Londres, Yale University Press, 2015, xi + 264 pages. ISBN 978-0-300-17857-9.
- S. F. JOHNSON, *Literary Territories. Cartographical Thinking in Late Antiquity*, Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2016, xiv + 195 pages. ISBN 978-0-19-022123-2.
- L'aniconisme dans l'art religieux byzantin. Actes du colloque de Genève (1-3 octobre 2009)*, éd. par M. CAMPAGNOLO, P. MAGDALINO, Marielle MARTINIANI-REBER et A. L. REY, Genève, Musées d'art et d'histoire de Genève – La Pomme d'or, 2015; xvii + 422 pages; illustré. ISBN 978-2-8306-0257-9; 978-2-9700763-2-2.
- H. MAGUIRE, *Nectar & Illusion. Nature in Byzantine Art and Literature*, New York, Oxford University Press, 2016, xx + 198 pages; illustré. ISBN 978-0-19-049710-1 (livre de poche; réédition du livre relié publié en 2012).
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